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IRÉNÉE HAUSHERR ET LA SPIRITUALITÉ
DE L'ORIENT CHRÉTIEN

Actes du symposium organisé par Richard Čemus S.J.
à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental le 3 avril 2003
à l'occasion du 25^e anniversaire de la mort du P. Hausherr



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P. Irénée Hausherr S.J.
(Eguisheim, Haut-Rhin, 7.06.1891 – Colmar, Haut-Rhin, 5.12.1978)

S I G L A

AASS	Acta Sanctorum (Antverpiae et alibi 1643 ss.)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	Eduardus Schwartz, <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> (Berolini 1914 ss.)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
BHG	François Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> (Bruxelles 1957 ³)
BHO	Paul Peeters, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> (Bruxelles 1910)
BiO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> (Leiden 1943/44 ss.)
BO	Josephus Simonius Assemanus, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana</i> (Romae 1719, 1721, 1725, 1728) (rep. Hildesheim 1975)
Brightman	Frank Edward Brightman, <i>Liturgies Eastern and Western</i> , I: <i>Eastern Liturgies</i> (Oxford 1896)
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BV	Bogoslovskij Vestnik
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCEO	Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium (Città del Vaticano 1990) (fontium annotatione auctus, 1995)
CCG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout 1971 ss.)
CCL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1953 ss.)
CerVed	Cerkovnye Vedomosti
ChrČt	Christianskoe Čtenie
CICO	Codex Iuris Canonici Orientalis (Città del Vaticano 1957–1958)
COD	Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta (Bologna 1973 ³)
ConcFI	Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores voll. I–XI (Roma 1940–1976)
CPG	Mauritius Geerard, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> (Turnhout 1974 ss)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain 1903 ss.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Wien 1866 ss.)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1828–1897)
ČtOIDR	Čtenija v Imperatorskom Obščestve Istorii Drevnostej Rossii
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DDC	Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique
Denzinger, ROC	Henricus Denzinger, <i>Ritus Orientalium</i> . . . I, II (Wirceburgi 1863–1864)
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques (Paris 1912 ss.)
Dmitrievskij	Aleksej A. Dmitrievskij, <i>Opisanie Liturgiĭeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka</i> , I–II (Kiev 1895, 1901) III (Petrograd 1917)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSp	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
Dz	Henricus Denzinger et Adolphus Schönmetzer, <i>Enchiridion ... symbolorum</i> (Freiburg im Br. 1965 ³³)
EO	Échos d'Orient
FCCO	Codificazione Canonica Orientale. Fonti (Roma 1930 ss.)
Funk I–II	Franciscus Xaverius Funk, <i>Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum</i> I–II (Paderborn 1905)
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> (Weimar 1898) II (Leiden 1912)
GAL2	<i>Idem</i> I–II (Leiden, 1943–1949)
GALS	<i>Idem</i> , Supplementbände I–III (Leiden 1937, 1938, 1942)
GAS	Fuat Sezgin, <i>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</i> (Leiden 1968 ss.)
GCAI.	Georg Graf, <i>Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur</i> , coll. ST 118, 133, 146, 172 (Città del Vaticano 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (Berlin 1897 ss.)
Goar	Jacobus Goar, <i>Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum</i> (Venezia 1730 ² repr. Graz. 1960)
GSL	Anton Baumstark, <i>Geschichte der syrischen Literatur</i> (Bonn 1922)
HOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden–Köln 1952 ss.)
Irén	Irénikon
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (Wien 1969 ss.)
JSSt	Journal of Semitic Studies

JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
LOC	Eusèbe Renaudot, <i>Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio</i> , 2 vol. (Francofurti 1847 ²)
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, deinde Liturgiewissenschaftliche Q. u. F. (1957 ss.)
LT ¹⁻²⁻³	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1930, 1957, 1993)
Mansi	Johannes Dominicus Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> (Firenze 1759 ss.)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno 500 usque ad annum 1500 (Hannover 1826 ss.)
Metzger I-III	Marcel Metzger, <i>Les Constitutions Apostoliques</i> , SC 320, 329, 336 (Paris 1985, 1986, 1987)
Mus	Le Muséon
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth)
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCh	Orientalia Christiana
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OKS	Ostkirchliche Studien
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OS	L'Orient Syrien
PalSb	Palestinskij Sbornik
Pauly-Wissowa	Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
Pedalion	Πηδάλιον ἥτοι ἅπαντες οἱ ἱεροὶ καὶ θεῖοι κανόνες (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1908 ⁵)
PG	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Paris 1857–1866)
PL	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Paris 1841–1864)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris 1903 ss.)
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, I-III (Paris 1897, 1907, 1927)
PSRI.	Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisej
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
REArm	Revue de Études Arméniennes
RByz	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RechBeyr	Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth
Régestes	Venance Grumel, <i>Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople</i> (Paris 1932–47)
Renaudot, HP	Eusèbe Renaudot, <i>Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum</i> (Paris 1713)
Rhallis-Potlis	G. A. Rhallis et M. Potlis, Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1852–1859)
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Paris 1864–1906)
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SC	Sources Chrésiennes (Paris 1941 ss.)
ST	Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano 1900 ss.)
SVNC	Angelo Mai, <i>Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio</i> 10 voll. (Romae 1825–1838)
SynÖr	Jean-Baptiste Chabot, <i>Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des synodes nestoriens</i> (Paris 1902)
TKDA	Trudy Kievskoy Duchovnoj Akademii
TODRL	Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvješćenija
ZNTS	Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenka

Liminaire

Parmi les lettres de condoléances reçues à l'occasion du décès du P. Irénée Hausherr, le 5 décembre 1978, celle qui fut envoyée à peine quatre jours plus tard par son ancien étudiant Pierre Duprey, M.A., alors sous-secrétaire du Secrétariat pour la promotion de l'unité des chrétiens, décrit au mieux la personnalité et la stature du défunt. En effet, le P. Recteur Eduard Huber répond ainsi au P. Duprey : "Très révérend et cher Père, la plus belle peinture du caractère du cher P. Hausherr que je connaisse est celle que vous avez donnée dans votre lettre du 9 décembre."

C'est pourquoi je suis heureux d'ouvrir les Actes du symposium "Irénée Hausherr et la spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien" qui s'est tenu dans notre Institut le 3 avril 2003 avec le témoignage de ce célèbre disciple, S. E. Mgr. Pierre Duprey, évêque titulaire de Thibaris, ancien secrétaire du Conseil pontifical pour la promotion de l'unité des chrétiens.

R. Čemus, S.J.



8 février 1965: Visite de la délégation du Patriarcat Œcuménique à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental. Au premier rang, de gauche à droite: Tomáš Špidlík S.J., Irénée Hausherr S.J., Joseph Gill S.J., Métropolitite Méliton, Métropolitite Chrysostome, ancien étudiant de l'Institut, Mgr. Jan Willebrands, Pierre Duprey M.A., ancien étudiant de l'Institut.

SECRETARIATUS
AD CHRISTIANORUM UNITATEM FOVENDAM

CITTA DEL VATICANO

Roma, 9 décembre 1978

Révérénd Père Eduard HUBER
Recteur
Pontificio Istituto di Studi Orientali
Piazza S.Maria Maggiore, 7
ROMA

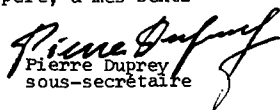
Mon Révérend et Cher Père,

Je viens d'apprendre la mort du père Hausherr. Je tiens à vous présenter mes sincères condoléances et à vous assurer que j'offrirai le saint sacrifice à son intention. Il fut pour moi le maître très estimé et aimé qui m'a introduit dans l'esprit des traditions orientales et m'a ouvert des perspectives qui me furent et me sont encore très bien-faisantes. Il lui suffisait souvent d'un mot, d'un signe d'étonnement, d'une trace d'ironie, de la suggestion d'une lecture à faire, pour vous mettre sur la bonne piste qui vous permettait de résoudre vous-même la difficulté sur la quelle vous le consultiez ou qui vous orientait vers une compréhension plus profonde et plus organique des thèmes qu'il exposait ou que vous rencontriez dans vos lectures. Les allusions malicieuses, toujours pleines de finesse, qui émaillaient sa conversation ou son enseignement leur donnaient un charme inégalable par la très vaste culture qui y pétillait sans cesse.

La très grande pudeur qu'il avait toujours dans la manifestation de ses sentiments pouvait parfois le faire paraître bourru et déconcertant. Mais qui comprenait la raison de cette attitude, devinait qu'elle cachait avec peine une charité très délicate et toujours disponible.

Le renouveau en Occident de la connaissance de l'Orient chrétien lui doit beaucoup. S'il a été parfois mal compris et injustement critiqué je crois que c'était précisément à cause de l'objectivité et de la finesse de ses exposés. Le père Hausherr n'acceptait jamais la moindre expression de gratitude à son égard. Au moment où il entre dans la plénitude de cette contemplation dont il a si bien parlé, je tenais à vous exprimer toute la vive reconnaissance que j'ai envers lui.

Je vous prie de croire, mon révérend et cher père, à mes sentiments respectueux et fraternels.


Pierre Duprey
sous-secrétaire

La prière chez S. Thomas d'Aquin

Panegyrique prononcé à Enghien le 7 mars 1923

Irénée Hausherr, à qui fut consacré le Symposium du 3 avril 2003 organisé par l'Institut Pontifical Oriental, s'est intéressé à la prière aussi bien au niveau académique que pastoral. De fait, il a commencé par l'étude de l'hésychasme (*La méthode d'oraison hésychaste*, 1927), qu'il a nettement distingué de l'hérésie messalienne ("L'erreur fondamentale et la logique du Messalianisme", 1935). Il a décrit les rapports entre contemplation et sainteté chez les Syriens ("Contemplation et sainteté. Une remarquable mise au point par Philoxène de Mabboug", 1933; "Aux origines de la mystique syrienne: Grégoire de Chypre ou Jean de Lycopolis?", 1938). Il a traduit et commenté le *De oratione* d'Évagre le Pontique (1933-1934), pour lequel être théologien, c'est prier et prier, c'est être théologien. Il a publié quelques études sur la "Contemplation chez les grecs et autres orientaux chrétiens" dans le *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (1952). En 1956, il fait paraître son article "Comment priaient les Pères".

Or, ce chercheur infatigable et ce maître d'oraison avait commencé sa quête en s'interrogeant sur le plus important théologien catholique, pour savoir comment Thomas d'Aquin considérait la prière, "source principale de sa science".

Hausherr n'était pas encore prêtre quand ses supérieurs lui demandèrent de prononcer au réfectoire du scolasticat d'Enghien (Belgique), pendant le déjeuner de la communauté religieuse, un panegyrique en l'honneur de S. Thomas, le jour de sa fête qui tombait alors le 7 mars. Bravant un exercice plus proche de la rhétorique que de la dévotion, il fit devant la communauté l'éloge du Saint à la fois comme maître de prière et de théologie. Le texte fut publié en grande partie, mais jamais dans son intégralité.¹ Il nous semble alors opportun de le restituer en entier aux lecteurs qui pourront constater la cohérence et la continuité de la pensée d'Hausherr autour du thème de la prière.²

La Rédaction.

¹ Cf. infra p. 60, dans l'article d'Alexandra Celia.

² Le texte intégral nous est conservé sur huit feuilles de papier (29,5 × 22,5 cm.) filigranées "Superba Mill Extra Strong", dactylographiées au recto; les passages en grec sont écrits à la plume, ainsi que quelques corrections. Le réviseur pour la publication dans *Prière de vie, vie de prière*, Paris 1965, p. 65-74 — le P. Hausherr lui-même? — a supprimé ou corrigé des passages au crayon et à la plume. Nous reproduisons la version originale, en ne gardant que la correction de la date, 1923 au lieu de 1922. — Qui est mis entre crochet vient de nous.

Enghien, fête de S. Thomas, 1923.

Ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δεόμενοι
Luc [21,36]

Mes Révérends Pères,

Si les panégyristes de S. Thomas voulaient faire uniquement l'éloge du Saint, ils verraient leur éloquence bien à l'étroit entre les quelques faits précis rapportés par ses biographes, et peut-être ne leur resterait-il que la ressource dont les successeurs de Guillaume de Tocco ont si largement usé, je veux dire la ressource de noyer quelques anecdotes éparses dans une longue dissertation abstraite sur la sainteté. Par bonheur, autant la pénurie de renseignements biographiques rend malaisé le panégyrique annuel de l'homme, autant l'étendue et la profondeur de son œuvre fournira toujours surabondamment de quoi célébrer la gloire du docteur. Le plus intéressant, au moins pour nous modernes, moins dédaigneux que les grands spéculatifs du 13^e siècle pour les menus riens d'une vie individuelle, ce serait de montrer les rapports de la vie et de la doctrine, de retrouver dans la psychologie de Thomas d'Aquin l'application et peut-être l'explication de certaines théories du docteur angélique.

Or, ses historiens, recherchant les sources de sa science, mettent en premier lieu, non pas Aristote ou S. Augustin, non pas l'extrême intensité de son étude, ni la puissance de son génie naturel, indiquée, selon Guillaume de Tocco, par sa taille droite et élevée et par le volume de sa tête, ni même cette merveilleuse immunité de toute passion sensuelle, la meilleure préparation, comme il dit lui-même, pour le travail de l'esprit, — mais, comme il en fit un jour la confidence au F. Raynald, la principale source de sa science, ce fut la prière. Ce sera donc honorer la mémoire à la fois du docteur et du saint, que d'exposer quelques-unes de ses idées sur ce sujet. Pour limiter notre enquête, nous nous bornerons à une seule question: pourquoi prier? Et pour y répondre, après quelques mots sur la nature de la prière, nous passerons en revue avec S. Thomas les êtres qui semblent ne pouvoir pas prier; et ces considérations, en nous faisant pénétrer plus profondément la nature de la prière, nous fourniront les motifs de prier les plus fondamentaux.

I

S. Thomas donne deux définitions de la prière: “*petitio decentium a Deo*” (il l’a lue dans S. Jean Damascène), et “*elevatio mentis in Deum*” (il avoue la tenir de S. Augustin). Mais cette élévation à Dieu, comme il l’explique, (2. 2. q. 83. a. 17), n’est que l’acte préparatoire de la prière proprement dite, laquelle est, à parler strictement, une demande. Sans doute, dans un sens large, on peut entendre sous le nom de prière des pratiques telles que l’action de grâces; mais en rigueur de termes, celle-ci est l’acte d’une vertu spéciale distincte de la vertu de religion, dont fait partie la prière. L’adoration, de même, est un acte de latrerie et se ramène donc, comme celle-ci, à la vertu de justice. Et ce que nous appelons aujourd’hui “oraison” dans le sens d’oraison mentale, contemplation ou méditation, S. Thomas le distingue soigneusement de la prière de demande, la seule qu’il nomme “*oratio*”.

Pour déterminer la nature d’un acte, il faut assigner la faculté dont il émane: et c’est pour la prière la raison pratique; la raison, parce qu’à elle seule revient la fonction d’ordonner un moyen à une fin ou de disposer une cause en vue d’obtenir un effet; la raison pratique, parce qu’à la différence de la raison spéculative, qui n’est qu’une faculté d’appréhension, la raison pratique exerce encore, comme le veut la prière, une certaine causalité.

Mais de ce que la prière est un acte de la raison, il s’ensuit que seuls les êtres raisonnables peuvent prier. De ce qu’elle est un acte de la raison pratique, il découle logiquement que parmi les êtres raisonnables, ceux-là seuls peuvent prier qui sont capables de posséder et ne possèdent pas encore l’effet prétendu de la prière: l’union divine définitive.

II

Les êtres raisonnables seuls peuvent prier; — et cependant le psalmiste ne parle-t-il pas “des petits des corbeaux qui invoquent Dieu” [Ps 147,9]?

Poésie! aurait pu répondre saint Thomas avec un beau dédain de logicien sec. Sa réponse est bien plus profonde. Oui, les petits des corbeaux prient à leur façon, à cause du “désir naturel par lequel toutes choses aspirent à la bonté divine”. Ce désir naturel, souvenir sans doute de S. Augustin — *Deus quem amat omne quod potest amare, sive sciens sive nesciens* — S. Thomas l’a retrouvé dans Denys et même dans Aristote, qui suspend toutes choses à Dieu par un univer-

sel finalisme. Toutes choses aspirent à Dieu, et dans ce sens on peut dire que toutes choses prient, puisque la prière n'est, même en nous, que l'interprète de notre désir de Dieu. La différence, quant à la prière, entre les êtres raisonnables et les êtres privés de raison, ne vient que de la conscience réfléchie et de la liberté. Cette soif de Dieu, sourde et endormie dans les êtres inférieurs, consciente et volontaire en nous, c'est cependant un même inéluctable mouvement qui emporte toutes choses et chacune suivant le degré même de son être vers son origine première qui est en même temps sa fin dernière. Et voilà, dans l'ordre naturel, le motif le plus profond de notre prière: que nous le voulions ou ne le voulions pas, — sive scientes sive nescientes — j'entends d'une volonté réfléchie, notre être est lui-même une prière dans la mesure de sa capacité d'être. Dépendant de Dieu par nos racines mêmes et, s'il est permis de parler de la sorte, nous étirant vers lui comme la plante qui dans l'obscurité se prolonge au-delà de sa mesure pour rencontrer le rayon de soleil, sous la poussée d'un besoin essentiel, nous prions toujours, inconsciemment, tant que notre faim de Dieu n'est pas assouvie selon toute son intensité, et la prière explicite ne sera que la prise de conscience par la raison et la ratification par la volonté de cette aspiration profonde. Et voilà pourquoi ce n'est pas par un pédantisme de Trissotin que je vous ai cité du grec au début de ce discours, mais parce que ce mot "ἐν παντί καιρῷ δεόμενοι" contient en résumé toute cette philosophie de la prière: à un besoin perpétuel, que signifie ce mot de "δεῖσθαι", répond nécessairement, selon l'autre sens du même verbe, une perpétuelle supplication, adressée à celui qui seul peut le satisfaire.

Et cependant il est un lieu où cette aspiration essentielle à l'homme non seulement ne prie plus, mais ne peut plus prier, parce que la raison de l'homme, pervertie, n'y peut plus avoir la moindre idée de la bonté divine, et parce que sa volonté fixée dans le mal n'y saurait plus désirer librement ni donc demander le moindre bien. Le génie de Shakespeare n'a rien imaginé de plus saisissant que cette scène où Macbeth, déjà criminel dans l'âme, raconte à sa complice les épouvantes de sa conscience. "J'ai entendu deux hommes prier. L'un disait: Dieu nous soit propice! L'autre répondait: Amen; ... et moi je n'ai pas pu dire: Amen! J'avais cependant bien besoin de grâces, mais l'amen m'est resté dans la gorge, et je n'ai pas pu dire: Amen! And I could not say: Amen!" — Voilà en raccourci l'état du réprouvé: la véhémence de son mouvement naturel vers Dieu ne s'est pas alanguie; il en sent au contraire plus que jamais l'inéluctable nécessité; mais au lieu que sur terre ce sentiment et ce désir trouvent un interprète dans la prière, et mieux qu'un interprète, un achemine-

ment, un commencement de réalisation et donc un acompte de bonheur; dans l'âme du damné s'est faite comme une synthèse de deux contradictoires: l'attraction infinie du souverain Bien, et la répulsion infinie de la souveraine Justice; et entre les deux mâchoires de cet infrangible étau toute espérance est étouffée, et avec elle toute possibilité de prière. Au lieu de son vers fameux: "Vous qui entrez ici, laissez toute espérance", Dante aurait donc pu nous donner le même frisson d'horreur en inscrivant sur la porte de l'enfer: C'est ici le lieu où le malheur ne prie pas.

Et voilà où aboutit la créature, si elle se méconnaît elle-même jusqu'à refuser de donner, par une prière explicite, son assentiment au besoin de Dieu qui constitue le plus profond de son essence. Rien de terrible comme l'impossibilité de prier qui est l'enfer, mais aussi rien de plus monstrueux et de plus contre nature que le refus volontaire de prier.

III

Tout cela vaut pleinement sans sortir de l'ordre naturel. Pour entrer dans l'ordre surnaturel, continuons avec S. Thomas la revue des êtres qui semblent incapables de prier. Il ne peut évidemment être question de prière en Dieu. Et cependant la sainte Ecriture ne dit-elle pas que le Saint-Esprit prie pour nous par des gémissements ineffables? Oui, mais cela veut dire qu'il constitue priantes les âmes qu'il habite. Ce qui nous fait prier dans l'ordre naturel, c'est notre besoin de Dieu, expression de notre nature même; ce qui nous fait prier dans l'ordre surnaturel, c'est le Saint-Esprit. C'est lui qui nous fait dire: "Père"; c'est lui, dit S. Thomas, qui nous fait prier et nous enseigne à bien prier. Et puisque notre participation à l'ordre divin, loin d'enlever quoi que ce soit à la nature humaine, ou de contrarier ses tendances profondes, les respecte, les surélève, et se développe elle-même à la ressemblance de la vie naturelle, nous pouvons et devons transposer dans l'ordre surnaturel tout ce que nous avons dit de la prière dans l'ordre de la nature, avec cette seule différence qu'ici ce n'est plus une pure créature qui erre, affamée, aux confins du monde intellectuel, à la recherche d'un Dieu toujours hors de ses atteintes directes, mais c'est vraiment Dieu qui se cherche lui-même en nous; et en nous abandonnant à ces divines initiatives de prière, à ces ineffables gémissements de l'Esprit, c'est-à-dire en ratifiant d'une volonté avide notre besoin de Dieu soit naturel et proportionné à nos facultés humaines, soit surnaturel et débordant toute capacité créée, nous ne

ferons pas seulement l'acte de raison le plus grand et le plus indispensable pour vivre en hommes vraiment dignes de ce nom, mais, de même que l'enfant donne les premiers signes de sa vie rationnelle en bégayant après sa mère quelques syllabes inintelligibles, ainsi par les prières que nous met au cœur et aux lèvres l'Esprit qui doit nous suggérer toutes choses, nous nous essayons aux premiers balbutiements de cette vie intellectuelle divine, de cette vie éternelle qui doit s'épanouir un jour dans la connaissance directe de Dieu et de son Envoyé Jésus-Christ. En un mot, de même que dans l'ordre naturel la prière est l'acte le plus totalement humain, ainsi dans l'ordre de la grâce, elle est l'exercice terrestre de notre vie divine. Et voilà pourquoi il faut prier: parce que nous sommes hommes et chrétiens dans la mesure et selon la valeur de notre prière.

IV

Dieu ne prie pas. Et cependant le Saint-Esprit prie en nous; — et cependant N.S. Jésus-Christ prie. Il prie selon sa nature humaine, pour montrer qu'il est homme, et cette prière n'est qu'un acte de son sacerdoce, de ce sacerdoce dont le Christ n'a pas participé lui-même les³ effets, car les prêtres ne participent pas aux effets de leur⁴ sacerdoce en tant que prêtres, mais bien en tant que pécheurs, et le Christ n'est pécheur en aucune façon. — Je me trompe, l'Innocent s'est fait pécheur par la solidarité librement contractée avec l'humanité pécheresse, afin que par cette même solidarité l'humanité pécheresse pût satisfaire à Dieu dans la personne de son nouveau Chef, le nouvel Adam. Jésus-Christ prie donc comme homme, comme chef de l'humanité nouvelle, comme prêtre; et, prêtre éternel, sa vie éternelle n'est qu'une éternelle prière, de même qu'elle est un éternel sacerdoce: *Sacerdos in aeternum — semper vivens ad interpellandum pro nobis — sempiternum habet sacerdotium.*

Or⁵, dit S. Thomas, tous les sacrements donnent une participation au sacerdoce de Jésus-Christ; et c'est pourquoi S. Pierre appelle le

³ Lire probablement: "aux", cf. *Prière de vie, vie de prière*, p. 70.

⁴ Ce mot commence une ligne. Dans la marge, à sa hauteur, Hausherr a écrit à la machine: "xx"). L'explication de ce renvoi se trouve dans le texte de la note "x" ajoutée un peu plus bas, cf. notre note suivante.

⁵ Dans la marge, à la hauteur de ce mot, Hausherr a écrit à la machine: "x)" et au fond de la page, on trouve le texte qui correspond à cet appel de note, dont voici la teneur: "Tous les sacrements donnent une participation aux effets du sacerdoce du Christ. 3. q. 63, a. 6 ad 6. Or participer aux effets du sacerdoce, ce n'est pas participer

peuple chrétien: "regale sacerdotium" [1 P 2,9]. Il n'est pas dans la vigne mystique un rameau qui ne vive que pour lui-même; mais, solidaire de tous les autres et vivant avec tous de cette sève divine qui déborde de la plénitude du Cep et vivifie jusqu'au moindre sarment, chacun doit, pour le bien-être de tous, exercer le sacerdoce qui lui revient (Cf. Hebr., V,1. Omnis ... Pontifex ... pro hominibus constituitur in iis quae sunt ad Deum): "sacerdoce spirituel" chez tous les chrétiens même laïques, sacerdoce hiérarchique (ce terme convient aussi en un certain sens à l'autre sacerdoce. — Billot, I. p. 144)⁶ chez qui a reçu le sacrement de l'ordre. Et c'est là la justification dernière de l'apostolat de la prière, qu'il ne faudrait pas concevoir comme le simple exercice extérieur d'une intercession bénévole et d'une valeur toute juridique, mais qui est la manifestation nécessaire de la solidarité sacerdotale, qui unit tous les membres du Corps mystique au sacerdoce de l'unique Prêtre, Jésus-Christ. Et plus cette union au sacerdoce du Christ devient étroite, plus pressante se fait la nécessité de la prière et plus aussi deviendrait incompréhensible et comme contre nature l'absence de prière. Elles ont donc bien compris l'esprit du christianisme, ces âmes simples que rien ne scandalise comme la négligence de la prière chez un prêtre, et qui pensent avoir prononcé le verdict le plus terrible quand elles ont dit de certains: C'est un prêtre qui ne prie pas.

Prière du Saint-Esprit en nous et prière sacerdotale du chrétien dans l'unité du corps mystique, c'est une seule et même prière, puisque, selon la doctrine de S. Thomas, l'unité du corps mystique vient de l'unité de son âme qui est le Saint-Esprit. Per Spiritum Sanctum efficimur unum cum Christo. Les saints ne cessent de prier tant que le Christ total (Cf. S. Aug. In Evang. Jo. tr. 21, n. 8: "Christus facti sumus ...") n'est pas entré en possession de sa gloire totale par l'entrée au ciel du dernier des élus, et des corps ressuscités eux-mêmes; car les âmes bienheureuses, dit notre docteur, prient jusqu'à la résurrection générale pour la glorification de leur corps. Quand le nombre des élus sera complet et les corps glorieux rendus aux âmes bienheureuses, alors seulement la prière cessera d'être une demande et se couronnera pour toute l'éternité de son couronnement naturel, l'ac-

au sacerdoce même (v. plus haut, xx)) [cf. notre note 4]. Le raisonnement ne vaut que pour les sacrements 'caractéristiques'; parce que le caractère est une participation (active) au sacerdoce du Christ. Ibid., a. 3, 5". — *Prière de vie, vie de prière*, p. 71 et 74, place l'appel de note après "Jésus-Christ" et supprime dans le texte l'incise entre parenthèses: "(v. plus haut xx)".

⁶ Dans la marge, à la plume: "[Louis Billot,] *De Ecclesiae Sacramentis. Commentarius in tertiam partem S. Thomae*, Thesis XI, tome I, 6^e éd. [Rome, 1924], p. 157 ss."

tion de grâces, "Gratias agimus Tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam": Ce n'est pas, Seigneur, Père de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, ce n'est pas parce que nous n'avons plus besoin de vous que nous ne vous demandons plus rien: mais parce que vous avez, sans aucun mérite de notre part, satisfait surabondamment les aspirations de notre être, parce que vous avez entendu les gémissements de votre Esprit en nous, parce que vous avez exaucé, en nous associant à sa gloire, la prière sacerdotale de votre Christ, nous nous réjouissons de ce que toute gloire vous appartient à vous seul, oui, à votre seul amour, ô Dieu-Amour, soient rendues d'éternelles actions de grâces, par Lui, avec Lui et en Lui.

CONCLUSION

La plus séduisante des synthèses philosophiques non-chrétiennes, c'est cette forme de panthéisme qui, par un mouvement circulaire grandiose, fait sortir toutes choses de Dieu et puis les ramène irrésistiblement à leur source première. Mais la grande faute de tout panthéisme, c'est de n'avoir pas compris que Dieu est amour. Aussi, combien plus belle, parce qu'elle respecte la nécessaire transcendance divine et l'évidente contingence de la créature, cette synthèse chrétienne de S. Thomas et de S. Augustin qui, eux aussi, affirment ce double mouvement de sortie et de retour, mais lui assignent pour principe non plus une froide et aveugle nécessité, mais du côté de Dieu un ineffable amour qui attire, et du côté de l'homme une humble prière qui aspire à posséder cet amour. Et pour nous inspirer cette prière, instrument de notre bonheur, Dieu ne se contente pas de faire retentir en nous l'obscur appel de la nature, mais il se met lui-même au service de son amour en nous envoyant son Esprit, pour que dans l'unité du Saint-Esprit notre prière devienne la prière même du Christ, et mérite ainsi d'accomplir, dans une splendeur que les plus hardis des penseurs païens n'auraient jamais soupçonnée, notre retour triomphal dans le sein du Père.

Ainsi soit-il.

Irénée Hausherr

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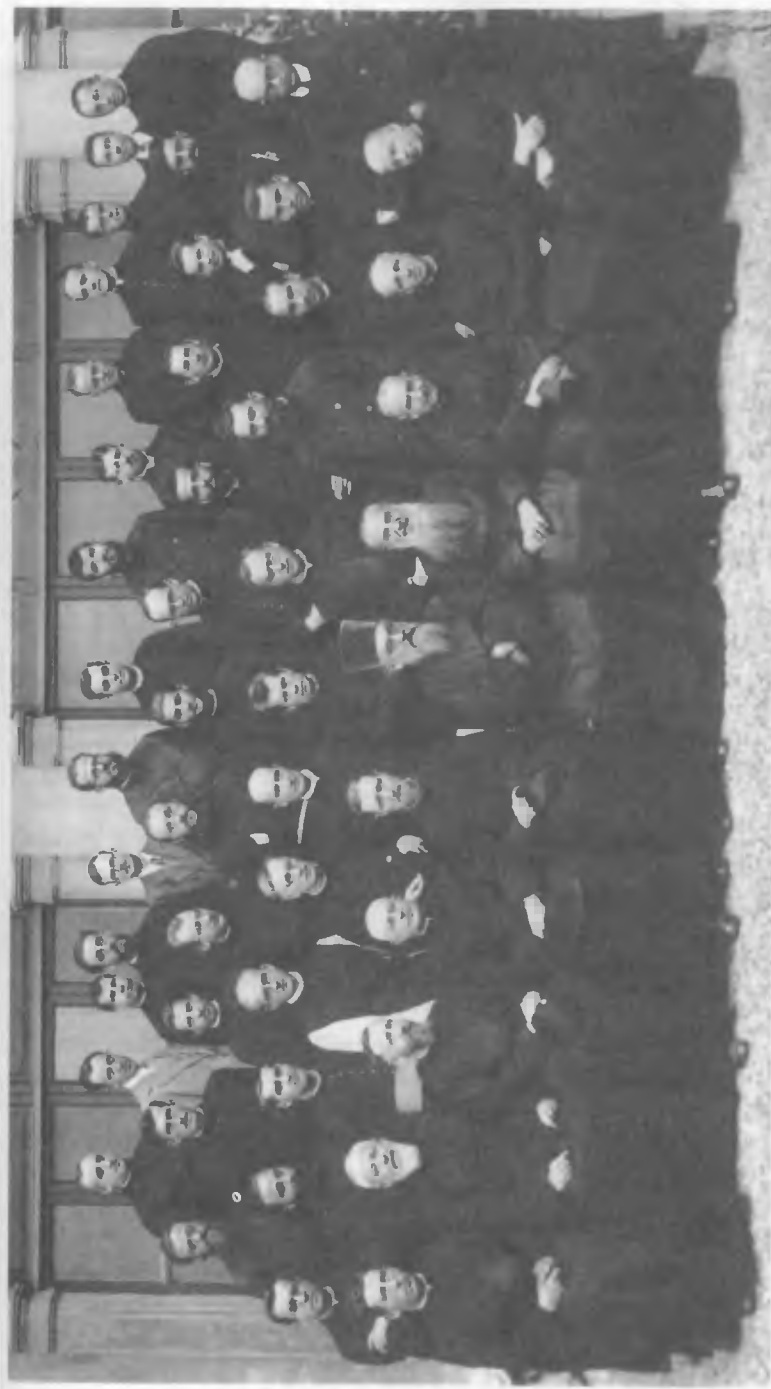
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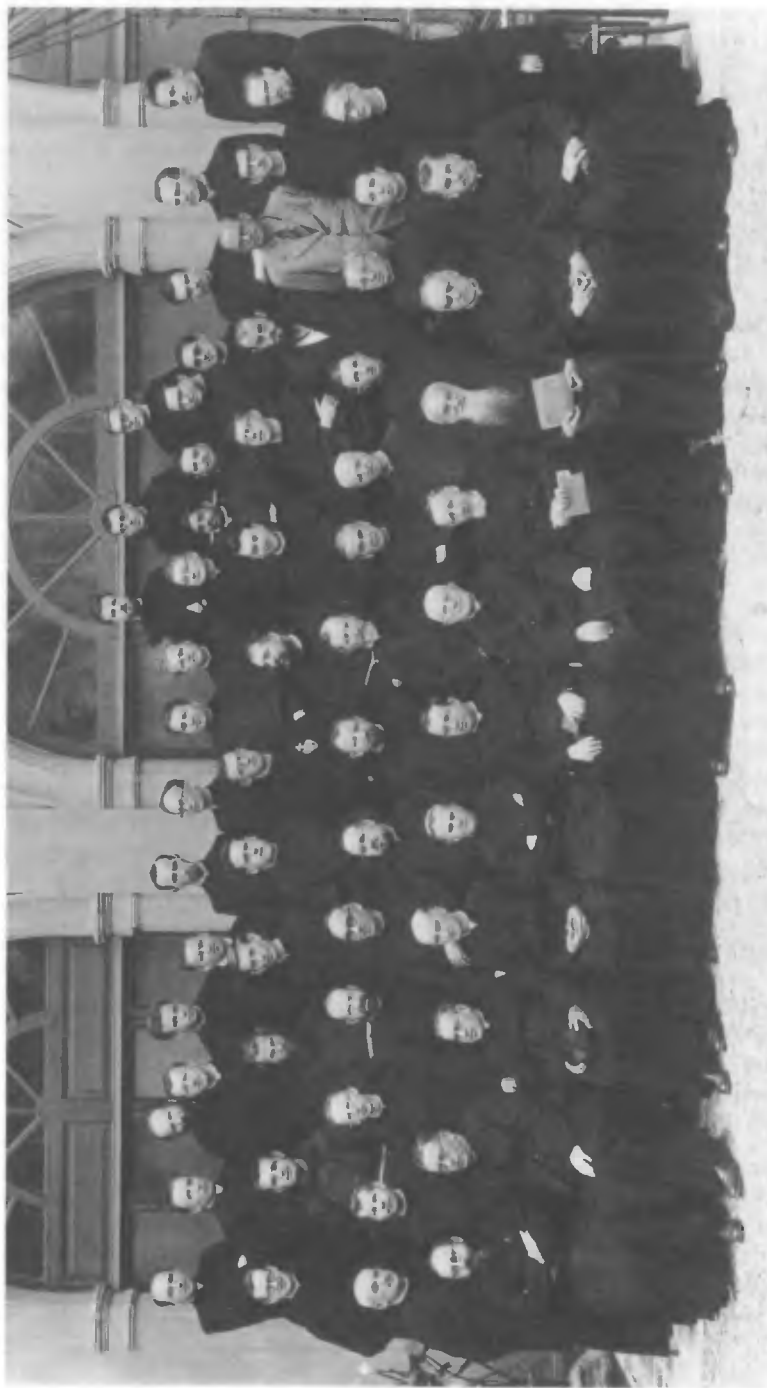
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SERMONS ET CONFÉRENCES SPIRITUELLES

Le P. Hausherr s'adonna toute sa vie à l'activité pastorale, comme prédicateur dans les paroisses ou lors de retraites, en tant que directeur spirituel ou conférencier. Il répondait volontiers aux invitations des moniales et il nous reste de nombreux témoignages de cette longue fréquentation. Nous en offrons ci-après un échantillon, des textes d'Hausherr publiés par le Bénédictines de l'Abbaye Sainte Scholastique de Civitella San Paolo 00060 (Rome), dans leur revue *Monastica*.

Projeté par le Bienheureux Ildephonse Schuster O.S.B. (1880-1954) lorsqu'il était Abbé de St-Paul-Hors-les-Murs et président de l'Institut Pontifical Oriental, le monastère de Civitella se trouve aux pieds du Mont Soratte, au nord de Rome. La première Abbesse, Mère Andréa Bonnafous O.S.B., était venue de Sainte Scholastique de Dourgne, pendant féminin de l'Abbaye de Saint Benoît d'En Calcat. Elle invitait souvent le P. Hausherr à donner des conférences et des exercices spirituels. Dès sa fondation, la revue du monastère a transmis par écrit certains de ces textes. En voici quelques titres, dans

l'ordre chronologique de publication, pour montrer quel fut le rayonnement pastoral d'Hausherr et comment il se poursuit encore aujourd'hui.

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* NB Tous ces documents sont conservés dans les Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, 15 rue Raymond Marcheron, 92170 Vanves. Archiviste: Robert Bonfils, S.J., tél. +33146455166, e-mail: sjvanves@jesuites.com.

Irénée Hausherr nei ricordi di un discepolo

Accanto ai *Dialoghi* di Platone si leggono anche gli *Apomnemoneumata Sokratou*, che ci introducono meglio alla conoscenza della persona di Platone. Allora anch'io voglio presentare nella mia relazione una specie di *Apomnemoneumata Hausherrou*. Saranno ricordi del tutto personali; poiché ho vissuto accanto a p. Hausherr una quarantina di anni, lo considero come un mio vero maestro, con cui scambiavamo spesso idee ed esperienze.

LE LEZIONI ALL'ISTITUTO ORIENTALE

Il primo contatto avvenne a scuola. A dire sinceramente, o per confessare il mio peccato, all'inizio non capivo troppo il senso delle sue lezioni. Divideva il suo corso in tre anni, non dava dispense, si aveva così l'impressione che si trattasse di "quaestiunculae" particolari. Certe sue dispense si potevano acquistare al mercato nero. Furono fatte da p. Wetter, rettore del Russicum, quando frequentava le lezioni di Hausherr; ma quest'ultimo non gradiva affatto l'iniziativa.

Io ho iniziato a frequentare il suo corso quando il padre stava spiegando la differenza fra le passioni e i pensieri cattivi. Non capivo il contesto. Si riusciva ad indovinare il senso dei suoi insegnamenti particolareggiati solo più tardi.

Destinato ad insegnare a Roma "spiritualità orientale," senza che — diceva lui — ciò dipendesse da una sua iniziativa o da una sua colpa, non trovava nessun libro soddisfacente sul quale appoggiarsi. Cercava quindi prima di raccogliere dei temi che gli parevano caratteristici per la materia, e quindi, lentamente, passo a passo, tentava di collocarli in un ordine che aiutasse ad offrire un'immagine integrale. Ma per molto tempo non pensava di poter giungere a questo. Alla fine p. Raes, rettore dell'Istituto, temeva che l'insegnamento di Hausherr si disperdesse in frammenti, riuscì così a convincere il padre a permettere di registrare e poi trascrivere alla meglio le sue lezioni di tre anni. Che fine fecero questi fogli? Venne a Roma J. Kirchmeyer che entrava nella redazione del *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. Egli portò il materiale con sé a Parigi, lo sistemò, aggiunse i testi bene citati e così sorse l'articolo, o piuttosto il trattato, perché è di una insolita

lunghezza: *Grecque (Église)*¹. Non si può dire che p. Hausherr abbia preso questo fatto con soddisfazione, ma fu, senza dubbio un'opera buona, perché la salute del padre s'indeboliva assai.

DICTIONNAIRE DE SPIRITUALITÉ

Ciò ci conduce a menzionare un altro aspetto della sua attività. Si sa che la collaborazione di Hausherr con il *Dictionnaire* nacque fin dall'inizio. Già nel primo volume troviamo il suo articolo *Arménienne (spiritualité)*², tema che a quel tempo nessuno osava affrontare, e poi *Biographies spirituelles. Epoque byzantine*³. Spesso inoltre indicava le voci da svolgere e alcune di esse sono state fatte dagli altri usando semplicemente il materiale di Hausherr. Così si può dire che è suo merito se l'Oriente cristiano è così degnamente presentato nel pregiato dizionario.

SCELTA DEI TEMI PER LE GRANDI OPERE

Veniamo ora alle sue grandi opere. Sono dedicate a temi particolari. Secondo quale criterio furono scelti? Quando glielo si chiedeva, rispondeva vagamente: "Per puro caso, mi è cascato tra le mani". Ma si sentiva dal tono della voce che evitava una risposta diretta. Compresi il suo atteggiamento quando andai da lui per scegliere il tema per la tesi. Me ne offrì subito uno: la spiritualità di Fozio. Purtroppo il tema era già occupato da un altro che sperava di finirlo, ma poi non lo finì. In questa situazione io presi Giuseppe di Volokolamsk. Padre Hausherr lo accettò con un sospiro e con una nota ironica: "Su quante cose inutili si lavora e si scrivono libri!" Con la scelta della mia tesi si riconciliò solo più tardi e mi aiutò nella stesura, quando si convinse che questo autore, che gli sembrava banale, ebbe una grande importanza per il concetto della tradizione dominante presso i Russi. I suoi consigli erano sempre ispirati da un solo principio che si direbbe proveniente dalla filosofia dei valori: se si mettono troppo in rilievo le cose non importanti, perdono di valore quelle che sono importanti e si falsifica la visione della realtà. Quando gli mostravo il testo di ciò che avevo già scritto più che ad aggiungere qualcosa, mi in-

¹ Vol. VI, col. 808-872,

² Col. 862-876.

³ Col. 1635-1646.

segnava a cancellare vari passi. Questo era il criterio, con cui lui stesso sceglieva i temi dei suoi studi.

Ma come indovinare che cosa si deve considerare importante, come distinguerlo da ciò che non ha grande valore? La scelta potrebbe dipendere da un motivo puramente soggettivo. P. Hausherr infatti giustificava le sue scelte così: "Mi sembra, mi pare, non lo so...". Ma in realtà egli è stato sotto l'influsso di un suo "maestro nascosto" del quale non voleva parlare. Ma ora si può dire di chi si trattava: stimava moltissimo H. de Lubac. Non ne parlava, dato che a quel tempo, a Roma, il futuro cardinale era considerato di dubbia ortodossia. Ma in privato e sussurrando, Hausherr mi menzionava, con ammirazione quasi sacra, ciò che de Lubac sviluppava, sulle tracce di Origene, sul doppio senso delle Scritture: senso letterario e senso spirituale. Va da sé che per un professore di spiritualità il senso spirituale deve essere incomparabilmente superiore. Hausherr lo prese come suo principio, applicandolo non soltanto alla lettura della Bibbia, ma anche alla lettura dei testi patristici.

In questo contesto si può considerare come una nascosta confessione autografico-metodologica l'articolo di Hausherr che egli non permise fosse pubblicato con il suo nome, ma con una camuffata traduzione in francese Lemaitre, redatto insieme ad altri. Lo troviamo in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* nella voce generale *Contemplation chez les Orientaux chrétiens*⁴. Si legge il testo di Massimo il Confessore su come uno arriva alla conoscenza spirituale: "Come un agricoltore che cerca un posto idoneo a piantarvi un albero selvaggio, all'improvviso trova un tesoro nascosto..."⁵. È quindi una illuminazione, una ispirazione che suppone una connaturalità di chi legge. Ma soprattutto in quell'articolo troviamo bene spiegata la distinzione fra *gnosis*, scienza qualsiasi, e *theoria*, conoscenza spirituale. Era la questione che occupava Hausherr tutta la vita. Ma come presentarsi al forum scientifico con ciò che non è frutto di analisi testuale, ma di una illuminazione ispirativa?

COME GIUSTIFICARE A LIVELLO SCIENTIFICO UNA ISPIRAZIONE PERSONALE ILLUMINANTE IL SENSO DI QUALCHE TESTO?

La soluzione di questo problema appare considerando i contatti che Hausherr aveva con amici. Nominiamo in primo luogo J. Daniélou. Si stimavano molto, ma nacque fra loro anche un grazioso di-

⁴ Vol. II,2, col. 1762-1872.

⁵ *Centurie gnostiche* I,17, PG 90, 1089 a.

verbio. Daniélou caratterizzò uno scritto di Hausherr dicendo: "Ottimo, peccato che il francese non sia buono". Venne la risposta di Hausherr in riferimento a qualche articolo di Daniélou: "Il francese è ottimo, peccato che il contenuto sia meno buono". Qui si può notare che a Hausherr, Alsaziano, non piacevano per niente le correzioni del suo francese, soprattutto se gli venivano fatte a Roma e provenivano da qualche Fiammingo. Ma mettiamo da parte i pettegolezzi; Hausherr stimava moltissimo Daniélou proprio per le sue ispirazioni penetranti. Mi raccomandava soprattutto le sue lezioni su Origene. Ma conosceva anche le critiche mosse a Daniélou a causa delle sue citazioni di testi, citazioni che erano considerate sommarie e del tutto insufficienti come prove. Come rimediare a questo difetto?

Hausherr propagò il metodo che in seguito H. Crouzel applicò ai suoi studi su Origene: una globalizzazione delle citazioni può dimostrare che certi pensieri esprimono la costante convinzione dell'autore che predomina, o come gli autori orientali dicono, mostrano il cuore a differenza della testa che è mutabile: in essa passano certi pensieri passeggeri senza importanza.

Per Hausherr si trattava, per così dire, di una globalizzazione assai ampia. Cercava non soltanto il pensiero costante di un certo autore, ma il pensiero spirituale universalmente valido che lo Spirito Santo ispira a quelli che lo accettano. Applicava alle sue letture ciò che con tanta insistenza Origene affermava della Sacra Scrittura: gli autori sono differentissimi, i sensi letterari dei loro trattati molto vari, eppure ciò che costituisce il senso spirituale dei testi è uno solo: Cristo nella sua pienezza e nella sua unità. Ed è proprio questa unità universale del pensiero che prova la sua spiritualità autentica. Per vedere come Hausherr applicava questo metodo, è sufficiente aprire qualsiasi suo libro, vg. il *Penthos*⁶. Con che spontaneità passa da un asceta siriano antico ad un dotto scrittore bizantino, tornando ad un Padre greco dopo la citazione di Efrem!

Come spiegare che autori di tante epoche diverse con convinzioni filosofiche spesso erronee e spinti da circostanze imprevedibili, concordano meravigliosamente quando pronunciano un pensiero veramente spirituale? È il miracolo dello Spirito presente e attivo nella Chiesa. Per questo motivo Hausherr raccomandava caldamente di attribuire la dovuta importanza ai semplici monaci spirituali e non si stupiva che questi fossero nemici degli "scrutatori" e dei dotti interpreti della fede.

⁶ *Penthos. La doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient chrétien*, OCA 132, Roma 1944.

CONFRONTO FRA I DUE MODI DI LEGGERE I TESTI

Il confronto fra i due sensi di lettura non deve essere necessariamente polemico. Lo posso illustrare nuovamente con un ricordo personale. Quando ho cominciato a scrivere il mio libro *La sophiologie de S. Basile*⁷, ho scelto anch'io il metodo globale per ritrovare i pensieri spirituali costanti in Basilio. In quel tempo avevo relazioni di amicizia con il grande "basilologo" J. Gribomont, che lavorava sui testi dell'*Asceticon* basiliano con una acutissima analisi letteraria. Va da sé che i nostri metodi di lavoro differivano assai. Finito il libro, glielo offrii, chiedendogli se per caso volesse scriverne una recensione. Egli abbozzò due pagine critiche, ma per amicizia non le volle pubblicare, ma io gli offrivò tutta la libertà di dire il suo parere. Alla fine abbiamo fatto un compromesso davanti a p. Hausherr. Gribomont ricobbe che ci sono due diversi approcci ai testi patristici, così come alla S. Scrittura: analisi letteraria e ricerca del senso spirituale. Da quel tempo con Gribomont abbiamo lavorato insieme non poco nella stesura di voci del *Dizionario degli Istituti di perfezione*.

OPERE PRINCIPALI: DIRECTION SPIRITUELLE EN ORIENT AUTREFOIS⁸

Ma torniamo all'opera di Hausherr. La ben nota teologa tedesca F. von Lilienfeld usava i suoi libri volentieri nei lavori di seminario alla facoltà evangelica di Erlangen. Mi chiese parecchie volte i testi di Hausherr, anche fotocopiati. Ben ricordo la sua valutazione: "Deve essere uomo molto spirituale se è riuscito a scoprire il puro senso spirituale del *pénthos* nel putiferio dei testi penitenziali della Chiesa orientale, dove altri lettori sempre si perdevano".

L'uomo spirituale! Ma chi può essere considerato tale, e quale è la sua funzione essenziale nella Chiesa? Hausherr dedica alla questione il suo studio *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois*. Quando il libro uscì, fu subito notato da Mons. Cecchetti, della S. Congregazione degli studi. Appena uscì il libro citato di Hausherr, subito se ne procurò un esemplare. Disse soltanto con un sospiro: "*En Orient autrefois!* Quanto abbiamo bisogno di un tale studio non soltanto *en Orient autrefois*, ma anche in Occidente oggi, per sapere quale è la vera funzione dei padri spirituali nella formazione del clero!" La Congregazione, spinta da Pio XII, organizzò un grande convegno, a quel tempo, dei padri spirituali dei seminari italiani dove si cercava di

⁷ Roma 1961, OCA 162.

⁸ OCA 144, Roma 1955.

tracciare, laboriosamente, la distinzione tra superiori e padri spirituali ma dove si insisteva anche nell'affermare che il buon padre spirituale non è lo stesso che un confessore ben formato in dottrina morale secondo lo spirito di sant'Alfonso. Purtroppo in quel grande convegno dei padri spirituali non c'era una persona capace di spiegarlo. Il libro di Hausherr appariva a quel riguardo illuminante. Se vi è una doppia lettura dei testi dogmatici, letteraria e spirituale, incontriamo lo stesso doppio atteggiamento nell'applicazione delle leggi morali nella relazione personale con gli uomini.

STUDI SULL'ESICASMO

Se pratichiamo un doppio atteggiamento in relazione agli altri, non è forse questo un riflesso della nostra vita personale che vacilla fra due atteggiamenti interiori? Vi è dentro di noi uno sforzo morale che ci spinge a vivere secondo natura, cioè secondo la ragione, secondo le leggi giuste; ma sentiamo anche un impulso continuo a vivere secondo la libertà, secondo la persona che grazie alla vocazione divina è irripetibile. Nell'Oriente cristiano queste due esigenze si scontravano, o dialogavano in forma di continua dialettica, fra la vita secondo la disciplina cenobitica e la libertà degli esitasti. Si sa che l'esicismo, insieme a Gregorio Palamas, è stato considerato da parecchi come una deviazione sospetta. P. Hausherr intuì fin dall'inizio che i veri aspetti positivi di questo grande movimento devono ancora essere messi in luce.

Forse fu un caso che il suo primo libro fu un'edizione critica del famoso testo di Niceforo: *La Méthode d'oraison hésychaste*⁹. "Non credevo che qualcuno l'avesse letto", disse più tardi, irritato dall'incomprensione di M. Lot-Borodine e di V. Losskij, per cui Hausherr era come se avesse scelto la parte degli avversari dell'esicismo, mentre egli di fatto è divenuto in seguito uno dei suoi migliori interpreti. Fu perciò molto contento, quando diedi alla ristampa alcuni suoi articoli dispersi con il titolo *Hésychasme et prière*¹⁰.

Egli trovò il vero fondamento della tendenza esicasta nella mistica evagriana. E non fu per niente contento quando fu per questo criticato. Preferiva tacere sul fatto che un teologo così illustre come era H. Urs von Balthasar non apprezzasse il giudizio positivo sul "grande

⁹ OC IX,2, Roma 1927.

¹⁰ OCA 176, Roma 1966.

teologo del deserto” e neanche l’interpretazione di Massimo Confessore, esposta nella *Philautie*¹¹.

Quest’ultimo libro era personalmente caro allo stesso Hausherr perché trattava in modo facile e leggibile il suo amato Massimo Confessore, che nei testi originali, ripresi nella *Filocalia*, sembra complicatissimo e che nelle analisi dotte di Urs von Balthasar non si chiarisce.

PUBBLICAZIONI PARENETICHE

Certo, quando si leggono i testi con atteggiamenti diversi, c’è sempre il pericolo di non comprendersi. E questo era senza dubbio ciò che rendeva Hausherr stranamente timido nell’intavolare un colloquio aperto sui propri libri e sulle proprie idee con altri professori, non esclusi quelli della sua stessa casa. Sospettavano fosse un solitario, chiuso: “Si apre soltanto alle devote suore, non a noi” notavano maliziosamente alcuni. Ma questa caratteristica apparente aveva un motivo particolare. Hausherr era molto convinto che le cose spirituali possono e anche devono essere spiegate al popolo senza il peso dell’apparato scientifico, riteneva che questa attività parenetica (meglio che divulgativa) è molto utile ai professori che analizzano i testi scientificamente. S’indovina facilmente la ragione per cui questa doppia attività gli pareva tanto raccomandabile per i dotti professori. Purtroppo Hausherr non era sempre apprezzato per questo suo atteggiamento. Da allora dette le sue belle meditazioni solo ad alcune suore, che le pubblicarono in alcune rivistine, oggi sono introvabili; sembra addirittura che parecchi suoi testi finirono non si sa dove, senza mai vedere la luce. Per fortuna un suo ottimo abbozzo per uno studio su *éros* e *agape* fu salvato essendo offerto ad un’uditrice di Regina Mundi, che ne fece la sua tesi ad lauream¹².

LA SPIRITUALITÀ DEL CUORE?

D’altra parte Hausherr esercitò con me un bell’esercizio di consolatore e stimolatore quando io ero scoraggiato da simili difficoltà, avendo incominciato a scrivere sul cuore e sul ruolo fondamentale

¹¹ *Philautie. De la tendresse pour soi à la charité selon Maxime le Confesseur*, OCA 137, Roma 1952.

¹² M. M. Laurent, *Réalisme et richesse de l’amour chrétien. Essai sur Eros et Agape*, in *Studia Regina mundi* 1 (1961) 1.

dei sentimenti nella spiritualità russa. Oggi io capisco assai bene le difficoltà che sorsero. All'inizio di ogni anno si faceva ancora il giuramento contro il modernismo e si condannavano quelli che volevano far nascere la vita religiosa come *ex latebris subconscientiae prorumpit* e si insisteva sul fatto che la fede ha un consenso razionale. In quell'occasione ho avuto vari colloqui istruttivi con Hausherr su un tema a lui molto caro: il cuore come organo autentico della contemplazione spirituale e il valore dei sentimenti del cuore. Mi diede vari consigli saggi per evitare incomprensioni.

Dopo varie discussioni egli si conciliò anche con il fatto che io mi occupavo di spiritualità russa. All'inizio me lo sconsigliava, raccomandandomi caldamente di studiare l'armeno per poter scoprire tante belle cose sconosciute agli studiosi di spiritualità. Purtroppo però il mio studio dell'armeno finì alla pagina 17 del manuale linguistico. Io interpretavo un po' male l'atteggiamento negativo di Hausherr verso la spiritualità russa. Ma le sue ragioni erano le seguenti: i Russi si sono convertiti al cristianesimo tardi, come operai dell'ultima ora, i fondamentali concetti della spiritualità orientale erano dunque già formati in altri ambienti; i Russi quindi soltanto ripetevano ciò che si sapeva altrove già precedentemente. Ma alla fine furono proprio questi nostri colloqui sulla spiritualità del cuore che lo convinsero della grande attualità della spiritualità slava per il nostro tempo, se viene ben presentata.

Ciò ha una connessione anche con la sua vita spirituale personale. Conosciamo il suo articolo *Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale*¹³. Benché a suo tempo fosse assai apprezzato da Daniélou, quando io raccoglievo in un libro diversi articoli importanti di Hausherr, egli non voleva permettere che si pubblicasse. Non so perché. Ad ogni modo io poi l'ho utilizzato subito all'inizio del mio libro: *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien*¹⁴. Egli distingue tre correnti principali del tempo patristico: la spiritualità pratica, la spiritualità contemplativa, la spiritualità del soprannaturale conscio. Dopo aver sentito qua e là alcune piccole "rivelazioni", sono convinto che lui preferiva la terza: la spiritualità del cuore, del sentimento. Evidentemente era ben consapevole di quanto sia difficile parlare di essa. Perciò apprezzava il mio coraggio di mettermi a chiarire, in qualche modo, i termini che sembrano o banali o sospetti.

¹³ OCP 1 (1935) 114-138.

¹⁴ OCA 206, Roma 1978, pp. 21ss.

L'ATTUALITÀ DEI PENSIERI DI HAUSHERR

Oserò dire qualche pensiero sull'attualità dei principali pensieri di Hausherr.

Cominciamo con uno del tutto pratico che fu già, a suo tempo, molto apprezzato dalla Congregazione degli studi, attraverso Mons. Cecchetti. La pratica del sacramento della penitenza passa una grande crisi. Hausherr dimostrò che la causa è da cercare più a fondo: nella crisi della direzione spirituale. Quest'ultima, presso i primi monaci, era al centro della pedagogia ascetica della vita e nei tempi delle crisi essa era mezzo efficace di risveglio. Lo si può illustrare con un esempio tratto dalla storia del monachesimo russo. Sappiamo che, dopo un primo entusiasmo, apparve nel quattrocento un periodo di decadenza. Sorsero allora due grandi riformatori: Giuseppe di Volokolamsk e Nil Sorskij. Uno si potrebbe designare con il linguaggio dei nostri tempi come tradizionalista, l'altro come innovatore carismatico. Chi di questi ebbe successo? Ambedue, ma solo per una o due generazioni, poi di nuovo apparve la decadenza. Il vero rinnovamento del monachesimo russo avvenne solo più tardi con l'apparizione di grandi padri spirituali, gli *startsi*. Il libro di Hausherr *Direction spirituelle* mostra in modo penetrante la loro funzione e le loro caratteristiche.

Altro fenomeno del nostro tempo: l'interesse inconsueto per i "metodi fisici" dei neoesicasti e per le meditazioni orientali non cristiane. Hausherr, interrogato spesso a questo proposito, non voleva mai rispondere. Affermava bruscamente: "Di queste cose io non mi occupo." Un solo suo articolo va in questa direzione, quando si riporta che gli era stato domandato se non è forse vicino a queste pratiche ciò che dice sant'Ignazio nel suo "terzo modo di pregare": armonizzare le parole della preghiera con il respiro. La sua risposta è conforme al suo atteggiamento generale: è la preghiera interiore che sente il bisogno di esprimersi così, ma è sbagliato credere che con qualche metodo fisico si raggiunga la preghiera¹⁵. Egli fu molto contento quando gli mostrai i testi di Teofane il Recluso, russo, che è perfettamente del suo parere. E quando gli feci notare che Teofane disprezza quelli che credono di aver trovato nella Preghiera di Gesù un "talismano", egli commentò con una sola parola: "Magnifico!" La risposta fu in armonia con il suo studio *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison*¹⁶.

¹⁵ *Les Exercices Spirituels de Saint Ignace et la méthode d'oraison hésychastique*, OCP 20 (1954) 7-26.

¹⁶ OCA 157, Roma 1960.

LA FEDE E LA RAGIONE

Lo spirituale non si deve confondere con il fisico, ma neanche con l'intellettuale puramente umano. Mi è capitato, per puro caso, tra le mani un recente libro di un professore tedesco di psichiatria Daniel Hell: *Seelenhunger. Der fühlende Mensch und die Wissenschaften vom Leben*¹⁷. La tesi dominante sostiene che mentre da Aristotele l'anima fu considerata come principio di vita, per la società moderna la funzione dell'anima è ridotta al solo modo di pensare astratto. Come cercavo di dimostrare, lo sforzo continuo di Hausherr era quello di liberare la conoscenza umana dal giogo dell'astrattismo e di inserirla nella vita.

Quando è uscita l'enciclica *Fides et ratio*, mi fu chiesto dall'*Osservatore romano*¹⁸ di scrivere un commento da parte degli Orientali (è questa, sembra, la prima enciclica pontificia, dove sono nominati autori ortodossi). Osavo, nello spirito di Hausherr, rovesciare un po' la problematica: non c'è dubbio che la fede usa la ragione, ma il grande problema del nostro tempo è rendersi conto che la ragione ha bisogno di essere inserita nella vita per mezzo della fede e per mezzo dell'atteggiamento spirituale personale, utilizzato soprattutto dai santi.

Infatti leggendo i testi patristici, Hausherr si interessava meno di ciò che i termini potrebbero significare in sé, che di come essi erano vissuti dai santi. Di ciò abbiamo un'analogia attuale. Quando si preparava la redazione ufficiale del recente *Catechismo cattolico*, il cardinale di Vienna Schoenborn, uno dei principali collaboratori, insisteva affinché vi fosse inserito qualche testo della piccola Teresina di Gesù. Gli facevano obiezione rilevando che ciò sarebbe stato un elemento disturbante nello stile degli insegnamenti teoretici. Ma Schoenborn insisteva dicendo: Abbiamo bisogno almeno di un accenno al fatto che il vero valore di questi insegnamenti si acquista dalla visione di come sono stati vissuti.

Permettemi di usare una illustrazione strana. Esiste una poesia di un giovane poeta ceco di nome J. Wolker. Egli amava leggere le poesie sul mare, ma purtroppo non aveva mai visto il mare. Finalmente riuscì ad arrivare a Krk, rocciosa isola della Croazia. Fu deluso? Difficile dirlo. Scrive solo che per sei giorni su quell'isola di rocce cercava il mare: "Ma il mare non l'ho trovato. Ho visto soltanto un uccello blu (così gli appariva il mare) che ogni mattina si svegliava e ogni sera s'addormentava fra le pietre." Ma il settimo giorno, quando suona-

¹⁷ Bern 2003.

¹⁸ Cf. *Per una lettura dell'Enciclica Fides et ratio*, Città del Vaticano 1999, pp. 236-243.

vano le campane, il poeta ha detto di aver trovato il mare negli occhi dei marinai che “costruiscono” il vero mare e dal mare sono “costruiti”.

Alla luce di questa parabola la spiritualità orientale appariva come un grande mare, ma Hausherr lo cercava negli occhi dei marinai-santi, autori spesso lontani, sconosciuti, ma divenuti negli studi di Hausherr vivi testimoni del mare divino.

I MONACI ORIENTALI E L'ECUMENISMO

Mi pare che questa sia una buona occasione per aggiungere un pensiero di Hausherr sul contesto ecumenico. All'inizio, quando si cominciava a parlare di convegni ecumenici, lui sembrava assai scettico e commentava la cosa dicendo: “I buoni monaci evitavano tali discussioni, sapendo che erano contro la carità”. Ma fu provocato da un difensore dell'ecumenismo con un'osservazione maligna: “Sappiamo, che i suoi buoni monaci erano sempre avversari accaniti degli sforzi unionistici, erano contro l'unione delle Chiese.” Ciò suscitò ad Hausherr la voglia di scrivere qualche cosa sul contributo dei monaci orientali per l'unità della Chiesa. Di ciò conserviamo solo una bozza di una conferenza che Hausherr fece leggere ad un'altra persona¹⁹. È quindi una questione che sembra bizzarra.

“Ma ogni teologia che è sollecita a rispettare la pietà — scrive Gregorio Palamas — si vede costretta ad affermare ogni tanto una cosa e poi un'altra, quando l'una e l'altra sono vere; ma contraddirsi in queste affermazioni è proprietà degli uomini del tutto privi d'intelligenza.” E ancora: “È necessario tener l'equilibrio fra i due membri dell'antinomia”²⁰.

L'antinomia sulla quale desideriamo ora fissare la nostra attenzione è la seguente. Una quantità enorme di discorsi che abbiamo sentito si concentra su questa tesi: Gesù Cristo, per mezzo del suo Spirito, ha fondato una Chiesa divino-umana, indivisa. Ma intervennero le debolezze e i peccati umani che da secoli lacerano l'unica tunica del Salvatore. Ma il problema si può affrontare anche dalla parte opposta in questa forma: Gesù, con la sua venuta e con il suo Spirito venne nel mondo per ricondurre all'unità con il Padre il genere umano disgregato dal peccato. E questa disgregazione originale appare dall'inizio fino ad oggi anche nella Chiesa. L'opera unificante di

¹⁹ *Spiritualité monacale et unité chrétienne*, in *Monachismo orientale*, OCA 153, Roma 1958, pp. 15-32.

²⁰ *Theophanes...*, PG 90, 917 AB.

Cristo è storica e progressiva, la sua perfezione sarà escatologica. Questo ci spinge a guardare in avanti, ma anche dietro le nostre spalle. È utile ricordare ciò che è già stato fatto, per rendere giustizia agli uomini santi che portarono nella storia pietre preziose per la costruzione dell'unico tempio di Dio. Il contributo dei monaci dell'Oriente a questa opera dell'unione, affermò Hausherr, è senza dubbio notevole. Dato che la conferenza menzionata è solo un abbozzo, cercherò di mettere maggiormente in rilievo alcuni aspetti fondamentali che sviluppano il pensiero in questa direzione.

Il primo punto, tipicamente hausherriano, si può esprimere così: i monaci santi erano in ricerca assidua del senso spirituale di tutto ciò che leggevano e assorbivano. In tal modo diffondevano spontaneamente un senso per l'unità nascosta e misteriosa che passava facilmente i limiti delle Chiese istituzionalmente separate. Hausherr amava illustrarlo con gli esempi concreti dell'Abate Isaia e soprattutto di Evagrio. Quest'ultimo, condannato dai greci, ritornò nella sua patria con il nome misterioso di Isacco Siro o di Pseudo-Nilo, i cui aforismi sulla preghiera sono stati così bene commentati da Hausherr in *Les leçons d'un contemplatif*²¹.

Sulle differenze fra la spiritualità orientale e l'occidentale posso raccontare un bizzarro episodio. Un ecclesiastico, studioso, tornando dalla Grecia si fermò a Roma. Avvicinò Hausherr per mostrargli la sua grande scoperta. Disse di aver visto che in alcuni conventi, sia maschili che femminili, usavano per promuovere la vita interiore un testo spirituale copiato a mano. Il nostro studioso non si risparmiò, lo copiò anche lui. Promise di fare l'analisi di questo testo per scoprire concretamente le essenziali differenze fra spiritualità latina e greca. Hausherr sfogliò il testo superficialmente e cominciò a ridere. Si trattava del *Combattimento spirituale* di Scupoli, tradotto in greco da Nicodemo Agiorita. Il buon religioso poteva risparmiarsi la fatica di copiarlo a mano, perché lo poteva comprare, per poche dracme, stampato, in qualsiasi libreria di Atene. Allora se la spiritualità scopre così facilmente la sua identità fondamentale, è certamente merito dei buoni monaci sia occidentali che orientali.

L'ASPETTO SPIRITUALE DELLE RELAZIONI PERSONALI

Con la ricerca del senso spirituale delle diverse espressioni concettuali della fede cristiana i monaci preparavano anche il terreno per il

²¹ Parigi 1960.

contatto spirituale fra le persone, per relazioni che sono più forti di quelle fondate sull'unità giuridica e istituzionale. Un tale atteggiamento non si impara da congressi e discussioni, ma dalla vita comune, perfezionando i mutui contatti nel proprio ambiente. Sappiamo che all'inizio i monaci erano piuttosto pessimisti a questo riguardo. Gli eremiti dichiararono per bocca di Arsenio: "Non posso stare con voi e con Dio. Lassù in alto chiliadi e iriadi (di angeli) hanno un solo volere, invece gli uomini hanno voleri molteplici. E perciò non posso abbandonare Dio e andare con gli uomini"²².

Ciò nonostante già accanto all'eremita Antonio sta Pacomio. Anche lui è convinto che la vita monastica deve essere *monotropos*, esemplarmente unificata dentro di sé e con Dio. Da vero discendente dell'Egitto faraonico, trova il metodo efficace di unificazione: l'uniformità rigida raggiunta per mezzo della regola. Non riusciamo oggi a leggerla senza essere scossi da un brivido: tutto vi è prescritto: come alzarsi, come sedersi... per i disobbedienti si usava persino "l'ascetismo della bastonata". Per fortuna san Basilio ebbe un'idea migliore sulla vita comune. I fratelli devono essere *sympsychoi*, della stessa anima, della stessa mente. Per raggiungere questo è sufficiente seguire come regola la Sacra Scrittura. Tuttavia anche lui la interpretò e col tempo furono aggiunte altre prescrizioni dalle autorità ecclesiali e statali. Il risultato fu così edificante che si è stabilito un principio considerato santo: *Serva regulam et regula servabit te*. Anche noi oggi siamo pronti a credere nell'infallibilità di questo principio? E in concreto: che cosa ne pensava Hausherr?

Egli ha affrontato questo problema espressamente in uno scritto che, purtroppo, non è stato sufficientemente apprezzato. È stato pubblicato solo in *Orientalia cristiana*, mai ristampato; si tratta di *Saint Théodore Studite. L'homme et ascète d'après ses Catéchèses*²³. Penso che dovrebbe essere messo ancor più in evidenza.

Vi sono parecchi studi sulla Regola degli studiti, divenuta tanto diffusa. Ma Hausherr ha compreso bene quale è stato il problema fondamentale di questo grande riformatore della vita monastica. La sua vocazione, passata la persecuzioni da parte degli iconoclasti, era quella di riunire nel convento di Studios i monaci che durante la persecuzione erano stati dispersi. Molti di essi furono confessori di fede, ma li aspettava un altro martirio: abituarsi di nuovo a vivere nel monastero con una vita disciplinata. Perciò Teodoro usò il salutare me-

²² PG 65,62 A.

²³ OC VI,1, Roma 1926.

dicamento della disciplina e della regola, ben dettagliata, dove tutto era organizzato e controllato.

Ma lui stesso non poteva sentirsi a suo agio, perché era abituato ad un altro tipo di vita. Quando era piccolo, per lui l'unica regola e autorità era sua madre. Di suo padre egli parlava solo attribuendogli il titolo onorifico di: marito di mia madre. L'uomo che egli chiama padre, lo incontrò più tardi al monastero, nella persona dello zio materno, Platone, che lo introdusse alla vita monastica al modo in cui egli era abituato: con confidenze personali, dandogli permessi speciali, al punto che gli altri si scandalizzavano nel vedere queste "trasgressioni" della disciplina. E ora, quando Teodoro divenne ad un tratto un grande igumeno, doveva forse agire e sentirsi come un "severo poliziotto della regola"? Non gli conveniva. Ma d'altra parte la supremazia della regola in quella situazione appariva indispensabile. Egli trovò ben presto la soluzione a questa antinomia. La regola è regola, per farla applicare nei casi concreti, egli istituì vari funzionari particolari per ogni opera. Ma per se stesso egli riservò la funzione di "padre" dei suoi sudditi, ascoltando ogni sera le loro confidenze, restando con loro in dialogo continuo. Questa funzione non è giuridica e perciò non vuole impostare la disciplina. È la scoperta di poter realizzare l'unità fra due elementi apparentemente difficili da unire: disciplina legale e paternità spirituale.

Non è stato forse in questo precursore del Vaticano II, quando i Padri votarono la collegialità dichiarando preventivamente che essa non tocca la questione giuridica della struttura ecclesiale? Il monastero cenobitico era concepito dall'inizio come una piccola Chiesa esemplare. Deve quindi insegnare ai cristiani come unire l'antinomia fra la stabilità delle leggi e la libertà delle relazioni personali.

Sappiamo che l'unione di una tale aperta antinomia è possibile soltanto quando la società umana si considererà come riflesso della SS. Trinità. Non a caso, Evagrio stabilì come supremo grado di teologia la contemplazione della SS. Trinità²⁴. Gli studiosi di Evagrio conoscono questa sua definizione, ma preferiscono non spiegarla troppo e non ne traggono conclusioni pratiche. Non lo dicono, ma forse in segreto pensano come Kant che disse che alcuni pretendono di comprendere il mistero della Trinità in qualche modo, altri dicono che non lo comprendono ma lo credono, ma né per gli uni né per gli altri questa fede può significare qualche cosa di concreto per la vita pratica.

²⁴ *Le traité pratique*, Prol., SC 171 (1971), p. 501.

Una tale posizione scandalizzava assai p. Hausherr, che più spesso sospirava: "Se il primo principio della nostra fede non ha conseguenze primarie per la nostra vita concreta, allora dove siamo arrivati?" Perciò godeva molto quando gli mostrai i miei estratti di Pavel Florenskij, che a quel tempo non suscitava ancora interesse. Purtroppo Hausherr non ebbe neanche la consolazione di leggere *Lumen gentium* del Vaticano II, dove la Chiesa è presentata come riflesso della SS. Trinità sulla terra proprio perché deve essere dialogale e collegiale.

POST SCRIPTUM

Per non fare troppe considerazioni post-hausherriane, finisco i miei ricordi personali a questo punto. Ma la tentazione mi spinge ad aggiungere ancora una brevissima nota. Che cosa dovrei ancora aggiungere dei miei contatti personali con Hausherr? Il suo aspetto esterno dava un'impressione molto seria, ma ciò nonostante amava molto gli scherzi, ben sapendo che i Padri monastici li condannavano severamente. Quando volevo qualche cosa da lui, cominciavo spesso con l'introduzione che gli volevo raccontare una recente barzeletta. Lui faceva una smorfia disprezzante, ma poi aggiungeva sottovoce: "Sentiamo di nuovo qualche apospidligma". Ma ora io, per non aumentare gli apospidligmata, finisco i miei modesti ricordi davvero a questo punto!

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Tomáš Card. Špidlík, S.J.

Due Diari di Irénée Hausherr

Il 5 Dicembre 1978 moriva a Colmar, capoluogo dell'Alto Reno, Irénée Hausherr. Era nato nella stessa circoscrizione, a Eguisheim, 87 anni prima. Lasciava i frutti di un assiduo lavoro su un tema prima di lui non affrontato come disciplina autonoma e adulta, la spiritualità cristiana orientale¹. Hausherr è noto ai più attraverso i suoi scritti. Vivono ancora molti che lo hanno incontrato personalmente. Ma pochi conoscono i suoi diari inediti.

Il ritrovamento di due diari di Hausherr ha del provvidenziale. Fin da quando incominciai le ricerche per la tesi dottorale su Hausherr, ero convinta che uno studioso "di cultura scritta", come lui, affidasse il suo genio, le sue intuizioni e le sue confidenze, non solo ad appunti accademici, ma pure a documenti e note, di natura personale e riservata, una specie di diario o qualcosa che non escludesse comunque l'aspetto di "giornale dell'anima". Ero del resto convinta che Hausherr, lasciando Roma per motivi di salute alla metà degli anni '70, (1975-1976) e tornando nella sua terra natale a Colmar, portasse con sé carte private che difficilmente si lasciano in giro. Alcuni confratelli di lui mi avevan parlato di un altro periodo della sua vita, in cui Hausherr aveva dovuto lasciare Roma, ma per cause diverse da quelle che ultrassettantenne, lo inducevano a partire da Roma per i suoi acciacchi. Negli anni '40 infatti, durante la seconda guerra mondiale, aveva dovuto abbandonare Roma quando l'Italia aveva dichiarato guerra alla Francia. Pensavo che già in quel periodo di allontanamento da Roma, divenuta la sua sede di lavoro a partire dal 1927, Hausherr reagisse alla solitudine e allo sradicamento forzato, affidando alle carte le sue idee di studioso e le sue riflessioni spirituali. E ora che se ne andava forse per sempre da Roma in una casa di riposo, Home du Florimont Ingersheim presso Colmar, avrebbe portato con

¹ Cfr. J. M. Majer et Y. M. Hilaire, *Dictionnaire du Monde Religieux, dans la France contemporaine*, 1) *Les Jésuites*, éd., Beauchesne, sous la direction de Paul Duclos, 146-147; V. Poggi, "I. Hausherr", *Osservatore Romano* 5.12.1978; T. Špidlík, "In Memoriam I. Hausherr S.J.", OCP 45 (1979) 160ss.; RHE 1980, 216; DHGE 23 (1989) 553-554; H. Beylard, *Hausherr, Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, Roma - Comillas 2001, 1886-1887.

sé i diari intimi che aveva scritto in quel tempo e, forse, altri diari consimili. Come un archeologo che indovina il luogo di una città sepolta, anch'io ebbi l'intuizione che bisognava cercare a Colmar, ultima spiaggia, il luogo in cui Hausherr aveva portato con sé le sue carte intime e dove con tutta probabilità le aveva affidate a chi lo visitava in quella casa di riposo della sua terra natale. Infatti, una persona di mia fiducia, che andava da quelle parti, si presentò lassù a nome mio. Perorò con successo la mia causa, assicurando che il Pontificio Istituto Orientale sarebbe stato il luogo più adatto per conservare un diario di Hausherr, qualora ne avessero uno presso di loro. In poco tempo mi giunsero dall'Alsazia due diari di Hausherr.

QUANTI DIARI?

Non pretendo affatto di identificare i "due diari" che mi sono piovuti come dal cielo, con tutti "i diari" di Hausherr nel corso della sua vita. In una lettera spedita da Hausherr a Mons. Michel d'Herbigny da Bruxelles l'11 dicembre 1929, edita in questo volume da V. Poggi, Hausherr allude chiaramente alla redazione di note intime, personali.

Je pense quelquefois à des papiers que j'ai laissé dans l'armoire de la chambre que j'habitais l'année dernière. J'espère qu'ils ne gênent personne. Il y a certaines notes personnelles, dont la perte me serait plus sensible que toute autre.

Un'altra lettera di Hausherr inviata ancora a Mons. d'Herbigny, da Vallorbe, Cantone svizzero di Vaud, il giorno di pasqua, 5 aprile 1931, parla nuovamente di carte personali e chiede che in caso di morte siano distrutte o siano consegnate al Padre Louis Pouillier, che era stato il suo istruttore della terza probazione e lo aveva dissuaso dal distruggerle.

Le P. Lavigne a sans doute remis à Votre Grandeur un paquet de papiers que je n'aimerais pas savoir égarés. Je m'excuse de vous causer cet embarras. S'il arrivait que je trépassé d'ici l'automne, il n'y aurait qu'à brûler ces notes, ou à les envoyer au R.P. Pouillier qui est cause que je ne les ai pas brûlées encore.

Queste parole dimostrano che Hausherr aveva l'abitudine di esprimersi nei suoi diari fin dagli anni '20. Infatti incontrò il P. Pouillier a Florennes nel corso dell'anno scolastico 1926-1927, durante il perio-

do che termina la formazione sacerdotale chiamato nel lessico familiare gesuita “terzo anno di probazione”. Avevo intuito che quello degli anni '40, quando Hausherr aveva dovuto lasciare la sua cattedra e la sua dimora romana, doveva essere un periodo importante per la redazione di diari. Ma quelli che ho trovato non possono corrispondere a tutta la sua attività diaristica, come queste allusioni del suo epistolario suggeriscono. Attualmente so che nell'archivio dei gesuiti francesi si conservano diari di Hausherr che riguardano i periodi di tempo dal luglio 1941 al novembre 1942 e dal giugno 1955 al gennaio 1966. Mentre, quelli che ho recuperato, sono perfettamente situabili cronologicamente dall'11 novembre 1943 al 12 aprile 1944 e dal 23 aprile 1944 al 21 febbraio 1946. Si collocano perciò tra il primo e il secondo periodo dei diari custoditi nell'archivio dei gesuiti di Francia. Non si hanno notizie invece di diari precedenti che pure le lettere di Hausherr a d'Herbigny suppongono.

IL PRIMO DEI DIARI RITROVATI

Mi limito a prendere in considerazione i diari che ho ritrovati, e che sono ora depositati nell'archivio del Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Il primo, di minori dimensioni rispetto al secondo, è un tipico quaderno di scuola che ha sulla copertina sotto il titolo della serie “Sports”, e il sottotitolo “L'Aviron”, il disegno di un otto con timoniere e nel risvolto di copertina trenta righe di elogio del canottaggio. Il tutto ricoperto di carta da pacchi verde scura. Il formato del quaderno è di cm. 22,5 × 17. Le 56 facciate del quaderno, non numerate, sono tutte riempite di scrittura autografa di Hausherr, a penna. L'unico punto di riferimento per i testi redatti nel quaderno è costituito dalle date. E nelle citazioni testuali che ne darò in questa sede mi servirò appunto delle date per localizzare i testi cui mi riferisco. Si incomincia con il monogramma IHS e con la data 11 novembre 1943. L'ultima pagina si chiude con le parole latine, “Deo Patri gratias. Amen”, precedute dalla data 12 aprile 1944.

All'interno del quaderno ho trovato una lettera in francese proveniente dalla Segreteria di Stato in data 24 aprile 1956 con numero di protocollo 372752. Il sostituto della Segreteria di Stato, Mons. Angelo Dell'Acqua, ringrazia, Hausherr, da parte del Papa Pio XII, dell'invio dell'opera *Direction Spirituelle en Orient autrefois* (= OCA 144) Roma, P.I.O. 1955. Risulta, non solo dal testo che pubblico, ma anche da altre fonti, che non si tratta di una lettera puramente ‘ex officio’. Dal discepolo di Hausherr, il cardinale Špidlík, sappiamo che Pio XII e la

Congregazione per i Seminari, soprattutto nella persona del Sottosegretario di quella Congregazione, Mons. Paolo Igino Cecchetti, promuovevano, attraverso un convegno, la figura del direttore spirituale tra i seminaristi e desideravano ardentemente la diffusione del libro di Hausherr.

Segreteria di Stato
di Sua Santità
N.372752

Dal Vaticano 24 Avril 1956

Mon Révérend Père,

Vous avez eu la déférente pensée d'offrir au Souverain Pontife, il y a quelque temps, un exemplaire relié de votre ouvrage sur la "Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois". Sa Sainteté en a paternellement agréé l'hommage et m'a chargé de vous exprimer Ses vifs remerciements.

Cette étude de spiritualité ne retiendra pas seulement l'attention de ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de l'Orient chrétien; elle rendra aussi des grands services aux directeurs de conscience et aux maîtres des novices qui aimeront s'enrichir eux-mêmes à la lecture de vos pages et faire bénéficier les âmes les plus généreuses d'aujourd'hui de l'expérience séculaire transmise par nos premiers Pères dans la foi.

Le Saint Père vous sait donc gré de cette étude documentée et appelant sur la poursuite de vos travaux l'abondance des grâces divines, Il vous accorde de grand cœur une paternelle Bénédiction Apostolique.

Veuillez agréer, mon Révérend Père, l'assurance des sentiments bien dévoués en N. S.

(autographe) A. Dell'Acqua
Subst.

Le Révérend Père
Irénée Hausherr S.J.
Professeur à "Institut
Pontifical d'Études Orientales
Roma"

Lo stesso quaderno contiene un altro inserto volante: un dattiloscritto di otto facciate di formato cm. 28,5 × 22,5, con un panegirico di S. Tommaso di Aquino recitato nel refettorio dello scolasticato gesuita di Enghien, Hainaut, Belgio, in occasione della festa del santo, che allora, nell'anno 1923, si celebrava il 7 marzo. Il panegirista Hausherr non era ancora sacerdote. Fu ordinato quattro mesi e una settimana dopo, il 15 luglio 1923.

Il dattiloscritto è unito con un fermaglio a un frammento di carta quadrettata di colore azzurro, con un appunto in francese, scritto a mano. Chi scrive sa che Hausherr ha trascorso gli anni precedenti il

suo sacerdozio in Olanda, a Kasteel Gemert e in Belgio, ad Enghien e in Inghilterra, a Cantorbery. Ma forse dimentica l'inizio del dattiloscritto dove ci sono data e luogo della recita del panegirico, Enghien in Belgio. Trascrivo il biglietto:

C'est le premier 'sermon' du Père — au réfectoire!! Il devait être encore au Scholasticat (en Angleterre) si mes souvenirs sont exacts.

Le texte, à partir de "Les historiens ..." a été publié

1) d'abord dans le Bulletin de Regina Mundi (avec permission du Père)

2) dans le Bulletin de 'L'Orientale'

3) dans le livret sur la prière: *Prière de vie, vie de prière*.

Le point de départ fut mon regret d'avoir cela et bien d'autres choses à ma seule disposition.

Il biglietto non datato è firmato con l'iniziale del nome (M.) e con l'intera grafia di un cognome preceduto dalla preposizione articolata (du) e continua con una parola di 8 lettere, difficilmente leggibili, che potrebbero essere

DAVERMANT, DAUERNANT, DAVENANT, DAUERMANT.

Ho controllato l'esattezza dell'informazione, almeno per quanto riguarda, I. Hausherr, *Prière de vie Vie de Prière*. Notes de conférences présentées par Michel Olphe-Galliard S.J., Paris, Lethielleux 1965. Il panegirico dattiloscritto su S. Tommaso d'Aquino, si trova in gran parte edito nelle pagine 65-73. Manca solo il 'cappello' iniziale e la conclusione, il che potrebbe forse giustificare una nuova edizione integrale.

IL SECONDO DIARIO RITROVATO

Il secondo diario è redatto in un registro di computisteria, più grande rispetto al quaderno precedente. Questo secondo diario ha il formato di cm. 24 x 16,5. È rilegato solidamente in tela scura e con un'etichetta, non scritta, incollata sulla copertina. Le pagine sono numerate *alia manu*, incominciando dal numero 15, come se le pagine dall'1 al 14 fossero strappate. La numerazione è a matita, dal n. 15 al n. 150, per continuare in colore blu, dal n. 151 al n. 230. Ma le ultime sette facciate, pure numerate con i numeri blu 224-230, sono rimaste senza scrittura. Le scritte sono sempre a penna, salvo da metà pagina 193 a metà pagina 197, a matita e, parzialmente, in italia-

no. Il periodo di tempo, entro il quale Hausherr confida a questo diario i suoi pensieri, incomincia alla pagina n. 15, il 23 aprile 1944, cioè appena undici giorni dopo la fine del precedente quaderno, che termina al 12 aprile 1944. Il secondo diario si conclude alla pagina numero 224, in data 21 febbraio 1946. In questo secondo diario si trova, senza busta, una lettera autografa di Hausherr, datata al 5 novembre 1976, cioè due anni e un mese prima della sua morte (5 dicembre 1978). La lettera non menziona il luogo di provenienza, ma da indizi interni sembra provenire dalla terra nativa di Hausherr che in quella data vi si trovava. Non cita neppure il luogo della destinataria ma è indirizzata a una religiosa di cui non si dice il nome, né l'indirizzo, ma che dev'essere, in base al contesto, una suora Orsolina bretone, a quel tempo soggiornante nella sua regione natale della Bretagna. La religiosa avrebbe avuto responsabilità nell'Istituto Internazionale femminile di teologia "Regina Mundi", fondato a Roma nel 1954. Tale Istituto, aggregato dal 1970 alla Facoltà di Teologia della Pontificia Università Gregoriana, ebbe Hausherr come professore per alcuni anni, dal 1955 al 1970. Forse la stima e la fiducia per la religiosa destinataria, che risulta dalla lettera, suggerisce che Hausherr abbia consegnato a lei questi due diari, e le carte che vi si trovano, perché semmai se ne servisse a fini apostolici. Infatti nei due diari, le citazioni bibliche e patristiche in greco hanno sovrapposta a matita, con grafia di altra mano, la relativa traduzione francese. Alcune cancellature di intere righe fanno supporre che lo stesso Autore avesse tolto particolari concernenti persone allora viventi o altri elementi dello scritto che non voleva divulgati. C'è un precedente a questa realtà. Una lettera di Hausherr a d'Herbigny dell'11 dicembre 1929, da una clinica di Bruxelles, che Poggi pubblica nel suo contributo. Hausherr confida la maniera non troppo brillante con cui si comporta il chirurgo che l'ha operato due volte per scongiurare una sinusite. E conclude: "Voilà une bien longue lettre. Il faudra la détruire, parce que je ne veux en aucune façon nuire à la réputation de mon docteur". Nel caso dei diari, le modifiche e le cancellature suggeriscono l'ipotesi che i manoscritti siano serviti o per darne lettura a un uditorio, o per comunicarli parzialmente attraverso stampa e riproduzione. Potrebbero esserne apparsi estratti in opere e in articoli che circolarono verso la fine della vita di Hausherr e anche dopo la sua morte. Lo abbiamo constatato per il panegirico di S. Tommaso d'Aquino che abbiamo visto riportato in notevole parte in *Prière de vie et vie de prière*, Paris 1965, 65-73. Ecco dunque la lettera, qui inserita, di Hausherr, improntata a familiarità e nello stesso tempo a rispettosa discrezione, di alto livello spirituale e intellettuale. Originale quel con-

fronto fra popoli ai piedi di montagna basche e dei Vosgi, Iberi della Penisola Iberica e Iberi del Caucaso, come anche fra bretoni e alsaziani. Nella lettera Hausherr accusa problemi agli occhi. Se ne lamentava anche a voce, come sappiamo da altre testimonianze.

Ce 5 Novembre 1976,

Ma chère S[œur], Étant encore de ce monde, je réponds après deux mois et demi à votre si bonne lettre du 22 août, mais surtout au besoin que j'ai de retrouver les habitants de mon univers, et parmi eux vous — oui, vous, sans autre raison que la certitude de vous faciliter quelques instant de cheminement — Mais si ça vous ennuie, considérez-le comme non-venu. Dans le cas contraire, faites-moi un peu connaître votre fonction actuelle dans votre Bretagne, et laissez un peu aller votre plume au gré de vos pensées, avec l'idée que rien ne sera vain bavardage. Rome? Où en êtes-vous de vos relations avec tant de personnes à qui vous avez donné votre temps et votre sollicitude? OSU [=Ordre de Sainte Ursule ou Ursulines de l'Union Romaine], «Regina Mundi»? Il y a quelques «3^e ou 4^e âges» qui me font encore des confidences: c'est étonnant de voir comme leurs expériences ressemblent aux miennes, avec la nuance de chaque caractère inné ou acquis. Si vous avez le temps, dites-moi aussi un mot de votre Bretagne et de vos Bretons — des marginaux comme nous au pied des Vosges. Je rêve souvent quand j'aperçois (c'est malheureusement rare dans le bas-fond où je gîte!) un bout de monts ou collines au nom si antique (Vosges = Basques, c.à.d. préceltés; d'où 'Celtibères' = mélange de Celtes et d'Ibères ou habitants d'Ibérie aux Pyrénées ou au Caucase!), — et je rêve ou je contemple en me laissant emporter par l'Esprit Créateur dans l'éternité et ultra. Je n'y vois plus; mais vis au-dedans avec tous mes souvenirs et toute la richesse de notre espérance. A Dieu = au revoir! Vôtre, là, Irénée Hausherr, S.J.

Si potrebbe avanzare l'ipotesi che la religiosa che ha ricevuto questa lettera di Hausherr sia la stessa persona che ha scritto il biglietto azzurro fissato con un fermaglio al dattiloscritto del panegirico di San Tommaso di Aquino. Avrebbe conservato lettera, diari, biglietto e dattiloscritto.

Un ultimo "reperto", connesso con questi due diari manoscritti felicemente ritrovati: una busta da lettere nella quale ci sono due foto a colori del Padre Hausherr insieme con una religiosa benedettina. Le due foto sono per fortuna datate e localizzate. Sono state eseguite l'8 giugno 1978, cioè neppure sette mesi prima della morte di Hausherr. Il luogo della foto è il refettorio della foresteria del monastero femminile benedettino di Rosheim, capoluogo del cantone del Basso Reno nel circondario di Molsheim. Le due foto a colori rappresentano ambedue il P. Hausherr dimagrito ma ancora abbastanza arzillo, seduto



Foresteria del monastero delle Benedettine di Rosheim, Bas-Rhin, 9 giugno 1978.
Irénée Hausherr S.J., con Madre Marie Tarcisius Faucheux O.S.B.

a una tavola imbandita davanti a un vassoio di ciliege mature. Gli sta a fianco una monaca benedettina. La religiosa ripresa nella foto è stata identificata, grazie all'attuale Priora delle benedettine di Rosheim, con Mère Marie Tarcisius Faucheux O.S.B. del monastero di Rosheim.

CONTENUTI

In base ai riferimenti locali, Hausherr si trova in Francia, durante tutta l'epoca in cui si serve di questi due diari, avendo dovuto a causa della seconda guerra mondiale lasciare Roma e il Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rammarica di non avere con sé, libri e carte di cui poteva disporre nella Biblioteca del Pontificio Istituto Orientale e nella sua camera, come pure lamenta una situazione "interinale", cioè di chi si trasferisce qua e là come cappellano di un convento di suore o in una casa gesuita a sostituire un cappellano o un confratello assente. Anche se talvolta viene incaricato di insegnare un breve corso all'Institut Catholique di Toulouse o alla Faculté de Théologie de Fourvière a

Lione, il suo soggiorno e il suo ministero sono piuttosto "precari". Faccio il turabuchi, 'le bouche-trou' dice di sé, più di una volta.

Al primo come al secondo *Diario*, l'A., confida se non proprio quotidianamente, ma spesso più di una volta nello stesso giorno, pensieri intimi, riflessioni personali, che riguardano la vita spirituale, il suo ministero di sacerdote e direttore di spirito, ma anche ricerche scientifiche, e sue relazioni con il mondo accademico.

Questi due *Diari spirituali* di H., contengono anche pensieri più o meno lunghi, la cui natura è un promemoria di letture, non solo della Bibbia ma anche di Padri Latini e Orientali. Le straordinarie doti linguistiche e filologiche di Hausherr, che aveva frequentato a Parigi le lezioni di Antoine Meillet, risaltano da questi due diari. Spesso ci sono periodi, anche lunghi in greco, in arabo, in siriano e una volta pure in georgiano, il 27 aprile 1945 con il primo versetto del Magnificat in quella lingua. I diari documentano pure un'intensa riflessione di Hausherr su opere che aveva già edito o che aveva lasciato già pronte per la stampa, come *Penthos*, uscita a Roma nel 1944, in sua assenza. Nel primo diario Hausherr scrive di *Penthos* il 29 febbraio 1944, di non sapere se a Roma lo pubblicheranno. Ma, aggiunge: lo pubblichino o no, ho scoperto redigendolo che prima di Origene il problema della compunzione non era affrontato. I monaci, dopo di Origene, svilupparono quel tema. E aggiunge che questa verità rimane, anche se il suo *Penthos* non venisse pubblicato. I due diari raccolgono anche anticipazioni di idee che sarebbero maturate in opere uscite dopo il suo ritorno a Roma, come *Philautie* 1952; *Direction spirituelle* 1955; *Noms du Christ* 1960. Questa è la prospettiva nella quale dobbiamo considerare questi diari degli anni 1943-1946. Contengono confessioni e riflessioni di Hausherr sul suo lavoro scientifico passato e futuro. Il lungo excursus "Du travail pour les Jeunes" che si trova nel quaderno o primo diario ai giorni 29 febbraio-I marzo 1944, che V. Poggi pubblica nel suo contributo, è un documento da leggere in tale ermeneutica. Questi *Diari* di H., hanno unità, ma differenziata, nel senso che vi leggiamo, la duplice funzione del ricercatore e dello spirituale, a vantaggio di sé e degli altri. Si percepisce nei *Diari*, il pensiero di Hausherr, in dimensione di comunione, all'interno della Chiesa che è Madre, attraverso la fede, il Credo, la preghiera e la vita cristiana vissuta. I due manoscritti svelano una sua profonda e ricca vita spirituale, una sincera fede cristiana, grande devozione alla Messa e, a mio parere forniscono anche la prova di uno speciale dono di orazione.

GIOIA DEL CUORE E STOICISMO

Hausherr è stato un grande lettore. Forse questo ha provocato alla lunga quella debolezza di vista che Hausherr lamentava nella vecchiaia. Ma in compenso gli ha dato un'estesa cultura letteraria, non solo francese (cita Dante, Shakespeare e Goethe) filosofica e teologica e storica. Dicono che avrebbe letto tutta la patrologia greca e quella latina. Ad ogni modo questi due diari rivelano una vasta cultura e la capacità di affrontare argomenti non solo spirituali e teologici ma anche filosofici. Ecco un suo giudizio indiretto sullo stoicismo, ben diverso dalla *apatheia* dei Padri. Nel secondo diario, alla pagina 55-56, il 25 maggio 1944, Hausherr tratta della gioia del cuore e la oppone alla *atarassia* stoica.

25.V.44 Joie du cœur. Non pas rien de physique, si ce n'est par concomitance non-nécessaire. La joie d'origine philologique même devenue euphorie mentale, ne me paraît pas capable de s'élever jamais, de par un développement interne, au degré spirituel. Pour la spiritualiser elle aussi il faut l'information par un principe supérieur qui la saisisse, comme toute autre chose, pour la muer en joie de cœur. Celle-ci n'est pas la 'Stimmung', produite en moi par l'action de l'autre (cet autre fût-il une partie de moi dédoublé) qui 'an-stimmt'. Ton, entonner, tonifier, c'est toujours le τόπος, et celui-ci, même dans son acception la meilleure qui est le stoïcisme, démontre, par raisonnement et historiquement, d'une efficacité trop aléatoire, trop éphémère, et surtout trop superficielle. Sans compter les abus auxquels il donne lieu ou pour lesquels même il est 'addirittura' [sic] recherche. Ils se résument tous dans une 'suffisance', qui ne peut être que fausse aussi longtemps que nous ne sommes que des hommes, c.à.d. des désirs parce que des indigences (Un stoïcisme qui n'aurait pas été panthéiste, aurait approché de la vérité...). Et de la suffisance, erreur sur l'homme viennent toutes les 'inhumanités'. Qui se flatte de la posséder, en concevra un sot orgueil; qui la veut conquérir (autrement que par l'esprit de vérité) commettra fatalement (tous) les hauts faits des conquistadores. Et dans l'un et l'autre cas, la suffisance, la possession imaginaire ou poursuivie comme but, aboutira à l'échec, à l'absence de joie de cœur, ou plutôt à la révélation cuisante de cette absence. Vengeance de la vérité.

TRINITÀ

La gioia del cuore è quella delle beatitudini, delle parabole e dei paradossi semitici di cui è pieno il Vangelo. È la gioia della Trinità. È la dolorosa gioia degli apoftegmi e la perfetta letizia di cui parla il Poverello di Assisi.

25.V.44. Jésus, que n'avez-vous fait une parabole pour peindre cette joie vôtre... Mais elle est dans toutes vos paraboles, et là où 'vous parlez en franchise, et que vous ne dites plus aucun proverbe!' La vérité faite homme, la Vérité-Père, la Vérité-Charité, l'Esprit de Vérité — Paraclet: des immensités qui s'ouvrent et en même temps s'abaissent jusqu'à nous, la majesté du Vrai grandissant encore à l'infini et la Très Sainte Trinité, et tout ensemble, dans le mouvement même de sa révélation, s'inclinant à notre bassesse pour nous élever jusqu'à Elle.

MARIA

Anche il cuore di Maria ospita la vera gioia, perfino nella rivelazione della spada che la trafiggerà. È viva e anticonformista la descrizione che Hausherr ci dà della serva del Signore.

25.V.44. La joie du cœur. Une seule Créature l'a chantée dignement dans toute la magnificence de sa simplicité, c'est vous Marie de Nazareth, Marie 'servante' du Seigneur, Marie Mère du Verbe-Sagesse incarné, Marie Immaculée et toujours Vierge: Magnificat etc. ...

26.V.1944. Marie la Pauvre, la vraie pauvre, la villageoise, l'ouvrière, épouse et mère de ces manœuvres qui s'appellent Joseph et Jésus. — Non pas la fausse pauvre qui fait vœu de pauvreté pour ajouter à sa conscience d'être une dame la conscience plus exquise d'avoir fait un grand et noble sacrifice, et aller abriter l'une et l'autre dans ce sûr asyle, ce dernier asyle de l'aristocratie bourgeois que sont les couvents chics — Marie la Pure, mais la toute Pure, non pas l'absurdité de la chasteté-orgueil; la Vierge de corps, et de cœur et d'âme et d'esprit. — Marie l'humble authentique qui ne connaît d'autre bassesse que celle qui fait aussi sa grandeur, la bassesse de la servante du Seigneur. Non pas la gémissante, non pas la compuncta, ni la compassée, ni la retorse ni la verbale ni la verbeuse ni la douceuse ni — rien de ce que sont les innombrables humilités bâtarde... Marie la vraie charitable ... Mère, à quoi bon des mots? Votre Magnificat, c'est le débordement le jaillissement, l'éruption ardente — et si calme — de la joie de votre Cœur...

AGIOGRAFIA

Il santo non è colui che attende da Dio la ricompensa della sua santità ma colui che già da questa vita gode della libertà che Dio assicura a chi crede in Lui.

25.V.1944. ... Les saints sont les bienheureux, parce que d'abord «servi Dei»; Il n'est possible que de reconnaître cette notion, cette condition

naturelle d'«esclave-né-dans la maison» et non pas du tout de la renier efficacement, pas plus pour rébellion que par hyperdévotion. Or, qui dit esclave dit deux choses: attente du salaire vital et recherche de la liberté. Et dans le service de Dieu ces deux choses se confondent en une seule qui s'appelle la 'joie du cœur'.

DIMENSIONE PROFETICA

È una dimensione specificamente religiosa che fa parte del fenomeno del sacro. Hausherr ne chiarisce gli aspetti e fornisce i criteri per distinguere la vera dalla falsa profezia

Secondo diario

8.VII.45. p. 190. Fructus. C'est donc la qualité d'âme qui se manifeste, et qui manifeste la valeur du prophète. Montre-moi ton âme et si elle est grande, je m'inclinerai; sinon, plus tu fais de fracas, même par ton action religieuse, plus je te suspecterai, te fuirai, te dé-testerai. Tu peux être un samaritain, un centurion païen, une syro-phénicienne, ta grandeur d'âme est du Christ et de Dieu. Mais dans tes petitessees, dans ton égoïsme, dans ta pruderie cauteleuse, dans ta suffisance, dans ta lubricité et dans ton despotisme, je verrai la marque infallible de la bête et de la Bête... Finalement le signe c'est cela: est divin celui qui montre, sans le vouloir, que de Dieu lui vient une suffisance qui cherche uniquement à se répandre, sans aucune recherche d'utilisation.

LETTURA DEL CUORE

È vero che Hausherr rivela nei diari anche un profondo intuito delle anime, una cardiognosi come dicono i Padri, cioè la capacità di cogliere i segreti del cuore, perfino sconosciuti a quanti godono speciali favori di Dio. È il caso di un quadro dipinto da lui nel secondo diario alle pagine 139-140, il 9 marzo 1945, di una suorina semplice che ha appena finito di pelare delle carote, che parla con espressioni dialettali ma vola superando ogni barriera, librata sulle ali della povertà di spirito e della purezza del cuore. Forse Hausherr quando scriverà *Ignorance infinie ou science infinie*, OCP (1959) 44-52, avrà in mente l'esempio concreto della suorina. Ma lasciamogli dipingere quel ritratto.

9.III.1945. Le divin se décèle par l'égalité de présence dans l'infiniment grand et dans l'infiniment petit. Le divin n'a point de distraction parce qu'il est spirituel.... Signes de cette divine présence d'esprit, in-

nombrables; et surtout, les signes de cette absence de divin! Il y a la psychologie-marteau d'eau: les âmes qui font 'plouf' partout où elles touchent, car elles ne font jamais que tomber de tout leur poids dans la direction du penchant. Elles vivent (vivent-elles?) dans le vide, et elles prennent et l'on prend, leur pesanteur pour de l'autorité. Elles ne sont que là où elles pèsent, où elles font leur bruit: la chute des graves. Mais j'ai vu hier une petite âme (oui une âme et je l'ai vue) qui vit divinement, et qui attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponit omnia suaviter; une âme vivante parce qu'il n'y a que l'Esprit qui vivifie. Le corps qu'habitait cette âme avait les mains rugueuses, noircies, gercées, calleuses, parce que ces mains venaient de gratter des carottes; et le style où cette âme s'exprimait était hérissé de solécismes. Mais j'avais beau me démener pour ouvrir des 'horizons' à cette âme-là, partout où je croyais la conduire ou la faire envoler, je ne pus que constater qu'elle y était déjà, sans presque le savoir. L'infiniment petit: les carottes — et l'infiniment grand: la très Sainte Trinité, et tout 'l'entre deux', et le tout tellement suaviter; le silence de la vie, le calme du divin, 'l'ignorance infinie' par excès de science.

PREGHIERA PURA

Ma non posso omettere di citare un altro passo di questo stesso secondo diario fortunatamente ritrovato e restituito al Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Hausherr che ha studiato così a lungo e con profonda penetrazione l'esicasmò, "attinge — come scrive Poggi — l'esicasmò vero o la pace dello spirito"². Non solo ha affrontato lo studio di questo fenomeno, ma lo ha vissuto lui stesso in maniera sperimentale, constatando una volta di più che l'esichia, la pace del cuore, quella vera, inconfondibile, non è frutto magico di una tecnica respiratoria onfaloscopica, ma è dono misterioso, cioè mistico, che viene da Dio. Siamo sempre nel secondo diario, alle pagine numerate 19-20, in data 4 maggio 1944. Hausherr descrive una sua esperienza mistica, di per sé ineffabile, nella quale ha attinto per qualche istante "la qualità della pace". E, paradosso tipico dell'esperienza mistica, passati quegli istanti, egli non ha alcun moto di compiacimento o ancor meno di orgoglio, ma si sente il più empio, ἀθεώτατος, degli uomini. Non si può fare altro che leggere quanto egli stesso scrive.

J[esus Christ]us Maria 4.V.[19]44. J'ai entrevu, mentalement — expérimentalement πνευματικῶς — αἰσθητῶς, quelque chose de tout nouveau, ou qui du moins m'a paru tel, malgré des souvenirs analogues. Cela peut se dénommer de multiple façon. Le premier nom qui s'est présenté, c'est 'la qualité de la paix'. Non pas du quantitatif: extension, élargissement,

² V. Poggi, "Irénee Hausherr — un maestro", *Per la storia del Pontificio Istituto Orientale*, OCA 263, Roma 2000, p. 224.

approfondissement, ni même intensité à la mode des physiciens — rien qui se mesure, s'évalue ou même s'apprécie. Quelque chose de proprement infini, ἀόριστον, non pas par conquête, mais par possession, de lointain et de proche, de dédaigneux et d'amoureux, d'actif et de reposé (en fait le 'reposé' ressortait davantage, par contraste sans doute) de ... mais je n'en finirais pas de lui chercher ni de lui trouver des qualificatifs: je me mouvais, je vivais, j'étais dans le domaine de la qualité qui ne peut être qu'infinie et se faire sentir comme telle. Cela s'appelle (ou s'appelait) paix, cela pouvait s'appeler liberté, piété (le beau mot!), amour-charité ἀγάπη, cela s'appelait omni-présence et omni-absence et c'était les deux à la fois en une chose absolument une, et cela trônait et cela s'épandait, majesté et sourire, sollicitude et solitude — Quoi? Toute littérature en serait la profanation.

Et après s'est présenté le 'non est pax impiis'. Et j'ai conclu (ratio après intuitio) que nous étions, que je suis très impie ἀθεώτατος.

Nel diario, lo stesso giorno, Hausherr scrive ancora:

J[esus Christ]us Maria 4.V.[19]44. Ayant interrompu ici, je ne trouverais la suite que par raisonnement. Il vaut mieux attendre le retour de la lumière.

E il giorno seguente, 5 maggio 1944, dopo aver ancora affermato la propria 'empietà' spiegandola a se stesso ulteriormente, rimpiange con una bella immagine, di non aver atteso che il metallo liquefatto dal calore si adattasse perfettamente allo stampo.

Oui vraiment impiété. La plus grande impiété n'est pas celle que j'accuse ou entends accuser en confession (sauf par quelques âmes très rares et dont le souvenir demeure du premier coup ineffaçable). Impiété contre la transcendance; impiété contre l'immanence: en omission d'abord, en pensées vaines, creuses, fausses, en ruminations animales, en sots plaisirs et déplaisirs, en égocentrisme ou excentrisme ou hétérocentrisme, en mille et cent mille choses qui sont la vie entière. Quia solus pius es ὁτι μόνος Ὁσος. O Sapientia! — Totus homo mendax. Et peut-il en être autrement? "Être du néant" — c'est déjà un mensonge, le mensonge fondamental. Il faut vaincre le néant. Absolvatur mors in victoria = mortale hoc induere immortalitatem, corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem. Mon ὁσιότης à moi ma piété ne peut être que synergie, que synousie, que suite de la ποιήσις divine, que θεώσις, que [sic] inhabitation en moi de la vertu du Christ...

Il discorso continua sulla pietà e sui concetti di sinergia e di sinousia, ma a fianco c'è una sconsolata constatazione e un cocente rammarico

Ce charabia pour n'avoir pas su attendre que le métal en fusion entrât de lui-même dans la moule!

DA PUBBLICARE PER INTERO

Ma vorrei citare ancora parole testuali di Hausherr con le quali chiarisce una volta di più perché ricorra ai suoi diari e perché essi contengano tanti aspetti della sua ricchezza umana e spirituale. Hausherr è uomo sensibile e per certi aspetti ombroso. Lo riconosce lui stesso come appare dal seguente autoritratto del secondo diario, il 18 maggio 1944, alla pagina 42:

Retournant sur mon passé, j'ai constaté deux choses: a) que la sensibilité a joué un grand rôle dans ma vie. b) qu'en somme elle m'a grandement servi (Ci-après, noter quelques faits saillants, comme pièces à conviction). — Et alors il faut chercher la raison de cette utilité; car, il aurait pu advenir exactement le contraire; le contraire est vraiment arrivé parfois, mais seulement provisoirement, jamais définitivement. Quelque chose a toujours pris le dessus, et dans ce quelque chose la sensibilité a encore eu sa part. Il faut bien le dire tout court: l'amour de Jésus-Christ m'a tenu lieu de raison, et il a toujours fini par l'emporter, contre les raisonnements (ah, ce mot de 'raison'! ...). Si Jésus-Christ n'est pas l'intelligence intuitive, le Divin Logos, je me suis trompé. Mais contra est que maintenant, à l'âge des regrets non encore résignés, je me félicite, je remercie, je n'en finis pas de Magnificat, et dans ma solitude, dans mon annulation pour la scène de ce monde, je suis heureux. L'amplitude des émotions va diminuant à chaque oscillation — qu'importe, ou tant mieux. Je ne me vois pas du tout en passe de devenir le classique laudator temporis acti: mon présent, à chaque coup, vaut mieux que l'instant d'avant. Ma vie s'écoule, non pas en arrière, dans le néant, mais en avant, en Dieu. Misericordiam Domini in aeternum cantabo.

INFERIORITÀ CHE DIVINIZZA

Interessante la maniera di guardare la propria inferiorità. Fa pensare a Terenzio che considerava caratteristica dell'uomo veramente grande l'essere 'eautontimoroumenos' o severo nel giudicare se stesso. Ma qui la mia inferiorità è addirittura amata perché mi divinizza. È la risposta al mistero dell'incarnazione. Dio si fa piccolo per amor mio e io amo la mia piccolezza per amor suo.

9.II.1946. p. 214. J'ai toutes les infériorités, et je m'en moque; ou plutôt je les aime, je m'aime ainsi, j'aime à être ainsi, j'aime qu'il en soit

ainsi. Complexe d'infériorité? Infériorité, oui; complexe, non; c'est un état simple (ou multiple, peu importe) vu et aimé d'un acte simple; simple comme Dieu, parce que c'est la volonté même de Dieu. C'est une infériorité qui me divinise. C'est un complexe d'infériorité qui me tient en contact avec la Sainte Trinité: un écoulement continu du Divin dans le néant, qui jouit et qui est au dessus de toute infériorité et supériorité. Toujours la sagesse du Magnificat.

CORAGGIO DI HAUSHERR

Insieme al suo essere molto sensibile, Hausherr è profondamente sincero e coraggioso, pronto a guardare senza paura in faccia alla verità. Siamo ancora nel secondo diario, all'11 maggio 1944.

Eh bien, pris entre deux dangers de défaillance, celui de caler devant l'inadmissible bourgeoisisme [sic] dévot, et celui de n'oser pas affronter son insupportable présence, entre la capitulation d'idées et la fuite affective, il ne me reste qu'à pénétrer avec mes idées qui sont révolutionnaires parce que évangéliques dans ce milieu d'idées ou plutôt de préjugés et la 'traditio seniorum' qui dévertèbrent le christianisme par conformisme ou conservatisme mondains. La vraie religion chrétienne n'est pas l'opium du peuple, et la fausse qui veut l'être, il vaut mieux la combattre par le dedans. Puisqu'on introduit ou introduira, si chétif qu'il soit, un cheval de Troie. Le sel de la terre ne peut agir que du dedans. Ne rien abdiquer: ni ma fierté fondée sur 'omnes vos fratres estis', ni mon humilité basée sur 'unus est magister vester Christus'. Le reste est veulerie ou fanfaronnade, veulerie fanfaronne ou fanfaronnade veule. Danser sur la corde raide, ce n'est pas de tout repos. Mais je n'ai pas le choix. Sicut agnos inter lupos — l'agneau peut avoir l'air d'un ours et les loups et les louves l'apparence des brebis. Ne pas laisser le sel s'affadir — ce serait stupide et lâche. J'irai donc, armé de mon Nouveau Testament et de toute la volonté de Dieu, gladius ex utraque parte acutus. Tecum, Jesu Dei Sapientia et Dei virtus.

SILENZIO CHE PARLA

Hausherr è persona dotata di particolare sensibilità e talvolta di suscettibilità. Lui stesso lo riconosce, come ho constatato. Dai diari appare che sa essere coerente e coraggioso fino all'eroismo quando è necessario. Ma non è affatto loquace o verboso per natura. Proprio per questo ha bisogno di dire a se stesso constatazioni e verità che non ritiene opportuno esternare ad altri. Nel primo diario, alla data del primo marzo 1944, narra un episodio emblematico per mostrarci il suo carattere schivo e alieno dall'affrontare il pubblico in sede accademica. Al quinto congresso internazionale di Studi bizantini cele-

brato a Roma dal 21 al 27 settembre 1936, Hausherr doveva tenere la sera dell'ultimo giorno l'attesa conferenza, 'Pour l'histoire de la mystique byzantine'. Egli stesso racconta che gli oratori che lo precedevano gli presero tutto il tempo così da impedirgli di parlare. Dice che accolse quel contrattempo senza disappunto, anzi sollevato da un impegno gravoso, del quale era contento di sentirsi liberato.

Enfin, cinq minutes avant l'heure de la clôture, je ramassai papiers et chapeau et ferraiolo et m'en allai, pas fâché du tout d'avoir échappé à une corvée.

Hausherr non amava 'fare sensazione'. Infatti diceva alle monache Benedettine, cui proponeva gli Esercizi spirituali ignaziani: "I cibi sostanziosi non stancano mai. Ci si stanca, forse, di mangiare pane ogni giorno? Vi dirò delle cose semplici, così elementari, che nessuno forse pensa a dirvele: sono tuttavia le più importanti e le più utili. Se aspettate novità, cose cioè, che non avete mai sentite, sarete deluse. Dovete rivolgervi altrove. Per conto mio, penso che, alla nostra epoca in cui tutti vanno in cerca del sensazionale, dello straordinario, la maniera più sicura di essere originali è di accontentarsi dell'ordinario"³. Da queste sue parole, possiamo capire come Hausherr insistesse sulle realtà essenziali della nostra fede, e come questa essenzialità senza sovrastrutture sensazionali ispirasse insieme i suoi Diari spirituali, come i suoi Esercizi spirituali.

Del resto l'esicismo, da lui a lungo studiato, ha la predilezione per il silenzio. Il silenzio della bocca e della mente, per lasciar parlare il cuore. Prendo dal primo diario, al 3 marzo 1944.

Mais Jésus se taisait — pas toujours, et Il ne se taira pas toujours. Il aura le dernier mot; c'est justement cette certitude qui lui permet de se taire. En attendant Il meurt et prie, prie en mourant, et meurt en priant pour ses ennemis qui se gaussent de son silence et croient triompher de sa mort — afin de leur obtenir que son dernier mot, un jour, puisse être un mot de paix et d'éternelle réconciliation. Jésus n'est pas l'ennemi de ses ennemis — Il est 'le Fils du Père'. Ce titre vaut qu'on en meure sur la Croix.

'Le seul bien qui me reste en terre' c'est de m'être tu le plus souvent; je voudrais l'avoir toujours fait. Du moins ai-je toujours et intensément, et obstinément prié pour ces chers 'ennemis', à proportion des marques de leur inimitié. Il est tel mot (oh! rien de ce qui précède) qui m'a percé de part en part, et dont la blessure toujours ouverte au cœur est devenue une

³ I. Hausherr, *Novità di vita nel Cristo Gesù*, Roma 1970, p. 5.

source inépuisable de prière pour qui l'a dit, et pour moi un torrent toujours grossissant de bonheur in Christo Jesu.

Alla fine dello stesso mese di marzo 1944, Hausherr riprende la lode del silenzio. E spiega esaurientemente la funzione 'esutoria' del diario

28.III.44. Ce sera le triomphe du silence. Le silence sera de diamant au sens grec et au sens français. Ce cahier? Et oui, ce cahier est un exutoire, une méthode, une assurance contre la tentation de parler. Amen.

Personalmente sono convinta che bisognerebbe dare alle stampe integralmente i diari di Hausherr. Precisamente perché se ne serviva per mantenere nel cuore quanto non voleva uscisse dalla sua bocca.

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Dogma and Spirituality in Hausherr*

If you are a theologian you truly pray. If you truly pray you are a theologian!

Irénée Hausherr (1891-1978) was a recognized expert on spirituality, but never claimed to be an expert on dogma. Yet Evagrius' famous saying quoted above characterizes him to such an extent as to easily become a *leitmotif* of all his production.¹ His discovery of Evagrius' spirituality greatly interested the architects of the new Catholic theology, such as J. Maréchal († 1944), K. Rahner († 1984) and H. U. von Balthasar († 1988) and remains all throughout a peak which invites us to come and climb, if we want to obtain a unitary vision which is at once dogmatic and spiritual.

In this short discussion of the relation between dogma and spirituality, (1) a first part shows how Hausherr exploited the way Evagrius historically posed the question so as to bring out an ongoing theological issue. (2) A second part investigates how Hausherr's efforts to articulate this relationship go beyond Evagrius. (3) A third part raises the question of how the expert on dogma can profit from Hausherr's example.

* It is to be noted that both collections of Hausherr's articles, *Hésychasme et prière*, Roma 1966, and *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, were edited by Hausherr's student and successor, Prof. (now Cardinal) Tomáš Špidlík, SJ. Moreover, I. Hausherr's works are initially listed in their entirety according to the year when they first appeared to give an idea of his development, but without the exact page number referred to in the text, which are then given according to the year, book and pages of the latest edition.

¹ As M. Olphe-Galliard puts it in his Preface to I. Hausherr, *Prière de vie, vie de prière*, Paris 1965, 7: "Chief among all the masters he evokes is doubtlessly Evagrius Ponticus. ... The spiritual conferences that follow are frequently nothing but a mere paraphrase of the short but dense chapters of the ancient contemplative" (tr. EGF).

1. HAUSHERR'S DISCOVERY OF EVAGRIUS AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF SPIRITUALITY AND DOGMA

With Hausherr's discovery of Evagrius² we come closest to our theme in Irénée Hausherr. In 1934 Hausherr published *Le Traité d'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique (Pseudo Nil)*³ in French translation and with a commentary in the light of Evagrius' other writings. A short note, a year afterwards, in the first volume of *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, highlights the key role Evagrius plays in Greek Orthodox spirituality.⁴ It remains to be seen how Hausherr interprets Evagrius on the relationship between spirituality and dogma.

1.1. "If you are a theologian you truly pray. If you truly pray you are a theologian!"

This is nr. 60 of the *Treatise on Prayer*,⁵ which Hausherr successfully assigned to Evagrius, after it had been transmitted from generation to generation under the name of St Nilus of Sinai.⁶ It poses

² B. McGinn, in *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, 1, New York 1992, 144, quotes L. Bouyer, who calls Evagrius' writings "the first complete system of Christian spirituality".

³ Published in RAM 15 (1934) 34-93, 113-170, a second time in the same periodical RAM 35 (1959) 1-26, 121-146, 241-265, 361-385; 36 (1960) 3-35, 137-187 and later republished as *Les leçons d'un contemplatif: Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1960.

⁴ I. Hausherr, "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale," OCP 1 (1935) 123-124. That Evagrius is important not only for Byzantine spirituality may be seen in the case of Philoxenus of Mabbug, who, Hausherr claims, would occupy an important place in Syriac spirituality if only for his knowledge of Evagrius' theories; "Contemplation et sainteté. Une remarquable mise au point par Philoxène de Mabboug († 523)", RAM 14 (1933) 196-198, and later in I. Hausherr, *Hésychasme et prière* (OCA 176), Roma 1966, 17. See, on this point, R. Beulay, *La lumière sans forme. Introduction à l'étude de la mystique syro-orientale*, Chèvotogne (s.d.) [1987?], where, with explicit reference to the works of Hausherr, Evagrius is described as the author most frequently quoted among Syrian mystics, *ibid.*, 6, who owe to him much both by way of terminology and doctrine, *ibid.*, 28.

⁵ Εἰ θεόλογος εἶ, προσεύξῃ ἁληθῶς, καὶ εἰ ἁληθῶς προσεύξῃ, θεόλογος εἶ: Sancti Nili, "De Oratione," PG 79, 1180, cap. LX. The English version quoted in the subtitle of this article comes from *Evagrius Ponticus, The Praktikos & Chapters on Prayers*, ed. J. E. Bamberger, Spencer, Massachusetts 1970, 65.

⁶ A. Guillaumont, *Les 'Kephalai gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1962, 167-168. See also: *Évagre le Pontique, Sur les Pensées* (SC, nr. 438), par les soins de P. Géhin, C. Guillaumont et A. Guillaumont, Paris 1998, 30-31. As A. Guillaumont recalls, Hausherr, by assigning the *De Oratione* to Evagrius, has been able to show that the references Evagrius makes in *Sur les Pensées* to *De Oratione* come indeed from this treatise.

without any further ado the problem of the reciprocal relation between a theologian's activity and praying. The accent falls on theology, to which one arrives only at the price of praying as one should. By theologian is not meant what scholastic theology understood by the term or perhaps a philosopher who speculates on the nature of the divinity.⁷ And though the expression, "contemplation of the Trinity" recurs so often in Evagrius' *Centuries*, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, in the specific roles Eastern theology assigns them, do not play any significant part in the ascent to God.⁸ Hausherr draws the conclusion that Evagrian mysticism is philosophical rather than theological in kind,⁹ at least as far as the Trinity is concerned.¹⁰ One has to add, in this regard, that Evagrius describes prayer as "state of the intelligence which destroys all earthly thoughts."¹¹

This will sound intellectualistic to those who may not know that "thought" here includes intention and action, as we see from the very Decalogue,¹² where the separation of both these factors is foreign to the eastern mind. A confirmation of this we have in the list of the eight *logismoi*, furnished by Evagrius himself,¹³ which corresponds to

⁷ I. Hausherr, *Leçons d'un contemplatif*, Paris 1960, 85.

⁸ Ibid., 98-99.

⁹ Hausherr, in *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison*, Roma 1960, 145, calls him the monk most versed in philosophy in the IVth century.

¹⁰ I. Hausherr, *Leçons d'un contemplatif*, Paris 1960, 99. However, this is a far cry from the accusation which H. U. von Balthasar levels at Evagrius, namely, that his mysticism would be closer to Buddhism than to Christianity. In "Ignorance infinie ou science infinie?", OCP 25 (1959) 44-52, later published in I. Hausherr, *Hésychasme et prière*, Roma 1966, Hausherr dissociates himself from v. Balthasar's criticism, *ibid.*, 241, and considers the version "infinite ignorance" to be the more likely reading, *ibid.*, 245. Consequently, when B. McGinn puts Hausherr together with v. Balthasar in denying that Evagrius' mysticism is specifically Christian, one has to distinguish. Evagrius does not articulate pure prayer in a trinitarian way, but the Trinity is always present as its ultimate scope. The limit on the part of Evagrius is a limit of thought, in the sense that he did not manage to elaborate it in his approach to prayer, and not of the Christian character of his thought, which is clearly affirmed. Indeed, G. Bunge does not agree with Hausherr in this regard and asserts that, in spite of the philosophical use of the terms *henas* and *monas*, the last point of reference, for Evagrius, is constituted by the names of Father, Son and Holy Spirit; B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 146-147 and 152-153.

¹¹ I. Hausherr, *Leçons d'un contemplatif*, Paris 1960, 103.

¹² Alfons Deissler, *Ich bin dein Gott, der dich befreit hat*, Freiburg i.Br. 1975, 122-124 and 133-136.

¹³ But the term itself derives from Origen; it is the order of the eight *logismoi* which we owe to Evagrius; see I. Hausherr, "De doctrina spirituali Christianorum Orientalium quaestiones et scripta, *Spiritualité orientale*," originally published in OC

the list of the eight capital sins.¹⁴ For the Old Testament, the activity described with νοεῖν and usually translated as "thinking" takes place in the heart,¹⁵ and the term νοῦς, otherwise generally rendered with "intellect,"¹⁶ is used at least six times in the Septuagint as a synonym for heart, לב, or לבב.¹⁷ No such scruples pester us when it comes to strategic uses in the Gospels and the apostolic kerygma of the cognate word, μετάνοια, in which we fear no intellectualistic narrowing as with philosophers who write in Greek,¹⁸ but rather, and rightly so, the idea of a radical change, synonymous with conversion.¹⁹ More than rationalism, Evagrius is here open to the charge of oneness: Evagrius does not articulate his thought in terms of heart, partly under the influence of a platonism which did not allow him to do so.²¹ At any rate, in the context of the ascent to God as Evagrius describes it, his saying, "Charity is the gate to gnosis", does not imply

XXX, n. 36, Roma 1933, 164-175, later in: I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 20.

¹⁴ See I. Hausherr, "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huit péchés capitaux," OC XXX, nr. 86, Roma 1933, 164-175; also: Kallistos Ware, "Introduction", Colm Luibheid et alii (ed.s), *John Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, New York 1982, 62-66. On p. 63 Bishop Ware says of Pope St Gregory the Great, "the Dialogist" († 604): "He set pride in a class on its own, as the source and mother of all other vices, and omitted dejection, regarding this as the same as despondency, while adding envy to the list. In this way he produced the catalogue of the 'seven deadly sins,' familiar to the Middle Ages."

¹⁵ J. Behm, νοῦς, ThWNT IV, 949.

¹⁶ It would be nonetheless more accurate, when we speak of Evagrius, to render the term as "*apex mentis*." The *apex mentis* may be taken as a *synecdoche*, or a figure of speech in which the part stands for the whole, as when our daily bread stands for our food generally or soul for the whole person, a typical semitism. With *nous*, the best part in us stands for our whole self, and, as such, represents the deepest part of ourselves when purified; see A. M. Haas, "Meister Eckhart," G. Ruhbach u. J. Sudbrack (Hg.), *Große Mystiker*, München 1984, 166-167. See, moreover, the Letter of Evagrius to Melania, in I. Hausherr, "L'influence du 'Livre de Saint Hiérophane'", originally published in OC XXX, Nr. 84, 1933, 176-211, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 37-38. The core of the doctrine of this book comes from Evagrius; see *ibid.*, 41.

¹⁷ J. Behm, νοῦς, ThWNT IV, 952.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 974-976.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 994-995.

²⁰ See A. Guillaumont, *Les 'Kephalala gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, Paris 1962, 147, 153-159; B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 384.

²¹ One cannot ignore, however, A. Grillmeier's very negative judgment on Evagrius' christology; A. Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, I, Freiburg i.Br. 1979, 561-568.

a heretical subordination of charity to consciousness,²² but is a metaphor from Scripture, as if to say: just as light is necessary for reading, charity is needed for the higher contemplation.²³ Evagrius compares the pure intellect, or the intellect purified by grace during prayer, to a censer, instrument of divine praise;²⁴ as is said elsewhere, it is prayer which brings the best out of the intellect and thus helps it to perfect itself.²⁵ For him, the pure intellect is not only image and temple of God, but it is also "god by grace."²⁶

Hausherr insists that Evagrius' spirituality is centred on contemplation in the strict sense of the term, and not just on a perfection which includes contemplation as well.²⁷ He shows surprise not only that nobody has ever raised a protest against a definition which would seem to subordinate charity to knowledge of God, but that even St Maximus the Confessor († 662) himself not only adopts it but merely transcribes it.²⁸ Yet if the contemplation of God, perfect charity and beatitude merge into the same psychic state, a state which is identical with that of pure prayer, the *προσευχή καθαρά*, this is due to the fact that pure prayer marks the return to the primordial condition of human beings.²⁹ As Evagrius explains, "prayer is a state of the intelligence which can be realized only by means of the light of the Blessed Trinity."³⁰ Evagrius speaks of states rather than grades. Far from being merely psychological, these states are real; for example, pure prayer makes the monk equal to the angels, *ισάγγελος*, for the angelic state is equivalent to the state of pure prayer. The states of which Evagrius speaks thus serve to classify angels, human beings and demons according to an ontological hierarchy, characterized, in a descending order, by means of intellectuality, covetousness and an-

²² Thus, when we say that Jesus is the gate to paradise we in no way subordinate him to paradise, but rather indicate the only means by which we can enter.

²³ I. Hausherr, *Leçons d'un contemplatif*, Paris 1960, 110.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 109.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 115; also: 117. Hausherr observes that Evagrius' vocabulary fluctuates considerably. Whereas in nr. 60 theology and prayer are identified (at least *tendentially*, we may add by way of criticism of Hausherr's interpretation) and in nr. 85 prayer is nothing but a prelude to divine contemplation, in nr. 86 gnosis collaborates with prayer and is thus at its service; I. Hausherr, *Leçons d'un contemplatif*, Paris 1960, 120-121.

²⁶ I. Hausherr, *Leçons d'un contemplatif*, Paris 1960, 146.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 146.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

ger.³¹ It is at this point, according to Hausherr, that Evagrius draws perilously close to heretical Origenism.³² The importance of the intellect derives from the fact that, of all created beings, only human beings, and that inasmuch as endowed by intellect, are capable of the knowledge of God.³³ That Evagrius, besides identifying pure prayer with the angelic state as a return to the very beginnings, speaks so much of angels, illustrates graphically that his teaching on angels holds the key to his world.³⁴

1.2. *Change of paradigm in the relationship between spirituality and dogma*

Since for Evagrius' contemporaries theology meant something different from what the scholastic theology mostly prevalent when Hausherr taught understood by the term, it is useful to throw a quick glance at what was the term meant in Evagrius' time. We have a hint in *De Oratione*, nr.s 124 and 125, and at the end of nr. 153, with the conclusion of the whole treatise, where Hausherr, drawing on Evagrius, sums up: The contemplative or monk, while separated from everything is united to everything, and though impassible is yet exquisitely sensitive, and, in spite of being deified, considers himself to be the world's refuse,³⁵ precisely because he has attained the state he had longed for.³⁶ It is that theology in search of perfection which we may call "monastic," a term close to Evagrius' own diction, or, as we are likely to put it today, spiritual.

Although Hausherr does not elaborate what this early theology of the Church consisted in, significant hints may be gleaned from his writings. The monk who goes to the *abbas* with the nagging question, "Say, how am I to save my soul,"³⁷ serves Hausherr as a proof that the

³¹ Ibid., 147-148.

³² Ibid., 147. Among those who have grown wary in talking about the non-Christian character of Evagrius' thought is H. Bacht, "Euagrios Pontikos," G. Ruhbach u. J. Sudbrack (Hg.) *Große Mystiker: Leben und Wirken*, München 1984, 47-48, where he refers to the work of W. Löser, *Im Geiste des Origenes. H. U. von Balthasar als Interpret der Theologie der Kirchenväter*, Frankfurt a.M. 1976, 124-128.

³³ I. Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies de l'oraison*, Roma 1960, 149.

³⁴ Ibid., 148.

³⁵ Ibid., 187.

³⁶ Ibid., 158-161.

³⁷ I. Hausherr, "Vocation chrétienne et vocation monastique selon les Pères," originally published in Aa.Vv., *Laïcs et vie chrétienne parfaite*, Rome 1963, 33-115, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 405.

monastic life has no other scope than the salvation of souls. Seeking perfection and seeking salvation coincide. Therefore, if theology is supposed to mirror life, it is a life engaged in the acquisition of charity, that is to say perfection. Hausherr's study, "La théologie du monachisme chez Saint Jean Climaque,"³⁸ is instructive on this point. At the same time, the abba's striving after the saving word to tell his charge is not casual, but is conceived of in analogy to that salvific word which is the Logos become flesh, whose normative words are found in Scripture. Not in vain the formula which will characterize the prayer of Jesus is taken in the last analysis from Scripture, such as the "Kyrie eleison."³⁹ All this is integrated in a lapidary phrase: the difference between the monk and the lay person lies in the ἐργαλεία ἀρετῶν, that is to say, in the instruments of perfection,⁴⁰ rather than in the goal itself. The eucharist remains the primary and indispensable instrument, common to all. The theology in Evagrius' time was therefore "monastic" in the sense that seeking the salvation of one's soul and seeking perfection were not treated separately, thereby bringing out the fact that yearning for perfection was incumbent on the Christian as such with baptism, and was by no means the preserve of an élite. With its stress on the Word of God, of which the abba's word was meant to supply a qualified comment so as to impart concrete orientation, the community's striving to understand and to comply finds its culmination in the liturgical assembly gathered for the eucharist, for a superior means to reach perfection is inconceivable.⁴¹

What we have tried to read in Hausherr is found in the axiom of St Prosper of Aquitaine († 453 ca): "*lex orandi, lex credendi*."⁴² This, in

³⁸ I. Hausherr, "La théologie du monachisme chez Saint Jean Climaque," originally published in Aa.Vv., *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris 1961, 365-410, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 361, 373-374, 384-386 and the English translation, "The Monastic Theology of Saint John Climacus," *The American Benedictine Review* 38/4 (1987) 381-407.

³⁹ I. Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison*, Roma 1960, 33-35, 217-219 and 283-284.

⁴⁰ I. Hausherr, "Spiritualité monacale et unité chrétienne," originally published in Aa.Vv., *Monachesimo Orientale*, Convegno 9-12.05.1958, Roma 1958, 13-32, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 327; here he quotes Evagrius, *De Oratione* 60.

⁴¹ See I. Hausherr, *Prière de vie, vie de prière*, Paris 1964, 80. The eucharist should not be considered as if it were the ultimate in the spiritual life, for, as it is a sacrament, it remains a means to the purpose for which it was instituted, namely, "the spiritual assimilation (*manducation*) of Christ" by the faithful, and that is deification.

⁴² "... ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi" (DH246).

turn, may be seen in the light of the dialectical relation, in post-Renaissance exegesis, between the “*literal*” and the “*spiritual*” interpretation. In olden times, the literal sense appealed to the letter of the text, whereas the spiritual sense to the text itself. Thus, the literal sense of the crucifixion is the whole story in its various stages of nailing Christ onto the cross, whereas its spiritual sense consists in the salvific meaning of such an event.⁴³ For the modern exegete, on the contrary, the literal sense indicates the meaning intended by the human author of the sacred text, in such a way that the sense is identical with the historical facts of the account. An analysis of the literary genres helps us arrive exactly at the essence of this literal sense. Once more, the spiritual sense in antiquity was that intended by God himself,⁴⁴ which in turn often presupposed a variety of meanings, as is only natural with the superabundant richness of the Word of God. For post-Renaissance exegesis, on the contrary, the spiritual sense became more and more whatever was not well-anchored in the text read literally, a sort of addition to the “true” sense of the text,⁴⁵ indicated by the formula “*sensus plenior*,” or the fuller meaning.

From this viewpoint we may appreciate that O. Chadwick calls Evagrius “father of our spiritual literature.” Evagrius has a strictly mystical view of theology and a strictly theological view of mysticism. In view of this, Gabriel Bunge has summed Evagrius’ theology in a nutshell as the “immediate knowledge of God in the ‘state of prayer’.”⁴⁶ Still, Hausherr does not content himself with merely repeating what Evagrius said, but comments on the relationship between theology and spirituality in the light of his own contemporary situation.

2. HAUSHERR ELABORATES ON THE EVAGRIAN AXIOM

The first sustained effort to elucidate the relationship between dogma and spirituality is found in an article, published at Toulouse in *Revue d'ascétique et mystique* in 1947. It takes up the motto of cardinal Jules Saliège († 1956), archbishop of Toulouse: spirituality is

⁴³ Sandra M. Schneiders, “Scripture and Spirituality,” B. McGinn, J. Meyendorff and J. Leclercq (ed.s), *Christian Spirituality*, I, New York 1985, 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-19. Without wanting to start a discussion of exegesis as such, Schneiders remarks that the “the second naïveté” chastised by Paul Ricoeur holds true of those who cherish an unlimited trust in scientific means.

⁴⁶ G. Bunge, “Evagrius, Pontikos,” *LThK*³ 3, 1027-1028.

lived dogma.⁴⁷ Significantly, Hausherr does not add: "...and dogma is reflected spirituality"! At any rate, Hausherr singles out two aspects for clarification: (a) spirituality depends on the whole of dogma; and (b) the whole of spirituality depends on dogma.⁴⁸ If dependence here goes one-way, this points to the initiative which takes its origin when God breaks his silence and reveals himself in history. In spite of the fact that dogma is reflected in spirituality, it is the latter which depends on dogma, not dogma on spirituality. For dogma tries to capture God's initiative in taking the first step towards us human beings, to which spirituality attempts to give the qualified response under the action of God's Spirit. Even then, though it is a question of the dependence of the whole of spirituality on the whole of dogma, this dependence knows of various degrees in accordance with the hierarchy of truths.⁴⁹ In accordance with the patristic distinction between *theologia* and *oikonomia*,⁵⁰ spirituality depends first of all on *theologia*, that is to say, on all that appertains to the persons of the Trinity, according to the meaning of the term in the early centuries, then on *oikonomia*, the missions of the Word and the Spirit, and finally on the Church's efforts to keep her teaching free from heresy, and that implies recourse to a cataphatic language. In its inner dynamics, spirituality as the silent adoration of the triune God, who although revealed in salvation history remains a mystery, puts indeed the accent on apophaticism.

⁴⁷ I. Hausherr, "Dogme et spiritualité orientale," originally published in RAM 23 (1947) 3-37, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 145. See also Henri de Gensac, "Saliège, Jules-Géraud", DSP XIV, 237-238.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁵⁰ See A. Grillmeier, "Vom Symbolum zu Summa," *Mit ihm und in ihm: Christologische Forschungen und Perspektiven*, Freiburg i.Br. 1978, 585-636; B. Studer, *Gott und unsere Erlösung im Glauben der Kirche*, Düsseldorf 1985, 13-17. It was incumbent on Byzantine authors to first distinguish theology from the mythology of the gods. Athanasius of Alexandria contrasts *theologein* to *mythologein* (PG 25:40C); theology has the immanent Trinity as its object (PG 26: 49A). As late as the fourth century, *theologia* in the more specific sense of Evagrius' takes "pure prayer" as its point of reference, that is to say, it assumes a framework beyond all multiplicity, whether in image, thought or concept; see K.-H. Uthemann, "Byzantine Definition of Theology", ODB III, 2057-2058. Although "*oikonomia*" has to do with the missions of the Son and the Holy Spirit respectively, we should not forget that the ecumenical councils of the fourth century were interested in the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit primarily in function of their role in human salvation; once more we are dealing with soteriological or economical accents.

2.1. *The dilemmas of the axiom*

For Hausherr, the test of Saliège's saying comes when we turn to authors who officially belong to heretical groups, and yet are acclaimed as spiritual authors. The work of such suspect authors had to be transmitted under the name of an author respected for his orthodoxy in order to save it from destruction. In this way, several writings of Evagrius Ponticus have reached us under the name of St Nilus of Sinai,⁵¹ and were able to exercise under this name a considerable influence on Byzantine spirituality.⁵² This holds true of St Macarius of Egypt († 390) — under whose pseudonym is probably hidden Simeon of Mesopotamia (fourth-fifth century) — whose *Spiritual Homilies*, though accused of messalianism, have been avidly read by souls in search of spiritual nourishment.⁵³ The most famous case is St Isaac of Nineveh (seventh century), on whose spiritual writings all, Byzantines, and the so-called monophysites and nestorians, lavish praise.⁵⁴ The *Salvation of Sinners*, of Agaprios Landos († 1614), very popular among Orthodox Greeks, quotes uninterruptedly Latin and Italian authors, but almost never Greek ones.⁵⁵ Nor should we forget that St Nicodemus Hagiorites († 1809) had adapted the *Spiritual Combat* of Lorenzo Scupoli († 1610), a Theatine father, and had even used the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius of Loyola in the Commentary of the Jesuit Gian Paolo Pinamonti († 1703).⁵⁶

After shedding light on Saliège's axiom, Hausherr moves on to another famous saying. The Jesuit Théodore de Régnon († 1893) had explained the difference between the Greek and the Latin approach as follows: Latin philosophy starts with nature and ends with the person, whereas Greek philosophy begins with the person and finishes with nature.⁵⁷ Hardly could de Régnon have imagined the conse-

⁵¹ It is not clear whether Nilus of Sinai can be identified with Nilus of Ancyra; see M.-G. Guérard, "Nil d'Ancyre, saint," DSp XI, 345-356; H. S. Drobner, "Neilos d. Ältere v. Ancyra," LThK³ 7, 730.

⁵² I. Hausherr, "Dogme et spiritualité orientale," originally published in RAM 23 (1947) 3-37, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 149-151.

⁵³ Ibid., 151-154. The author is thus often called Ps-Macarius or, better still, Macarius / Simeon.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 154-161. Hausherr observes that Isaac has adopted thoughts from Evagrius and Philoxenus of Mabbug, a monophysite; *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 169.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 167.

⁵⁷ Théodore de Régnon, *Études de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinité*, I, Paris 1892, 433: "Latin philosophy considers the nature in itself first and proceeds to the agent; Greek philosophy considers the agent first and passes through it to find the na-

quences of his over-simplification for spirituality, says Hausherr; and, we may add, for trinitarian theology as well, especially when one deduces from it, but without the necessary distinctions, the so-called personalism of the Fathers.⁵⁸ Hausherr acutely notes the confusion which reigns in de Régnon's saying between logic and history. The Fathers who lived in the times of Arius († 336) and of Eunomius († ca 390) had no alternative but to first cope with the problem of the Son's divinity, because the Arians denied this first, whereas the Holy Spirit's divinity started becoming a problem only around the early 360's. On account of this peculiar twist of events, the Fathers were conditioned to keep in mind the three persons in order to form an idea of the common nature of the divine persons. This is far from saying that the Fathers observed the same trinitarian order or logic in their writings on the spiritual life.⁵⁹ True, V. Lossky († 1958) quotes Evagrius in support of his thesis that the theology of the Church of the East is mystical in the sense that Evagrius identified the kingdom of God with the perfect knowledge of the Trinity. Referring to his own study of 1934, Hausherr rejoins that, in spite of so much insistence on Evagrius' part on the "perfect knowledge of the Trinity," the Trinity as such does not receive any attention.⁶⁰ He appeals likewise to the studies of H. U. von Balthasar, for whom, with the exception of some irrelevant references in St Gregory of Nyssa († ca 395), there is no such thing as a trinitarian approach in the Cappadocians save in their anti-Arian polemics, and, even then, they were more bent on safeguarding the orthodox formula than on developing a mystical theology as such;⁶¹ whereas a trinitarian theology is present in St Augustine († 430), Hugo of St Victor († 1141) and their followers. And so, concludes Hausherr, mystical theology among the Latins is expressly more trinitarian than among the Greeks.⁶²

ture. The Latins think of personality as a mode of nature; the Greeks think of nature as the content of the person;" translated by J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, New York 1983, 181. In his work, *La teologia mistica della Chiesa d'Oriente*, tr. Maria Girardet, Bologna 1967, V. Lossky makes ample use of this "axiom," as is evident by a look at the index of the Italian translation, *ibid.*, 409.

⁵⁸ See A. de Halleux, "Personnalisme ou essentialisme trinitaire chez les Pères cappadociens?" and "Du personnalisme en pneumatologie", Idem, *Patrologie et oecuménisme: Recueil d'Études*, Leuven 1990, 215-268 and 396-423.

⁵⁹ I. Hausherr, "Dogme et spiritualité orientale," originally published in RAM 23 (1947) 3-37, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 173.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 174-175.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 175.

If spirituality was *nothing but* lived dogma, Hausherr argues, one would expect dogmatic differences to be reflected in spirituality, and viceversa, so that one could deduce the spirituality of a Church from its creed and historical facts would spontaneously find their place in an a priori synthesis. V. Lossky did not hesitate to draw this conclusion, with regards to Western spirituality, in his *The Mystical Theology of the Church of the East*,⁶³ where everything seems conditioned by the Filioque, a veritable Pandora's chest for all the ills and woes of the West, spiritual and otherwise. In effect, however, Christians have never attributed much weight to this difference.⁶⁴ The difference would then seem to be a misunderstanding, without a *fundamento in re* in an eventual list of the disputes which separate East and West, even in the field of spirituality and dogma.

The result of Hausherr's analysis is twofold. First, the relationship between dogma and spirituality is *one-way*, since spirituality is the *answer* to God's offer of salvation in revelation, and therefore not simply man's experience of God in a moment of grace. Again, the concrete elaboration of dogma includes the use of language which exploits the cataphatic level, whereas spirituality as mysticism privileges the apophatic; hence, one should not press the relationship between both into a point by point correspondence, especially since with the shifting of the levels the meaning changes. Even then, this one-way relationship must include the mysticism of a particular national Church, of particular spiritual communities and so forth, and not prescind from them. In this way, there are whole areas which, while not accounting for the essence of spirituality, afford us particularly significant expressions of it.⁶⁵

⁶³ V. Lossky originally published *La théologie mystique de l'Église d'Orient* in Paris in 1944. From L. P. Karsavin († 1952) he had learnt to see in the Filioque the source of all Western woes; see N. O. Lossky, *History of Russian Philosophy*, New York 1951, 310-311. In another work, "L'imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine," in Aa.Vv., *Mélanges offertes au R. P. F. Cavallera*, Toulouse 1948, 231-259, later published in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 217, Hausherr begins with a quotation from V. Lossky in order to refute it so as to show once more that this is an over-simplification. Later on, after 1947, Lossky modifies his position on the Filioque because of his discovering, in preparing a conference for Oxford University, Gregory of Cyprus, patriarch of Constantinople (1283-1289). For Lossky's conference see V. Lossky, "La procession du Saint-Esprit dans la doctrine trinitaire orthodoxe," *À l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu*, Paris 1967, 89-92.

⁶⁴ I. Hausherr, "Dogme et spiritualité orientale," *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 176-177.

⁶⁵ Here, T. Špidlík, SJ, has given ample space to the peculiarities of the spirituality of the Slavs; see the latter's "Tratti salienti della spiritualità slava," in: Pontifical Lat-

2.2. *The primacy of spirituality*

In spite of the fact that Hausherr seems to abide by the one-way interpretation of the axiom — that spirituality is lived dogma, and not the other way round as well — a conference which he gave towards the end of his teaching career, in 1967, induces us to rethink the concrete relationship between the two alternatives of the dilemma. Without the primacy of the spiritual, he says, one cannot understand the Christian East.⁶⁶ Primacy ought to be understood in a non-exclusive sense, but only in the sense of a certain prevalence. Hausherr strives to avoid two misunderstandings. The first is against using “spiritual” in too general a sense so that what is specifically Christian is easily lost. Thus, talk of Buddhist “spirituality,” instead of “Buddhist mysticism,” ignores the point that “spirituality” is to be reserved to the *Spirit* of God, the third person of the Trinity,⁶⁷ to whom every good action in spirituality may be traced back as an action to its cause.⁶⁸ Once more, it becomes manifest that the primacy of spirituality finds its fundamental anchoring in dogma, in *theology*. Against the shallows of a dualistic anthropology, this primacy of the Spirit in an East under the sway of St Irenaeus ought to be demonstrated not only by showing its impact on the will, but also on the intelligence.

2.2.1. Primacy of the spiritual by means of intelligence in science

As for the first dimension, Hausherr tries to show the superiority of true Eastern “knowledge,” which is not a matter of intelligence, but of Spirit. Then there follows a favourite passage from St Irenaeus:

It is indeed more useful and preferable to lack studies and be an *idiota* than to be deprived of intelligence. [There are indeed intelligent persons with little little formal training, but even more so experts who lack intelligence]. Thus it is better to have studied little and approach God through charity than to reach a point where, in spite of intense studies and an undoubted capacity, one blasphemes the Lord God. And so St Paul says: *knowledge puffs up, it is charity that builds up*. [Without incriminating true knowledge of God — for otherwise he would be condemning himself

eran University and Catholic University of Lublin (ed.s), *The Common Roots of the European Nations*, II, Florence 1982, 342-351.

⁶⁶ I. Hausherr, “Pour comprendre l’Orient chrétien: La primauté du spirituel,” OCP 33, 1967, 351-369.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 352.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 353.

in the first place — he knew that there are those who exploit their knowledge to give themselves airs, retaining themselves to be perfect and therefore exempt from charity].⁶⁹

To affirm the primacy of love is St Irenaeus' idea of overcoming gnostic dualism.⁷⁰ Hausherr appeals to an image from Ps-Macarius: Without the Spirit, an Aristotle or a Plato or a Socrates are comparable to an enormous city without bastions, an invitation for the enemies to come and plunder.⁷¹ Then, Hausherr explains two sayings of Evagrius. First, "If you are a theologian you truly pray. If you truly pray you are a theologian!," means that, for Easterners, the true theologian is a man of prayer, or rather, a mystic. Then, to assert that there is only one gate leading to true gnosis, charity, means that the knowledge of all things and virtues put together presupposes that charity is the crown of all the virtues.⁷² Hausherr adds: even if Evagrius' errors in christology are generally acknowledged,⁷³ on this precise point of charity as the gate to gnosis he shows himself to be the disciple of St Basil of Caesarea († 379), of St Gregory of Nazianzus († 389) and of Ps-Macarius. That charity should precede knowledge⁷⁴ has re-echoed throughout the centuries in the East.⁷⁵ It is charity which affords the criterion for the authenticity of knowledge.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ *Occasione scientiae seipsos opinari esse perfectos* (Cont. Haer. II, cap. 39, Harvey II, 345). Quoted, with Hausherr's comments, in "Pour comprendre l'Orient chrétien: La primauté du spirituel," OCP 33 (1967) 354-355.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 355-356.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 357.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 358.

⁷³ Besides the negative judgment of A. Grillmeier, see F. Refoulé, "La christologie d'Évagre et l'origénisme," OCP 27 (1961) 221-266. See also B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 386.

⁷⁴ Another example is furnished by Hausherr himself: "a spiritual person is someone in whom, because of the mortification of the passions and the *apatheia* (dispassion) which results from it, charity has brought about the knowledge (*gnosis*) of things divine and the *diacrisis* of things human, so that one is able to guide others in the ways of God, without danger to self;" I. Hausherr, *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois*, Roma 1955, 52; translated by A. P. Gythiel, in: I. Hausherr, *Spiritual Direction in the Christian East*, Kalamazoo, Michigan 1990, 42. Here, charity is the gate in the sense of being the presupposition of spiritual paternity.

⁷⁵ I. Hausherr, "Pour comprendre l'Orient chrétien: La primauté du spirituel," OCP 33 (1967) 359.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 360.

2.2.2 (b) Primacy of the spiritual by means of the will in life and morals

In order to show an analogous integration brought about by the Spirit in the realm of the will, Hausherr takes his cue from the distinction Orientals make between *somatic* and *pneumatic* (or spiritual) virtues. While we may speak of a "record" of fasting and other spiritual feats, the great Fathers are discreet and relativize them.⁷⁷ The greatest gift of the Spirit, for them, is charity.⁷⁸ Against the literalism with which the Messalians explained the Lord's injunction to pray without ceasing (Lk 21:36; 1 Thes 5:17), St Epiphanius († 403) interprets perpetual prayer as resisting the sheer thought of sinning. He uses a verb: ἀντιπάττειν, which corresponds exactly to the *agere contra* of St Ignatius of Loyola († 1556).⁷⁹ Hausherr comments that, in their solitude, monks sought God-Charity in order to transform themselves into charity.⁸⁰ By refusing to pronounce himself on the legitimacy of their claim to have the primacy of the spiritual Hausherr simply allows for criticism from a Western viewpoint. Deification is an Eastern term which sounds terribly unrealistic to the West, but in fact it represents an incarnate spirituality which is not materialistic and is actually common to the West, as John Scotus Erigena († ca 877) had already noted.⁸¹ Talk of the will and intellect as instruments of the primacy of the spiritual points to the differentiation implied in the unity of the intellect and the will in human beings and undergird by a deeper unity, held together by charity, between theory and practice.⁸² It does not aim to reestablish the unity of theology and spirituality but, rather, to rediscover the primordial unity from which the subsequent differentiation between theology and spirituality flows.

2.2.2 (c) The primacy of the spiritual through the encounter of intelligence and will

There follows a brief comment on the encounter of the primacy of the spiritual as manifest in the intelligence and the will on the terrain

⁷⁷ Ibid., 361-362.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 351-363.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 364.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 365.

⁸¹ Ibid., 369.

⁸² Ibid., 363-369.

of the social. Talking of social or ecclesial life, Hausherr interprets every society as a plurality of physical forces reduced to a moral unity.⁸³ A prime concern seems to ward off the false impression that, in the West, such a unity would be bought off at the price of legalism. All in all, this comment on the encounter of the two fonts of energies in man at the social level, according to I. Hausherr, has not been developed adequately. For one thing, he insists that "monk" means "solitary," in the sense of "single-mindedness," but open to charitable works.⁸⁴ This follows his rejoinder to the criticism St Basil levels at the eremitical life, which he considered to be exaggerated. Elsewhere Hausherr repeats this and rejects the possibility of the equivalence of *monk* with *iḥīdāyā*, which, however, points not so much to the solitariness of the monk as to the integration of the monk's energies by identifying with Christ.⁸⁵ So the difference may be bridgeable.

2.2.3. The "gnostic" as monk

What Hausherr says about charity as perfection illustrates the unity of dogma and spirituality, and this in two steps. (a) Perfection can be understood as a *unity to which we aspire*, but which includes theology as integral part of it. (b) Perfection can be understood as an already "*realized unity*," consequently, an ideal which has already been achieved. The monk as gnostic is an example of somebody who has already attained integration.⁸⁶ Hausherr's idea of the search for perfection tallies with that of St John Chrysostom († 407). The monastic idea, far from separating monks from the common run, brings out what is common to all in this very search for perfection. Thus,

⁸³ I. Hausherr, "Pour comprendre l'Orient chrétien: La primauté du spirituel," OCP 33 (1967) 365.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 364-365.

⁸⁵ "Spiritualité monacale et unité chrétienne," Aa. Vv., *Monachesimo Orientale*, (OCA 153), Roma 1958, 13-32, later published in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 318. This article goes back to 1958 and Hausherr could not see ulterior developments of research on this point; see A. Guillaumont, *Études sur la spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien*, Abbaye de Bellefontaine, Bégrolles-en-Mauges 1996, 189-210 and Ph. Escolan, *Monachisme et Église*, Paris 1999, 11-69.

⁸⁶ As far as method is concerned one may repeat here what Hausherr says in "La théologie du monachisme chez Saint Jean Climaque," originally published in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris 1961, 385-410, later published in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 363: "As for the theology of the monastic way according to Climacus we simply have to guess it" (tr. EGF). We have no choice but to put together the disparate elements, yet this does not invalidate the enterprise, but only contextualizes it.

the best means to attain perfection such as the eucharist is common to all who seek perfection, monks distinguishing themselves from lay persons only in the secondary means.⁸⁷ In this sense, Hausherr has anticipated Vatican II's *Perfectae Caritatis* and *Lumen Gentium*, which start with the "universal call to holiness" even before arriving at the particular calls to perfection as found in monasticism or the religious life, and further ramified in the particular charisms of monasticism and of the various religious families. A correct interpretation of charity as the gate to gnosis⁸⁸ puts the accent on charity as the essence of unity.⁸⁹ Therefore, the monastic vocation, for all the insubordination and division which have chequered its history, is by nature an eminently "unifying" vocation.⁹⁰

In analogy to that which Hausherr says in a strictly monastic context, but going beyond him, we may ask whether it is not the "gnostic" as theologian who will integrate theology as the ensemble of dogmas and experiences of unity with God.⁹¹ If it is up to the monk to practise asceticism, organically united with mysticism,⁹² can this differentiated unity of asceticism and mysticism not serve as a model for the differentiated unity between dogma and spirituality? And once more: will not theology be in search of unity at an ecclesial level, after this experience of integration at the mystical level, and thus be characterized by an ecumenical urge? Moreover, in putting the accent on the primacy of the spiritual, Hausherr seems to revert, or at least modify, Saliège's axiom. We may venture to put it this way. In-

⁸⁷ I. Hausherr, "Spiritualité monacale et unité chrétienne," Aa.Vv., *Monachismo Orientale*, (= OCA 153), 1958, 13-32, later published in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 318-319.

⁸⁸ I. Hausherr, "La théologie du monachisme chez Saint Jean Climaque," originally published in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris 1961, 385-410, later published in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 365, 367.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 363. On page 365, after quoting Evagrius on charity as the gate to gnosis, Hausherr says that at the top of the ladder one cannot talk of anything but charity. In "La charité fraternelle," originally published in *Christus* 31 (1961) 291-305, later published in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 400, he describes fraternal charity as the point of intersection for all lines following which one may define charity.

⁹⁰ I. Hausherr, "Vocation chrétienne et vocation monastique selon les Pères," originally published in Aa.Vv., *Laïcs et vie chrétienne parfaite*, Rome 1963, 33-115, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 439, 447.

⁹¹ See A. Guillaumont, *Études sur la spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien*, Abbaye de Bellefontaine, Bégrolles-en-Mauges 1996, 151-160.

⁹² I. Hausherr, "La théologie du monachisme chez Saint Jean Climaque," originally published in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris 1961, 385-410, later published in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 365.

sofar as we view dogma from the stance of revelation which particular dogmas aim at articulating, spirituality can only be understood as lived dogma. But if we understood dogma as the articulated expression of the Church's cataphatic efforts, then this expression always lags behind the lived experience of the Spirit at work in discernment,⁹³ and so dogma may be described as reflected spirituality, especially since the Church articulates her teaching by reflecting on her praxis in administering the sacraments and her praxis generally speaking. This, however, can be asserted only *relatively* speaking, i.e. in relation to the fact that God's initiative in salvation history comes first and solicits from us a response in faith assent and spirituality. In an absolute sense, the dependence of spirituality on dogma remains.

3. THEOLOGY AS UNITY OF DOGMA AND SPIRITUALITY — IN HAUSHERR AND OTHERS

Two issues come to the fore here: (a) the influence which Hausherr's discovery of Evagrius exercised on other theologians; and (b) the difference which this makes for theology. Naturally, it was not Hausherr alone or this discovery alone which set a whole new process going. In the last analysis, the idea of the unity of dogma and spirituality is as old as the initial theology of the Church. Among the great minds which have helped to bring new balance into theology by stressing afresh the integral unity of dogma and spirituality, everyone in his field, and who made use of I. Hausherr's studies may be mentioned M. Viller, J. Maréchal, K. Rahner and H. U. von Balthasar. By way of example, we may follow Hausherr's influence on Viller and Maréchal.

⁹³ In his *Foundations of Christian Faith: An introduction to the idea of Christianity*, translation of *Grundkurs des Glaubens* by W. V. Dych, New York 1978, 14-15, K. Rahner puts it this way: "We are dealing with the idea, not with the reality immediately; here as nowhere else idea and reality are incommensurate with each other, although, on the other hand, nowhere does the idea require turning to the reality itself in order to be understood as much as it does here. ... But there is not just the purely objective 'in itself' of a reality on the one hand, and the 'clear and distinct idea' of it on the other, but there is a more original unity, not indeed for everything and anything, but certainly for the realization of human existence, and this is a unity of reality and 'self-presence' which is more, and is more original, than the unity of this reality and the concept which objectifies it."

3.1. *Influence of a discovery*

The discovery of Evagrius, as the restored image which had been covered in a palimpsest, has been able to bear fruit beyond the field of patristics, because of a "return to the sources," encouraged by Vatican II, but which Hausherr had practised in his research and writings well ahead of the Council. The interest which in his contribution to the theme of the unity of dogma and spirituality goes beyond Hausherr's work.

3.1.1. Marcel Viller († 1954) and the patristic verification

In an article of 1930, entitled "Aux sources de la spiritualité de s. Maxime: Les oeuvres d'Évagre le Pontique" Marcel Viller, first director of *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, takes his cue from Hausherr's discovery.⁹⁴ He expresses surprise that St Maximus, for all his great influence on the whole of Byzantine theology,⁹⁵ would have constructed his spirituality by drawing on Evagrius, a heretic.⁹⁶ As an example may serve the central theme of ἀγάπη and of γνῶσις. For Maximus, charity is the virtue *par excellence*, since it unites us to the Creator by means of deification. Charity "is that good disposition following which the soul does not prefer anything to the knowledge of God."⁹⁷ Like Evagrius, Maximus likes to repeat that there is no created reality that ought to be had rather than the knowledge of God.⁹⁸ Pure prayer not only is not to be identified with the contemplation of the Trinity, but is described with expressions used by Evagrius such as "having entered into light without form."⁹⁹ Besides, such prayer presupposes, for the one as well as for the other, a thoroughly purified soul.¹⁰⁰ Both of them agree that only in this way can one reach theology.¹⁰¹ Given Viller's stature as a patristic scholar, his approval of the way

⁹⁴ M. Viller, "Aux sources de la spiritualité de s. Maxime," RAM 11 (1930) 156-184 and 239-268.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 257-258.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 159-160.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 239.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 240-241.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 252.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 253.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 255-256.

Hausherr reinterprets Evagrius is an important note in the history of spirituality.¹⁰²

3.1.2. Joseph Maréchal's († 1944) psychologico-philosophical approach to mysticism

Joseph Maréchal, too, founder of transcendental thomism, followed Hausherr's lead.¹⁰³ Evagrian spirituality has come to occupy, in the history of spirituality, a more important place than the spirituality of Ps-Dionysius. Evagrius' problem is how to comprehend the Incomprehensible. For Maréchal, in spite of the fact that Evagrius does mention Christ the anchoring of contemplation in Christ remains problematic.¹⁰⁴ Since Evagrius was under the influence of neoplatonic monism, which assimilates mode and object of consciousness, it was difficult for him to still imagine a mediation of Christ's humanity at the apex of spiritual contemplation.¹⁰⁵ The light of which Evagrius speaks, says Maréchal, does not need another light, because God is light, with the whole difference which passes between neoplatonic and Evagrian light, the latter attributing the possibility of the vision of this light to sanctifying grace.¹⁰⁶ For Maréchal, no comment is better than Hausherr's: the vision takes place as in a mirror; that is to say, one sees God not in inferior creatures, although they themselves, too, are sealed by the divine wisdom, but in the deified intellect which is an image of the divine nature. "The vision of God by means of the perfect intellect may be identified with the vision which the intellect has of itself."¹⁰⁷ Maréchal asks if in Evagrius this vision of God differs from the beatific vision. With the help of Evagrius' famous letter VIII, once attributed to St Basil, Maréchal concludes that the difference lies in the perfection of the beatific vision, and not in the mode.¹⁰⁸ Both times the vision takes

¹⁰² To gauge the influence of Viller's book it is enough to think that K. Rahner has translated Viller's *La Spiritualité des premiers siècles chrétiens*, Paris 1930, making it practically double in size; see M. Viller – K. Rahner, *Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit*, Freiburg i.Br. 1939.

¹⁰³ J. Maréchal, *Études sur la psychologie des mystiques*, II, Paris 1937, 121: "It is Fr Hausherr whom we ransack in the first place..." (tr. E.G.F.).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 126. In this way, comments Maréchal, Evagrius here meets St Gregory of Nyssa.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 126-128.

place without the intervention of a creature. There arises the question if a metaphysics of mysticism as of light without form is possible.¹⁰⁹ It has been often assumed that what could grant unity to theology is precisely mysticism. But what would then be the relationship between such a mystical vision and speculative or systematic theology? There comes to mind St Thomas Aquinas' confiding, at the end of his life, that what he had written was but "straw."¹¹⁰ It has also been convincingly proposed that the reason why K. Rahner admired Maréchal so much was the fact that he had elaborated a way of dialoguing with modern transcendental philosophy and modern mystical philosophy.¹¹¹

3.2. *The importance of a discovery*

How are we to conceive a theology able to fulfil such demands? It would be easy to mistake this question with the other question, which is analogous but not identical, if theology of mysticism is possible.¹¹² It is a matter of theology *as* mysticism, that is to say, of an organic unity of dogma and spirituality, and not of simple parallels between dogma and spirituality, as in disciplines that may be compared. As in the *organum* called the body there are not only parallel structures such as the two hands and the two lungs, but also unique structures such as the head and the heart, so, too, in the case of the *organum theologicum*. Three questions arise. What concrete form would a theology assume which is organically united with spirituality, from the viewpoint of *mysticism* (that is to say, of the immediate character of the union with God), of *symbols* (that is to say, of the attempt to express in socio-cultural categories this experience of the immediate) and of *philosophy* (that is to say, of the further explanation in rational categories of this attempt)? In a first moment, this theology would seem to have nothing in common with the theology taught in school

¹⁰⁹ See R. Beulay, *La lumière sans forme. Introduction à l'étude de la mystique chrétienne syro-orientale*, Chevetogne (s.d.) [1987?], 16-34.

¹¹⁰ See K. Rahner, "Thomas von Aquin", *Glaube, der die Erde liebt*, Frankfurt 1966, 152.

¹¹¹ K. H. Neufeld, "Unter Brüdern. Zur Frühgeschichte der Theologie K. Rahners aus der Zusammenarbeit mit H. Rahner," in H. Vorgrimler, *Wagnistheologie: Erfahrungen mit der Theologie Karl Rahners*, Freiburg i.Br. 1979, 348.

¹¹² From the various efforts to elaborate a theology of mysticism B. McGinn has offered us an excellent survey in his *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 263-343, by summing up attempts from the theological, philosophical and psychological viewpoints. On Maréchal, see *ibid.*, 297-302.

and thus every comparison would be equivocal. But this manifest misunderstanding shows how we have departed from the unitary concept of theology, whose soul is mysticism, that is to say, spirituality. This unitary concept, of which Evagrius has made himself the advocate and which has been adopted by Hausherr, helps us to capture the continuity. Just as the ego lets itself be purified and becomes the *apex mentis* capable of union with God, so, too, in a cataphatic theology which undergoes purification, one recovers the apophatic theology of mystery.

3.2.1. Attempts to retrieve the broken unity of theology

As is well-known, the year 1054 did not mark the definitive break between East and West, but was only a stage in the progressive cooling of charity and in the interruption of "communitarian theology."¹¹³ Precisely this communitarian theology seeks a theology consonant with mysticism. But following the involution in the mutual relations between East and West the unity loosens over various steps. One of these milestones¹¹⁴ in theology is undoubtedly St Thomas Aquinas († 1274). It is generally acknowledged that until Peter Lombard († 1160), the centre of the theological synthesis, in both East and West, was charity understood as uncreated grace,¹¹⁵ even though his identification of the holy Spirit with the virtue of charity was soon rejected. But with Philip the Chancellor († 1236), and still more so with St Thomas, the accent is put on created grace, consequently on *habitus*.¹¹⁶ This change came about primarily because of what is called the "anthropological turn," or the presentation of theological contents by adapting them — not: reducing them! — to their addressee, man. Nonetheless, the common apophatic tradition was in no way abandoned. Indeed, the turn to man in presenting the divine mysteries became imperative in the West because it was felt that it is

¹¹³ A. Quacquarelli, "Parola e immagine nella teologia comunitaria dei Padri", Idem (a cura di), *Complementi interdisciplinari di patrologia*, Roma 1989, 178-183.

¹¹⁴ In Western art, the watershed between East and West is Giotto di Bondone († 1336/1337), but with the necessary qualifiers noted by E. H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, London 1992, 150-154.

¹¹⁵ P. Fransen, "Dogmengeschichtliche Entfaltung der Gnadenlehre," *Mysterium Salutis*, 4/2, Einsiedeln 1973, here 663-682.

¹¹⁶ For this reason, only the *fides caritate formata* was considered by scholastics to justify man and "*caritas*," understood as the love of God, "in-formed" faith; see O. H. Pesch, "Gottes Gnadenhandeln als Rechtfertigung des Menschen," *Mysterium Salutis* 4/2, 861f, 881.

easier to start with the changes wrought in man due to the Spirit's indwelling in our hearts (Rom 5:5) than to insist on the mystery of God who dwells in our heart.¹¹⁷ In effect, Hausherr has helped theology recover its patristic balance through his studies which insisted on charity as the centre of Eastern spirituality. After Vatican II, these efforts have shown themselves particularly fruitful. It remains to see what these results would be if we pushed this "turn" to its ultimate consequences.

3.2.2. A theology at once systematical and mystical?

Hausherr's rehabilitation of Evagrius as a first-rate spiritual figure poses the question what difference it makes for the structure of the theological edifice if praying and theologizing go together.¹¹⁸ One is tempted to add mystical theology to the normal dogmatic theology of the school to bridge the gap between the theology of the head and the theology of the heart,¹¹⁹ and thus create a new equilibrium among the concepts which theology needs.¹²⁰ But such an addition from the outside hinders precisely an organic modelling of theology and spirituality as an organic unity. An attempt at unifying theology and spirituality organically and not merely accidentally has already been undertaken in our times with various degrees of success. Suffice it to think of Karl Rahner's *Grundkurs des Glaubens*.¹²¹ Even if one may

¹¹⁷ On these points see P. Fransen, "Dogmengeschichtliche Entfaltung der Gnadenlehre," *Mysterium Salutis* 4/2, 642-646, 671-682.

¹¹⁸ An echo of this labour is found in K. Rahner, "Zur scholastischen Begrifflichkeit der ungeschaffenen Gnade," *Schriften zur Theologie*, I, Einsiedeln 1954, 347-375; the article was published in 1939.

¹¹⁹ For an example of "*theologia cordis*" see A. Haas (Hg.), *Ignatius von Loyola, Geistliche Übungen*, Freiburg i.Br. 1966, 140-150.

¹²⁰ Hausherr's main interest does not lie with the problem of the unity of dogma and spirituality from the viewpoint of dogma as such. But since he carries his analysis of spiritual concepts with rigour he could not help shed precious light on much that is useful dogmatically as well; for example, the famous Gordian knot in soteriology which pits Duns Scotus against St Thomas finds an early answer in I. Hausherr, "Un précurseur de la théorie scotiste sur la fin de l'Incarnation," originally published in *Recherches de sciences religieuses*, 22 (1932) 316-320, later in I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Roma 1969, 1-5. However, besides numerous particular items it is Hausherr's whole approach of the unity of dogma and spirituality which may be rendered fruitful for a theological method.

¹²¹ K. Rahner, *Grundkurs des Glaubens*, Freiburg i. Br. 1976, 26-34. For Rahner's extensive use of Hausherr's discovery of Evagrius, see E. G. Farrugia, "Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit: Editionsbericht," *Karl Rahner, Sämtliche Werke*, III: *Spiritualität und Theologie der Kirchenväter*, Freiburg i.Br. 1999, bearbeitet durch A. R. Bat-

ask if the methodological intent of such attempts has been factually realized, the distinction between conception and realization remains a criterion for all. Rahner assumes all throughout that spiritual experience anticipates any articulation of dogma. Since man is defined by mystery, theology must be, in its core, mystical¹²² — and the Christian of tomorrow must be a mystic.

3.2.3. Can theology do without symbols?

Since Hausherr has privileged the Evagrian line, unlike J. Meyendorff, who privileged the theology of the heart of Ps-Macarius,¹²³ the word "heart", term *par excellence* for real symbol, therefore, for the realistic-theistic philosophy of the Fathers, is, to be sure, not the key word in Hausherr's articulation.¹²⁴ This spells out a limit in Hausherr's approach. Talking this way, one may ask whether it is possible to do without any intermediary between primordial experience and its thematization. The problem is generalized, for, indeed, it touches the question of the relationship between experience and its articulation in philosophy. H. Bergson it was who called metaphysics that science which claims to dispense with symbols.¹²⁵ Prescinding from the specific meaning which Bergson gives to these terms, it remains to be seen up to which point a theology may live without intermediaries, a problem, which, as is known, is very alive in the East, thanks to the vivid sense of the apophatic. Once more, in the East, the problem is tied precisely to spirituality, because prayer in its higher echelons

logg, E. G. Farrugia and K. H. Neufeld, XLVII, XLIX, LII, LIV, LX, LXIV, LXVIII and LXXI, LXXVII; sec, besides, J. Schösser, "Register," *ibid.*, p. 460.

¹²² K. Rahner, "Über den Begriff des Geheimnisses in der katholischen Theologie," *Idem, Schriften zur Theologie*, IV, Einsiedeln 1967, 51-99 and: *Idem*, "Überlegungen zur Methode der Theologie," *Schriften zur Theologie*, IX, Einsiedeln 1972, 79-126.

¹²³ J. Meyendorff, *St Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, tr. A. Friske, Crestwood, NY 1974, 20-30. In "La spiritualité byzantine," in: J. Leclercq, F. Vandebroucke et L. Bouyer, *La spiritualité du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1960, 647, L. Bouyer's only reservation concerning J. Meyendorff's account of Orthodox spirituality is its one-sided insistence on the Ps-Macarian tradition, to the detriment of the Evagrian contribution.

¹²⁴ Hausherr, in his study, "L'hésychasme. Étude de spiritualité," originally published in OCP 25 (1959) 44-52, later in I. Hausherr, *Hésychasme et prière*, Roma 1966, 163-237, does not give pride of place to the word "heart", although it is a matter of the prayer of the heart.

¹²⁵ H. Bergson, "Introduction à la métaphysique," *Oeuvres*, Paris 1970, 1396. For Bergson's importance for mysticism, see B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 303-305.

dispenses with all images; therefore, not solely with icons, but also with concepts and even with words. We are one step removed from the idea Evagrius has of pure prayer,¹²⁶ which is not *supplication* (*deesis*) but lies beyond all conceptualization, in a moment in which the *nous* becomes the *apex mentis*, the nude intellect, stripped of everything, and is ready to accept God.¹²⁷ A theology united to spirituality must take this fact into account. Every concept of theology must be a spiritual concept, consequently a concept which, being open to the infinite, cannot be defined but only described, taking as its point of departure the symbolic acts of the Church — in the proclamation of the Word no less than in the administration of the sacraments, in the liturgical functions no less than in the ethico-religious praxis. Precisely the symbolical character of everything underlies once more that in Eastern spirituality nothing is ultimately private, but everything is public and communitarian. The temptation to extreme apophaticism, typical of spirituality when abstracted from dogma, in effect invalidates it: a spirituality without the ballast of dogma can easily degenerate into an empty pietism, just as, we may add, dogma without the wings of spirituality can easily degenerate into a perilous ideology.

3.2.4. Can theology do without philosophy?

Evagrius had spoken of the capacity of the purified intellect to see itself outside of itself¹²⁸ and, seeing itself purified, sees God.¹²⁹ The possibility of a philosophy, even if Hausherr did not pose this question, remains a valid question. What is needed is a philosophy, and not just a philosophical language, because a merely philosophical language would condemn its user to nominalism. We must acknowl-

¹²⁶ What Evagrius calls 'pure' or 'true' prayer is the gradual stripping of oneself of all images and forms so as to attain immediate contact, without form and without concept, with the Trinity beyond number and form, as B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 150, puts it.

¹²⁷ Once more, B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 150 expresses it this way: Evagrius' "essential gnosis" describes the goal of the whole process as being "not knowledge of something, but the knowledge that is the Holy Trinity."

¹²⁸ See R. Beulay, *La lumière sans forme*, Chevetogne (s.d.), [1987?], 146. See, also, I. Hausherr on "Ignorance infinie ou science infinie," originally published in OCP 25 (1959) 44-52, later in I. Hausherr, *Hesychasme et prière*, Roma 1966, 238-246.

¹²⁹ B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, I, New York 1992, 153.

edge that there is a reality independent of us — and with this a blunt no is said to idealism! — and that this reality derives from God in such a way that even in the light of natural reason one would perceive the divine imprint — and with this a clear yes is said to theistic realism, that is to say, to a true philosophy.¹³⁰ If a theology should deny it from the outset, it would be tantamount to an abortive thought, incapable of doing what Adam did, when, seeing the whole of creation pass in front of him in review, has called creatures with their corresponding names, including his wife, Eve, called Mother of all the living! Should spirituality reserve the answer to God alone, there would follow epistemological and semantic chaos, instead of that orchestration of beauty and goodness which honours so much the enterprise of theology and spirituality as theological disciplines. Discernment is just this capacity to find the fitting word.

CONCLUSION, OR BETTER STILL: EXPLANATION OF THE SUBTITLE

Even if Hausherr has reflected only on part of the problem of the relationship between dogma and spirituality, he has afforded us enough elements to enable us to continue the work. This is already much. Hausherr's studies on messalianism, for example, have enriched not only the question of the discernment of the spirit, but also the theology of baptism. Much remains to be done, because the pragmatic division of work at a level of specialization, as is found in the programme of studies of the Pontifical Oriental Institute and justified pragmatically, may seem to allow the expert on dogma to ignore spirituality and the expert on spirituality to ignore dogma. This amounts to doing theology — *more non orientale!* And if spirituality without dogma is pietism, dogma without spirituality is ideology. Instead, every dogmatic concept is spiritual, because it is like a window with a human framework which opens up onto mystery. Every spiritual movement is an answer to the revelation of God the Father through his Logos and wants to anticipate the eschaton. As of more

¹³⁰ Vatican I's "De revelatione" says: "If anyone says that the one, true God, our creator and Lord, cannot be known with certainty from the things that have been made, by the natural light of human reason: let he be anathema;" N. P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, II, Washington DC 1990, 810. Rather than two separate realms Easterners see more of a continuum between nature and grace. For the philosophy of the Fathers, see É. Bréhier, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, Cambridge, MS 1931 and H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, Cambridge, MS 1956; H. U. von Balthasar, *Sponsa Verbi: Skizzen zur Theologie*, II, Einsiedeln 1971, 349-387.

than a century now it has been asserted that eschatology should mark the beginning of dogma, and not its end alone — here Kostantinos Dyovuniotes († 1943) meets Johannes Weiss († 1914) — and yet thus far no such comprehensive dogmatics which tries to keep eschatology in mind from the beginning, as in the early Church, has been written. In effect, such an effort would mean retrieving the eschatological dimension of the sacraments and that of monasticism, often used as *pars pro toto* for Eastern spirituality. In this sense, one has still to retrieve the original patristic insight of the dogmatic primacy of the spiritual as a vision of dogma from within. The example of Hausherr is not only to be admired, but also imitated, and even prolonged!

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Les développements récents de la recherche évagrienne

INTRODUCTION

C'est à la fin du XIX^e siècle et au début du XX^e siècle que le renouveau des études évagriennes s'est véritablement effectué, grâce à la monographie de Zöckler (Munich 1893)¹, et surtout grâce à l'édition de deux versions orientales d'Évagre: l'édition arménienne de Sarghisian (Venise 1907) et l'édition syriaque de Frankenberg (Berlin 1912)². Ces deux éditions ont stimulé les deux chercheurs qui vont occuper pendant plus de trente ans la scène de la recherche évagrienne, c'est-à-dire le Père Irénée Hausherr, à Rome, et Joseph Muyldermans, à Louvain. Le premier article de Muyldermans (1929) est consacré à un texte pseudépigraphé attribué à Évagre dans le corpus arménien édité par Sarghisian³, et le premier article du Père Hausherr (1931) porte sur une étude comparative des versions syriaque et arménienne de deux œuvres majeures d'Évagre, les *Képhalaia Gnostica* et le *Gnostique*⁴. Chacun à sa façon va contribuer à ramener en pleine lumière l'œuvre d'Évagre. Muyldermans a surtout travaillé dans le domaine philologique en inventariant les manuscrits grecs et orientaux et en éditant les textes au fur et à mesure de ses découvertes; de son côté, le Père Hausherr, sans négliger l'aspect philologique, s'est surtout intéressé au message ascétique et mystique de l'auteur. La part consacrée à l'édition proprement dite est chez lui réduite⁵ et elle se trouve en fait très liée à sa préoccupation principale, l'étude des *Chapitres sur la prière* d'Évagre. On sait comment, allant à l'en-

¹ O. Zöckler, *Evagrius Pontikus. Seine Stellung in der alichristlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, Munich 1893.

² Pour la bibliographie courante on se reportera aux numéros 2430-2482 de la CPG, complétés par les pages 77-82 du *Supplementum*.

³ J. Muyldermans, «Le Discours de Xystus dans la version arménienne d'Evagrius le Pontique», *REArm* 9 (1929) 183-201.

⁴ I. Hausherr, «Les versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique», *OC* XXII, Rome 1931.

⁵ «Le "De oratione" d'Évagre le Pontique en syriaque et en arabe», *OCP* 5 (1939) 7-71, avec l'appendice «Nouveaux fragments grecs d'Évagre le Pontique», *ibid.*, 229-233, qui reprend une édition introuvable d'Epifanovič.

contre de toute la tradition grecque qui place le traité sous le nom de Nil, mais sur la foi des versions arabe et syriaque qu'il venait d'éditer et sur la base d'une critique interne serrée, il a démontré que ce traité revenait en fait à Évagre et constituait même une de ses œuvres les plus significatives; il en a aussi donné une traduction très originale et un commentaire fourni, qui ont formé la matière de plusieurs articles de la *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*⁶, avant d'être repris sous une forme remaniée dans un livre paru chez Beauchesne en 1960 sous ce beau titre: *Les leçons d'un contemplatif*.

Une nouvelle étape a été franchie avec les chercheurs de la génération suivante, Antoine et Claire Guillaumont et Marie-Josèphe Rondeau. La découverte de la version S² des *Képhalaia Gnostica* par Antoine Guillaumont a permis de mieux saisir la pensée authentique d'Évagre et d'établir que l'origénisme condamné au concile de Constantinople II (553) était plus celui d'Évagre que celui d'Origène lui-même. La découverte des *Scholies aux Psaumes* par Marie-Josèphe Rondeau a augmenté considérablement le volume de l'œuvre d'Évagre et est venue conforter les conclusions auxquelles était arrivé A. Guillaumont. Il faut rappeler que les deux découvreurs avaient eu la délicatesse de rendre visite au Père Hausherr pour lui faire part de leurs trouvailles, et que ce dernier leur avait donné toute latitude pour développer leurs projets respectifs.

I. LA REDÉCOUVERTE D'UNE ŒUVRE

A. *La recherche des fragments grecs*

La condamnation officielle d'Évagre au cinquième concile œcuménique (553) a eu pour effet de réduire la diffusion de ses œuvres, et même d'entraîner la disparition de certaines d'entre elles en grec. Cette *damnatio memoriae* a surtout frappé les œuvres les plus importantes, le *Gnostique*, les *Képhalaia Gnostica*, les *Lettres* (à l'exception de la *Lettre sur la foi* datant du séjour constantinopolitain). Une partie a cependant été sauvée sous le nom de Nil d'Ancyre. Dans une certaine mesure, comme le Père Hausherr l'avait noté, les copistes byzantins semblent avoir suivi les conseils donnés au début du VI^e siècle par Barsanuphe de Gaza à un correspondant inquiet, qui était

⁶ «Le Traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique (Pseudo-Nil)», RAM 15 (1934) 34-93 et 113-170; articles repris dans une publication séparée pourvue d'une pagination propre, Toulouse 1934; réédités dans RAM 35 (1959) 3-26, 121-146, 241-265, 361-385, et RAM 36 (1960) 3-35, 137-187.

tombé sur certaines œuvres d'Origène et d'Évagre, et auquel il recommande d'en user comme dans la parabole évangélique du filet (Mt 13, 48), en retenant ce qui est utile à l'âme et en rejetant tout le reste⁷. Mais d'autres raisons ont pu jouer dans la conservation ou la disparition des textes, et notamment une bonne part de hasard. Le cas des *Sentences à une vierge* est à cet égard révélateur: bien que ne comportant rien de répréhensible sur le plan doctrinal, ces sentences auraient presque entièrement disparu en grec, si elles n'avaient été miraculeusement sauvegardées dans un manuscrit du XIII^e siècle à bien des égards exceptionnel (le *Barberini gr.* 515). Il est aussi arrivé que des textes aient été copiés pour d'autres motifs que spirituels. L'*Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup. a sauvé 31 chapitres des *KG* non pas à cause de leur teneur spirituelle, mais en raison de leur caractère philosophique⁸.

Une grande partie de l'activité de recherche a de ce fait consisté à traquer les fragments grecs subsistants. Erik Peterson s'était déjà illustré dans ce domaine au cours des années 1920-1930, par trois articles de la *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*⁹. La recherche s'est effectuée par trois voies différentes:

- a) l'identification de parallèles dans l'œuvre même d'Évagre. Évagre est en effet coutumier des réemplois. Par exemple le texte de *KG* I, 40 réapparaît à quatre autres reprises, dans le ch. 31 du traité *Sur les pensées*, dans les *Lettres* 43 et 49, et dans la scholie 62 aux Proverbes; plusieurs *KG* sont réutilisés dans les *Scholies aux Psaumes*;
- b) une enquête plus large dans les manuscrits. L'accès aux bibliothèques orientales, notamment athonites et sinaïtiques, a été capital. Un des corpus les plus riches, conservé dans le manuscrit athonite *Prôtaton* 26, a pu être exploité pour la première fois par Mme Guillaumont, grâce aux missions photographiques de Marcel Richard. Le *Sinaiticus gr.* 462 a révélé que les *Lettres* n'avaient pas totalement disparu en grec;

⁷ Question: «Nous ne devons pas lire même les œuvres d'Évagre?», Réponse: «N'accueille pas de pareilles doctrines, mais lis de lui, si tu veux, ce qui est utile à l'âme, selon la parabole évangélique du filet où il est dit: "Ils ont recueilli les bons dans des paniers et rejeté les mauvais". Toi aussi fais de même» (*Lettre* 602, SC 451, 813).

⁸ Le compilateur cite 24 chapitres de la première centurie, 3 chapitres de la deuxième, 2 chapitres de la troisième, 2 chapitres de la quatrième, aucun pour les deux dernières centuries.

⁹ «Zu griechischen Asketikern», BNJ 4 (1923) 5-8; «Zu griechischen Asketikern II» BNJ 5 (1927) 412-418; «Zu griechischen Asketikern III», BNJ 9 (1931-1932) 45-54.

- c) l'étude de la tradition indirecte. Les citations isolées qui apparaissent chez les auteurs byzantins et dans diverses compilations ont montré que plusieurs œuvres avaient continué à circuler, de façon intégrale ou partielle, dans certains milieux tout au long de la période byzantine¹⁰.

Une étude récente, due à Mme Furrer-Pilliod, consacrée à trois grandes collections de définitions profanes et sacrées¹¹, est encore venue accroître le nombre des fragments grecs retrouvés. On avait déjà reconnu et utilisé une collection réduite intégrée au florilège connu sous le titre de *Doctrina Patrum*¹². Les travaux de Mme Furrer-Pilliod ont montré qu'il avait existé des collections beaucoup plus développées, dont celle de la *Doctrina Patrum* n'était qu'un extrait, et que ces collections avaient, à côté d'auteurs profanes et d'autres auteurs patristiques, largement puisé dans l'œuvre d'Évagre. Le compilateur a utilisé plus d'une dizaine d'œuvres d'Évagre, et en premier lieu les *KG*, les *Skemmata* et des définitions symboliques sur deux passages de l'Écriture (Lévitique et Proverbes numériques); d'autres œuvres ont été mises à profit de façon plus sporadique. Grâce à ce travail, on a même vu réapparaître plusieurs fragments grecs d'un opuscule qui n'était connu jusqu'alors qu'en syriaque (= *Evagriana Syriaca* XI de l'édition Muyldermans).

Ainsi ont été réalisés des progrès considérables pour trois œuvres majeures: les *KG*, le *Gnostique* et les *Lettres*. Deux œuvres seulement n'ont pas laissé de traces en grec: la *Lettre à Mélanie* et l'*Antirrhétique*. Pour le *Gnostique* on a pu retrouver trente des cinquante chapitres que comprend le traité (voir SC 356 de 1989)¹³. Les *KG*, l'œuvre la plus difficile d'Évagre, comptent 540 chapitres (six centuries de 90 chapitres chacune, au lieu des cent chapitres attendus). En 1958, Antoine Guillaumont était en mesure de signaler un original grec, complet ou partiel, pour 78 chapitres, soit un sixième de l'œuvre; nous disposons maintenant d'un original grec pour 141 chapitres, soit presque le quart; l'apport le plus important est venu de ces collections

¹⁰ On peut se faire une idée de la diversité de cette tradition indirecte, à partir de celle du *Traité pratique*, SC 170, 304-317.

¹¹ Chr. Furrer-Pilliod, *Όροι και υπογραφαί. Collections alphabétiques de définitions profanes et sacrées* (ST 395), Cité du Vatican 2000.

¹² Éd. F. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, Münster 1907, 249-266.

¹³ Récemment, j'ai retrouvé dans des miscellanées anarchiques du XIV^e siècle, et sous le nom de saint Basile, l'original grec du chapitre 27. Ce chapitre de deux lignes était déjà connu par une citation libre, au style indirect, de l'historien Socrate. La découverte confirme dans l'ensemble la restitution des éditeurs.

de définitions éditées par Mme Furrer-Pilliod, mais quelques chapitres supplémentaires ont encore été retrouvés dans un manuscrit basilien copié à la fin du X^e ou au début du XI^e siècle en Italie méridionale¹⁴. Pour les *Lettres*¹⁵, la situation est moins favorable: si l'on additionne auto-citations et extraits des manuscrits, on possède désormais des fragments grecs pour une vingtaine de lettres (4, 6, 7, 11, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 31, 36, 39, 43, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62); deux lettres seulement ont été conservées en entier, la *Lettre* 18¹⁶ et la *Lettre* 31¹⁷. À présent, on ne peut plus soutenir qu'un petit nombre d'œuvres seulement a survécu en grec, puisque la situation s'est globalement inversée au profit de la part conservée dans la langue originale.

B. La reconstitution du corpus exégétique

Les résultats les plus spectaculaires sont venus d'ailleurs: d'une part de la reconstitution du corpus exégétique, d'autre part de la découverte des *Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre*. Dans un article célèbre, «Die Hiera des Evagrius» (1939), le théologien Hans Urs von Balthasar avait attiré l'attention des chercheurs sur l'œuvre exégétique d'Évagre. Mais il avait effectué son travail de reconstitution à partir des éditions existantes, souvent déficientes, dans lesquelles les

¹⁴ P. Géhin, «Evagriana d'un manuscrit basilien (Vaticanus gr. 2028; olim Basilianus 67)», Mus 109 (1996) 59-85.

¹⁵ Il s'agit ici du corpus de 62 lettres, dont sont exclues la *Lettre sur la foi* et la *Lettre à Mélanie*.

¹⁶ Elle se retrouve en entier dans deux chapitres du traité *Sur les pensées*, les ch. 7 et 31. Elle n'a d'ailleurs pas le caractère d'une lettre.

¹⁷ Le bilan dressé par A. et Cl. Guillaumont, «Les versions orientales et le texte grec des "Lettres" d'Évagre le Pontique», *Langues orientales anciennes, Philologie et linguistique* 3 (1991) 151-162, doit être complété par mes deux articles: «Nouveaux fragments grecs des Lettres d'Évagre», *Revue d'histoire des textes* 24 (1994) 117-147; «Evagriana d'un manuscrit basilien», Mus 109 (1996) 66-71 (extrait de la *Lettre* 16). Au moment où j'avais rédigé l'article de 1994, je n'avais pas vu que les deux courts extraits des *Lettres* 51 et 52 cités dans les *Alloquia* de l'abbé Zosime venaient en fait de la collection systématique des apophthegmes; ils sont signalés comme tels, mais non identifiés, par J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum (Subsidia hagiographica* 36) 171. Dans le *Pré spirituel* de Jean Moschos, pourtant peu suspect de sympathie envers Évagre (cf. l'anecdote du moine retrouvé pendu dans la cellule d'Évagre rapportée au ch. 177), on trouve au ch. 110, à la fin d'une petite série de sentences attribuées à un ancien d'Égypte, un extrait de la *Lettre* 11: «Sois le portier de ton cœur, afin de ne laisser entrer aucune (pensée) étrangère, en disant: "Es-tu des nôtres ou de nos adversaires? (cf. Jos. 5, 15)" (PG 87.3, 2976 A4-6; cf. éd. Frankenberg, 574, lignes 7-9).

fragments évagriens se trouvaient dispersés parmi les œuvres d'Origène. Les recherches menées dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques par Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, Marcel Richard et moi-même ont permis de se faire une idée plus exacte de la production exégétique d'Évagre. On est maintenant en mesure d'affirmer qu'Évagre a commenté sous la forme de scholies quatre livres de l'Ancien Testament: les Psaumes, les Proverbes, l'Ecclésiaste et Job. Seuls les trois premiers commentaires ont été conservés dans leur intégralité. Du Commentaire sur Job, il ne reste plus que quelques fragments conservés dans les plus anciennes chaînes à ce livre, récemment éditées par Dieter et Ursula Hagedorn¹⁸. Il faut retirer de la liste un prétendu Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Luc¹⁹. Le total des scholies retrouvées dépasse les 1800, c'est dire qu'en volume cette partie est presque aussi importante que toute l'œuvre spirituelle conservée en grec.

La forme adoptée par Évagre, celle des scholies, est une forme savante. Ceci explique que leur transmission la plus ancienne se soit effectuée dans des bibles hexaplares, qui comportaient des variantes tirées des travaux d'érudition d'Origène tels qu'ils avaient été diffusés par Eusèbe de Césarée. Quelques scholies d'Évagre ont été traduites en syriaque et figurent en marge de la Bible syro-hexaplaire contenue dans le cod. *Ambrosianus* C 313 inf. (un manuscrit de la fin du VIII^e ou du début du IX^e siècle). Il semble bien qu'Évagre soit l'inventeur du genre, car l'affirmation de Jérôme²⁰, selon laquelle Origène aurait commenté l'Écriture sous trois formes, homélies, tomes exégétiques et scholies, est sujette à caution²¹. Le genre se caractérise à la fois par la discontinuité (tous les versets ne sont pas commentés) et la concision (voir SC 340, p. 13-14).

Il n'est pas question d'entrer dans le détail. Disons simplement qu'Évagre s'inscrit bien dans la tradition de l'exégèse alexandrine, telle que l'ont pratiquée Philon et Origène. Sans rejeter la validité

¹⁸ *Die älteren griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob (Patristische Texte und Studien 40, 48 et 53)*, Berlin – New York 1994, 1997 et 2000.

¹⁹ Les fragments attribués à Évagre dans la chaîne de Nicéas d'Héraclée sur Luc ne proviennent pas d'un commentaire d'Évagre à cet évangile: ils sont pour une part tirés des *Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre* dont il sera question ci-après et pour une autre d'un auteur non identifié qui pourrait être Eusèbe.

²⁰ Dans le prologue de sa traduction des *Homélies sur Ézéchiël* (SC 352, 30-33).

²¹ La question a été examinée en détail par É. Junod, «Que savons-nous des «scholies» (σχόλια – σημειώσεις) d'Origène?», *Origeniana Sexta*, éd. G. Dorival et A. Le Bouluec, Leuven 1995, 133-149. L'auteur montre que Jérôme commet certainement un anachronisme en assimilant les notes exégétiques qu'Origène a composées sur l'Écriture à des «scholies». On trouvera en outre dans cet article une bibliographie complète sur le genre des scholies (voir en particulier p. 143, n. 45).

d'une interprétation littérale, tout en étant attentif aux modes d'expression propres à l'Écriture, le commentateur s'attache surtout à dégager un sens spirituel ou intelligible des textes (cf. l'emploi constant du mot νοητός). La scholie 251 aux Proverbes est à cet égard significative: «Il faut comprendre la divine Écriture de façon intelligible et spirituelle, car la connaissance sensible selon le sens littéral n'est pas vraie.» L'influence d'Origène se manifeste aussi bien dans la méthode herméneutique que dans le choix de certains lieux exégétiques. Évagre tient cependant en partie compte des critiques émises à l'encontre de l'Alexandrin, quand il recommande dans le ch. 34 du *Gnostique* d'user de l'allégorie avec une certaine modération. Les scholies d'Évagre se distinguent également des commentaires origéniens par le style. Comme Évagre nous le dit lui-même, les lois du genre obligent à fuir la prolixité et à rechercher la concision. L'exégèse évagrienne est ainsi dépouillée de tout artifice oratoire et se caractérise par une certaine aridité: le nombre élevé de définitions tend parfois à lui donner l'aspect d'un glossaire dans lequel les termes scripturaires se trouveraient en quelque sorte accompagnés de leur «traduction» symbolique. Évagre ne pratique pas non plus l'exégèse polyphonique d'Origène qui joue sur les divers niveaux de signification d'un texte. Il n'y a normalement chez Évagre qu'un seul sens symbolique mis en relation avec un des trois degrés de la vie spirituelle (pratique, physique, gnostique; voir *Gnostique* 20). L'interprétation de l'Écriture est une des principales activités de celui qui a atteint un haut degré spirituel et qui a la charge d'enseigner, le gnostique.

C. Les Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre

Une autre surprise est venue de la découverte des *Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre*. Il s'agit d'une collection de 198 chapitres retrouvés dans un manuscrit d'Athènes, appartenant au fonds des Échangeables du Musée Bénaki (fonds constitué lors des échanges de populations entre Grecs et Turcs consécutifs au traité de Lausanne de 1923). La découverte, faite à l'occasion d'une opération de catalogage, illustre aussi la part de hasard qui préside à la sauvegarde des textes. Voilà en effet une collection qui nous parvient dans un manuscrit unique copié à la fin du XIII^e s. et qui réapparaît dans les conditions les plus sombres de l'histoire contemporaine, celles de la fin de l'empire Ottoman et de la création de la Turquie moderne: ses probabilités de disparaître étaient sans doute plus grandes que celles d'être conservé,

et pourtant il a miraculeusement survécu aux événements dramatiques qui viennent d'être évoqués²².

Cette collection de 198 chapitres pose un certain nombre de problèmes qui tiennent à sa transmission, sa teneur exacte et son titre. La découverte de ce témoin unique a d'abord montré que la collection n'était pas totalement inconnue des orientaux et des byzantins. On s'est en effet aperçu *a posteriori* que plusieurs fragments avaient subsisté en syriaque²³ et en arménien. On a ensuite découvert chez les Byzantins des indices d'une connaissance de cette collection, depuis le VII^e siècle jusqu'au XII^e siècle. Au début du VII^e s. Maxime le Confesseur a puisé abondamment dans la collection pour composer ses *Centuries sur la charité*. Les textes sont utilisés très librement, mais les *Chapitres des disciples* constituent avec le *Traité pratique* une des sources principales de cette œuvre de Maxime. Assez souvent Maxime se contente de suivre l'ordre de sa source. Au VIII^e siècle les Florilèges damascéniens, compilés dans les monastères de Palestine, en citent quelques chapitres. On en retrouve dans des collections plus difficiles à dater, comme les scholies à Jean Climaque ou les collections de Définitions dont il a été question plus haut, et dans la Chaîne de Nicétas d'Héraclée sur l'Évangile de Luc (XI^e s.). Au XII^e siècle les chapitres placés en marge de l'Échelle se sont trouvés intégrés, parfois commentés, dans le grand Commentaire composé par Élie de Crète²⁴. L'identification de ces *membra disjecta* a eu aussi une conséquence inattendue, celle de faire apparaître des chapitres nouveaux, absents de la collection athénienne: la collection avait donc à l'origine des dimensions plus importantes. Reste à savoir qui sont ces mystérieux disciples. Car même s'il y a une incertitude sur le titre, entre «chapitres des disciples (μαθητῶν) d'Évagre» (titre donné par le manuscrit Bénaki, confirmé par le syriaque) et «chapitres des enseignements (μαθημάτων) d'Évagre» (titre donné par les florilèges damascéniens), il est clair qu'il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler d'une œuvre d'Évagre, mais de notes rassemblées par un ou plusieurs disciples, ce que montre bien le retour fréquent de l'expression ἔλεγεν ὅτι. Nous avons ainsi un témoignage du rôle joué par les disciples d'Évagre dans la mise en forme et la diffusion de son œuvre.

²² Effectuée par Eurydice Zizica, la découverte a été annoncée au public par Joseph Paramelle et Antoine Guillaumont dans deux articles parallèles de *Parole de l'Orient* 6/7 (1975-1976) 101-113 et 115-123. Je prépare l'édition de ces textes pour les Sources Chrétiennes.

²³ C'est l'objet de l'article d'A. Guillaumont (voir note précédente), qui n'a cependant pas repéré la totalité des fragments conservés dans cette langue.

²⁴ Toutes les précisions seront données dans mon édition.

Plusieurs chapitres de la collection sont très proches d'autres textes évagriens, dont ils constituent manifestement un souvenir. Il est intéressant de noter que *Disciples* 17 offre un écho de *Prière* 52 (Migne 51), ce qui est un nouvel argument en faveur de la restitution du traité à Évagre opérée par le Père Hausherr. Les parallèles entre ces chapitres et le reste de l'œuvre évagrienne sont très nombreux. Pourtant leur intérêt serait limité s'ils ne faisaient que reprendre, souvent en forçant le trait ou avec maladresse, des sujets connus. Par bonheur, nous voyons apparaître des préoccupations nouvelles. Plusieurs chapitres consacrés à la théologie trinitaire renforcent le lien avec les Cappadociens, Grégoire de Nazianze et Basile de Césarée. On note aussi un certain intérêt pour les questions controversées: les miracles, le corps spirituel, le sort du corps du Christ après l'ascension. Dans la réflexion sur les passions, la *philautia*, à laquelle le Père Hausherr a consacré un livre entier, acquiert une importance qu'elle n'a pas dans le reste de l'œuvre d'Évagre où le mot n'apparaît que deux fois. Sur ce point, les *Chapitres* permettent de corriger la thèse du Père Hausherr selon laquelle Maxime serait à l'origine de la diffusion de la philautie dans les milieux monastiques²⁵. Une fois de plus Évagre a innové, en reprenant une notion déjà analysée par Platon et Aristote et en l'adaptant à sa théorie des huit pensées principales.

II. LA TRANSMISSION DES TEXTES

A. Une vue globale de la tradition manuscrite grecque

Pour aborder l'œuvre d'Évagre, nous sommes désormais dans une situation plus favorable que nos prédécesseurs. Il reste cependant encore beaucoup à faire pour parvenir à une édition complète. Les Pères Jean Daniélou et Henri de Lubac étaient bien optimistes quand, vers l'année 1943, ils espéraient obtenir d'Irénée Hausherr une telle édition pour la collection des Sources Chrétiennes qu'ils venaient de créer. Pour l'instant nous disposons seulement d'une dizaine d'éditions critiques. Pour les œuvres ascétiques et gnostiques: *Traité pratique*, *Gnostique*, *Sur les Pensées*, auxquels s'ajoutent l'édition déjà ancienne des *Sentences aux moines* et des *Sentences à une vierge* par Gressmann et celle de la *Lettre sur la foi* par Dom Gribomont; pour les œuvres exégétiques: *Scholies aux Proverbes*, *Scholies à l'Ecclésiaste*,

²⁵ *Philautie. De la tendresse pour soi à la charité selon Saint Maxime le Confesseur* (OCA 137), Rome 1952.

vestiges des *Scholies à Job* (U. et D. Hagedorn). Trois éditions sont en chantier, celle des *Chapitres des disciples* et celle des *Chapitres sur la prière*, par mes soins, et celle des *Scholies aux Psaumes*, par Mlle Rondeau²⁶.

Un examen presque complet des manuscrits grecs permet désormais de mieux comprendre comment les textes ont été transmis. L'enquête a mis en évidence l'existence de quatre grands corpus et permis d'isoler quelques manuscrits atypiques, au contenu exceptionnel: je pense en particulier au *Vaticanus gr.* 2028 (X^e-XI^e s. copié en Italie méridionale), au *Sabaiticus* 157 (XI^e s. sans doute d'origine palestinienne), au *Barberini gr.* 515 (daté de 1244, d'origine inconnue). Elle n'a cependant guère permis de progresser dans la question du passage de plusieurs œuvres sous le nom de Nil²⁷, et elle a surtout montré que d'autres prête-noms apparaissent sporadiquement à la place de Nil: Athanase d'Alexandrie, Maxime le Confesseur, un mystérieux Pierre l'Ermite. La *Lettre sur la foi* a aussi été conservée en grec sous les noms de Basile et de Grégoire de Nysse²⁸. Ces différents cas de pseudépigraphie ne peuvent tous s'expliquer par de simples accidents de copie. Quand ils rencontrent le nom d'Évagre, certains copistes ne sont pas tendres. Dans deux manuscrits des définitions, le nom d'Évagre est accompagné d'épithètes peu amènes: τοῦ ἐπικαταράτου Εὐαγρίου, Εὐαγρίου τοῦ δυσωνύμου (voir éd. Furrer-Pilliod, p. 43 et

²⁶ Mlle Rondeau avait dressé dans son premier article (OCP 26 [1960] 307-346) une liste des textes déjà édités, d'une façon d'ailleurs souvent médiocre, par Delarue (= PG 12) et Pitra. Dans l'ouvrage sur *Les Commentaires patristiques du Psautier (III^e - V^e siècles)*, vol. I — *Les travaux des Pères grecs et latins sur le Psautier. Recherches et bilan*, OCA 219, Rome 1982, on trouvera dans le chapitre I, consacré aux commentateurs grecs, six pages (p. 121-126) sur Évagre. Le chapitre III est en revanche entièrement consacré à «la tradition manuscrite des Scolies aux Psaumes d'Évagre le Pontique» et suivi de l'édition des scholies évagriennes sur le Ps. 18, sur le Ps. 64 et sur le Ps. 143, 1. Bien qu'elles soient dans l'ensemble encore inédites sous leur forme originale, ces scholies ont déjà été souvent utilisées grâce aux copies généreusement distribuées par Mlle Rondeau.

²⁷ Il est certain que ce passage ne s'est pas effectué en une seule fois, qu'il a affecté inégalement les œuvres (sauf les *Chapitres sur la prière* que les *Apophthegmata patrum* citent déjà sous le nom de Nil) et qu'il n'a jamais été définitif; à propos du traité *Sur les pensées* j'ai montré comment certains copistes avertis, qui avaient trouvé l'œuvre sous le nom de Nil, l'avait réattribuée à son véritable auteur (SC 438, 60).

²⁸ Récemment Michael Kohlbacher a retrouvé des extraits des *Chapitres sur la prière* sous le nom de Marcien de Bethléem («Unpublizierte Fragmente des Markianos von Bethlehem», *Horizonte der Christenheit, Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer*, Erlangen 1994, 153-155) et le Père de Durand l'*Exhortation aux moines* parmi les œuvres de Marc le Moine («La tradition des œuvres de Marc le Moine», *Revue d'histoire des textes* 29 [1999] 13 et note 35). E. Lucchesi vient de signaler un extrait copte des *Bases de la vie monastique* dans un corpus éphrémien (AB 117 [1999] 284).

53). D'autres ont cherché à sauver l'héritage spirituel de l'auteur en tentant d'accréditer la thèse de deux Évagre, un orthodoxe, disciple de Grégoire de Nazianze, et un hérétique condamné au concile de Constantinople II.

B. *L'examen des versions*

Conjointement à l'étude de la tradition grecque, il faut mener l'étude des versions. L'inventaire dressé à ce jour, dont on peut se faire une idée en consultant la *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* et son *Supplementum*, est loin d'être définitif²⁹. Il faut dire que le nombre des versions est particulièrement élevé et qu'il couvre un espace allant de l'Occident à l'Asie centrale (Oasis de Turfan). Il existe en effet des traductions anciennes d'Évagre dans neuf langues différentes: latin, syriaque, arménien, copte, arabe, géorgien, éthiopien, sogdien, slavon. Les choses se compliquent quand on sait qu'une même œuvre a pu être traduite plusieurs fois dans une même langue. Les *Sentences aux moines*, dont la tradition manuscrite grecque est assez pauvre, sont certainement l'œuvre qui a été le plus souvent traduite. On a repéré à ce jour 9 traductions dans 7 langues différentes: 2 en latin, 2 en syriaque, 1 en copte, 1 en arménien, 1 en arabe, 1 en éthiopien, 1 en slavon; les cinq premières sentences sont également présentes en géorgien dans le *Sinaiticus ibericus* 35. Chaque édition critique nouvelle oblige à dresser un état des versions³⁰. Les nombreux travaux de Muyltermans ont déjà bien déblayé le terrain pour le syriaque, mais la recherche n'est pas close, et les résultats obtenus demandent à être précisés³¹. De nouvelles découvertes sont toujours possibles, comme on l'a vu en 1975 au Sinaï³², et les bibliothèques orientales doivent

²⁹ Voir mon compte rendu du *Supplementum* dans REB 57 (1999) 309-311, où l'on trouvera quelques rectifications concernant la version géorgienne du *Sinaiticus iber.* 35.

³⁰ Pour le traité *Sur les pensées*, voir SC 438, 73-82.

³¹ Muyltermans a par exemple reconnu l'existence de trois versions syriaques du traité *À Euloge*. Il a bien noté que la première version avait été faite sur un exemplaire grec brouillé (d'où l'incorporation d'éléments étrangers provenant d'un autre traité d'Évagre et d'une œuvre d'un auteur non identifié); mais à propos des deux autres il dit «que l'ordre des chapitres du texte grec est rigoureusement maintenu» (*Evagriana Syriaca*, 48). C'est inexact: la troisième version a pour toute la fin un ordre des chapitres qui diffère entièrement du texte grec édité. Il faudra tenter d'expliquer cette situation et vérifier si cet ordre particulier se retrouve dans quelque manuscrit grec.

³² Mère Philothée du Sinaï a déjà signalé dans les nouvelles découvertes syriaques une nouvelle version des *Chapitres sur la prière*, différente de celle qu'avait éditée Iré-

être explorées systématiquement. Pour l'arabe, la *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* de Graf constitue un excellent point de départ (les p. 397-399 sont consacrées à Évagre); de plus, le Père Khalil Samir a dressé au IV^e Congrès Copte de 1988 un premier inventaire des traités d'Évagre traduits dans cette langue³³. Là encore des compléments peuvent être apportés, car en arabe aussi il faut tenir compte des attributions «niliennes». Pour les *Chapitres sur la prière*, j'ai l'intention d'effectuer une double publication: fournir l'édition critique du texte grec dans les Sources Chrétiennes, et publier dans une collection orientaliste un dossier important sur les versions syriaques et arabes de ce traité, qui apportera beaucoup d'éléments nouveaux inconnus du Père Hausherr³⁴. Il est heureux qu'après les travaux de Dom Wilmart et de Dom Leclercq l'étude des versions latines ait repris, car c'est dans cette langue qu'Évagre a été traduit pour la première fois³⁵. Diego Marchini, un élève des Profes-

née Hausherr, puisqu'elle couvre l'ensemble du traité, voir «Les nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinaï», *III^e Symposium Syriacum 1980* (OCA 221), Rome 1983, 337. Les fragments plus réduits analysés par S. Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac fragments (new finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Athènes 1995, ont mis en évidence des fragments évagriens issus de deux manuscrits syriaques différents. Sur ces nouvelles découvertes, voir l'article que j'ai rédigé avec Stig Frøyshof, REB 58 (2000) 167-184.

³³ «Évagre le Pontique dans la tradition arabo-copte», *Actes du IV^e Congrès Copte*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 septembre 1988, éd. M. Rassart-Debergh et J. Ries, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, t. II, 125-153. L'article consiste principalement à débiter un corpus évagrien étendu, très original, transmis par six manuscrits au moins, qui vont de la fin du XIII^e au XX^e siècle. Dans le *Parisinus arab.* 157 (XIV^e s.), où il est le plus développé, le corpus rassemble douze traités. Bien qu'il n'ait pas repris l'intégralité des œuvres d'Évagre, ce corpus présente quelques pièces remarquables: la *Lettre de Loukios à Évagre*, inconnue par ailleurs, le *Commentaire du Notre Père*, qui n'est attesté autrement qu'en copte, des pastiches des trois livres sapientiaux, qui sont inconnus du syriaque et ont une tradition grecque très pauvre. J'ai donné l'édition des trois courts pastiches (Mus 109 [1996] 75-85); I. Hausherr a édité sur la base de ce corpus la version des *Chapitres sur la prière* (cf. supra note 4) et la *Lettre de Loukios* (OCP 6 [1940] 216-220). Il existe une édition presque introuvable, pour partie manuscrite, pour partie dactylographiée, établie par deux moines de Dayr as-Suryany, à partir d'un manuscrit de ce monastère du Wadi Natroun. Je projette de donner une édition critique de l'ensemble du corpus, sur la base des deux manuscrits les plus anciens qui se trouvent à Paris et au Vatican.

³⁴ B. Outtier se joindra à moi pour présenter une version géorgienne traduite sur l'arabe. Ce dossier présentera d'autres centres d'intérêt, notamment paléographique et linguistique.

³⁵ Les versions latines anciennes sont connues par des témoignages littéraires: elles sont l'œuvre de Rufin, l'ami d'Évagre, et de Gennade de Marseille, mais elles ne portent que sur un nombre réduit d'œuvres. Il est difficile de dire pour l'instant si les quelques traductions latines qui nous sont parvenues (*Sentences aux moines*, *Sentences à une vierge* et *Huit esprits*) remontent à l'un ou l'autre de ces traducteurs.

seurs Perrone et Carlini, a présenté récemment comme thèse l'édition d'une des deux versions latines du traité des *Huit esprits de malice*³⁶. Le champ des versions slavonnes est quasiment inexploré.

Les versions demandent des vérifications minutieuses. Il faut d'abord tester leur degré de fiabilité: on a une large palette allant des décalques les plus littéraux, parfois effectués au mépris des règles élémentaires de la langue d'accueil, jusqu'à des paraphrases ou des adaptations assez libres. Il faut aussi déterminer si l'on a affaire à une version primaire ou secondaire: le problème se pose pour les versions arméniennes et arabes qui peuvent avoir été faites sur l'original grec ou sur un intermédiaire syriaque, et pour les versions géorgiennes qui peuvent avoir été exécutées directement sur le grec ou sur l'arabe. Dans son premier article, le Père Hausherr avait très justement vu que la version arménienne des *Képhalaia Gnostica* était une version secondaire faite sur le syriaque alors que celle du *Gnostique* avait été faite directement sur le grec. Versions primaires et secondaires peuvent ainsi se côtoyer dans un même corpus. Concernant la version arabe des *Chapitres sur la prière*, le Père Hausherr était en revanche beaucoup plus hésitant, et la question doit être reprise³⁷. Enfin il faut déterminer s'il s'agit d'une nouvelle version ou simplement de la révision d'une version antérieure, le phénomène de la révision étant bien connu dans l'histoire des traductions, particulièrement en syriaque³⁸.

C. L'utilisation des versions

Dans une communication lue à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Antoine Guillaumont a montré les différents partis que

³⁶ *Evagrio Pontico: Instituta de octo vitis generalibus*. Edizione e traduzione, Università degli Studi di Pisa 2000.

³⁷ Cf. OCP 5 (1939) 58: «D'où provient la version arabe? Certainement pas du grec. Les divergences sont trop grandes entre les deux. Pas davantage de notre version syriaque... Mais si *notre* version syriaque n'a pas servi au traducteur arabe, cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'en a pas utilisé une autre, également syriaque, ou peut-être une copte dérivée du syriaque. En faveur du copte parle la provenance égyptienne des manuscrits arabes. Ils sont l'œuvre de copistes égyptiens.»

³⁸ La version S³ du *Gnostique* est une révision de la version commune; en étudiant la tradition syriaque du traité *Sur les pensées*, j'ai découvert une traduction légèrement révisée dans un manuscrit sinaïtique aujourd'hui démembré, dont une partie se trouve à Paris (voir SC 438, 76-77 et 109-110). La découverte des fragments grecs des *Lettres* a aussi montré que quelques manuscrits syriaques supposaient une révision sur le grec.

l'on pouvait tirer des versions³⁹. Elles permettent d'abord de résoudre les questions d'authenticité, dans la mesure où elles font remonter de plusieurs siècles dans l'histoire des textes. À quelques exceptions près, les manuscrits grecs d'Évagre ne sont pas antérieurs au X^e siècle. En syriaque on dispose en revanche d'un manuscrit daté de 534 (*Addit.* 12175) et en latin d'un manuscrit du VI^e-VII^e siècle (*Paris. lat.* 12205). Antiquité n'est cependant pas synonyme d'excellence. Les versions syriaques ont certes permis d'effectuer le tri entre les œuvres de Nil et celles d'Évagre, mais elles sont loin de livrer la totalité de l'œuvre évagrienne⁴⁰, et elles ont aussi incorporé très tôt des éléments étrangers⁴¹. Pour éprouver leur valeur, il est important de disposer au moins de deux versions concurrentes, et mieux encore de quelques vestiges grecs. Depuis qu'Antoine Guillaumont a retrouvé la version S² des *KG*, on mesure le dommage que nous aurions subi si nous avions seulement connu, comme la plupart des écrivains syriaques, la version commune, version dans laquelle le traducteur a exercé une véritable censure. La version arménienne n'aurait été d'aucun secours, puisque, faite sur la version syriaque expurgée, elle nous éloigne encore davantage de l'original grec et offre une image encore plus pâle de l'œuvre du Pontique.

L'intérêt des versions est variable. Elles sont évidemment capitales en cas de disparition de l'original grec, mais elles peuvent se révéler d'un grand secours quand la tradition manuscrite grecque est pauvre ou défectueuse; elles aident aussi à résoudre le problème des recensions multiples⁴² ou viennent appuyer le choix d'une leçon. Quelques exemples suffiront à le montrer. Le traité des *Huit esprits de malice* est transmis sous deux formes différentes, une longue et une brève.

³⁹ «Le rôle des versions orientales dans la récupération de l'œuvre d'Évagre le Pontique», *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Compte rendus des séances de l'année 1985*, Paris 1985, 64-74.

⁴⁰ Par exemple la seconde partie du traité *Sur les pensées* n'apparaît pas en syriaque, à l'exception du ch. 41; dans la version actuellement connue, les *Chapitres sur la prière* s'arrêtent au ch. 32 du grec (35 en syriaque); des *Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre* il ne subsiste que des *membra disjecta*.

⁴¹ Le vaste corpus évagrien conservé dans l'*Addit.* 14578, un manuscrit du VI^e-VII^e siècle (voir l'analyse de S. Brock, CSCO 555, xxv-xxvii), utilisé par Frankenberg, incorpore plusieurs œuvres dont l'original est le syriaque (l'Hom. 14 du *Liber graduum* et deux opuscules d'Abraham de Naphtar) et plusieurs autres qui se retrouvent en grec sous d'autres noms comme Marcien de Bethléem ou Jean de Lycopolis. Presque chaque version comporte de nouveaux intrus, comme les *Sentences de Sextus* et la *Doctrine des Apôtres* en arménien. Le même phénomène s'observe en géorgien ou en éthiopien.

⁴² Problème qui se pose pour plusieurs œuvres: *Pratique*, *Sur les pensées*, *Huit esprits*, *À Euloge*, *Vices opposés aux vertus*.

Le fait que sur un ostracon copte (*P. Berol.* 14700) on lise trois fragments d'une version sahidique de ce traité supposant la recension longue⁴³ ou le fait que les versions latines ne connaissent que la forme longue contribuent à renforcer la thèse du caractère primitif de cette recension. J'ai dit plus haut que le manuscrit des *Chapitres des disciples* transmettait un texte très défectueux. Pour le ch. 191, l'existence du syriaque permet de rétablir le texte originel⁴⁴. Pour les *Chapitres sur la prière*, on se trouve devant une double tradition grecque. Le chapitre 73, où Évagre se réfère à l'enseignement d'un de ses maîtres, illustre bien la difficulté. Dans la première famille de manuscrits, ce maître est qualifié de «praktikos», dans l'autre famille de «gnostikos». Comme cette opposition s'effectue à travers une tradition qui s'accorde à placer le traité sous le nom de Nil, on peut espérer que la traduction arabe (éditée par le Père Hausherr), qui connaît encore le traité sous le nom d'Évagre, va permettre de trancher. Le terme 'ālim utilisé par l'arabe suppose très nettement le grec «gnostikos». On en conclura donc que l'accord d'une des deux familles grecques avec l'arabe a toutes les chances de donner la leçon de l'archétype⁴⁵. Cependant, même si les versions les plus fidèles peuvent être situées avec assez de précision dans le *stemma codicum*, leur utilisation systématique dans un appareil n'est guère possible, parce qu'il y a toujours une déperdition dans le passage d'une langue à l'autre, et aussi parce qu'il est souvent impossible de faire le départ entre ce qui relève de la variante ou du procédé de traduction⁴⁶. Ajou-

⁴³ Éd. H.-M. Schenke, «Das Berliner Evagrius-Ostrakon», *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 116 (1989) 90-107 et tableaux IV-V. Ces trois extraits appartiennent chacun à une section différente du traité: fin de la section consacrée à l'avarice pour le premier, section consacrée à la colère pour le deuxième, section consacrée à l'orgueil pour le dernier qui n'est attesté que par la recension longue.

⁴⁴ Dans le manuscrit Bénaki, le chapitre 191 se présente sous cette forme peu satisfaisante: «Le début de la connaissance d'une âme bonne (Ἀρχὴ γνῶσεως ἀγαθῆς ψυχῆς), c'est l'enthousiasme du Saint Esprit»; seul le syriaque permet de retrouver le texte originel qui devait être: «Le début de la connaissance véritable pour l'âme (Ἀρχὴ γνῶσεως ἀληθοῦς ψυχῆς), c'est l'enthousiasme du Saint Esprit»; un copiste peu attentif a confondu deux adjectifs grecs dont la graphie était voisine.

⁴⁵ Tout serait merveilleux si cette version arabe (Ar1) était littérale et nous permettait de reconnaître sans hésitation le substrat grec, or ce n'est pas le cas. Des trois versions arabes connues, c'est la plus libre. Il en résulte que dans un grand nombre de lieux variants elle ne joue pas le rôle diacritique qu'on attend d'elle.

⁴⁶ Quand la variante d'une version trouve un écho dans le grec, on peut penser qu'elle a là son origine. Pourtant dans certains cas on ne peut exclure l'hypothèse qu'une même faute ait été commise de façon indépendante par le copiste grec et le traducteur. Voici un exemple tiré des *Chapitres sur la prière* qui illustre bien cette difficulté; le texte habituel du ch. 8 dit ceci: «Beaucoup de ceux qui pleuraient sur leurs

tons, pour terminer, que toutes ces versions sont anonymes, et qu'il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour déterminer le milieu et l'époque qui les ont vu naître⁴⁷.

III. LES TRAVAUX ACTUELS SUR ÉVAGRE

A. *Le succès d'Évagre*

La période récente a été marquée par la prolifération des travaux sur Évagre, dans de nombreuses langues, et il est devenu difficile de suivre la bibliographie courante (une bibliographie compilée par Joel Kalvesmaki est maintenant disponible sur internet)⁴⁸. Cela illustre le succès que l'auteur rencontre dans de nombreux cercles, avec tous les risques de récupération, de déformation, d'affadissement que peut engendrer une telle popularité. Une bonne partie de ces travaux est constituée par des traductions dans différentes langues européennes, parfois accompagnées d'une introduction et d'un commentaire. Parmi les plus utiles on citera par exemple la traduction allemande des *Lettres* par le Père Gabriel Bunge⁴⁹, la sélection italienne de Paolo Bettiolo⁵⁰, la traduction anglaise commentée de la *Lettre à Mélanie*

péchés, parce qu'ils ont oublié le but (σκοποῦ) des larmes, sont devenus fous». Une des traductions arabes (Ar2 inédite) a «...parce qu'ils ont oublié le labeur des larmes...», ce qui suppose la leçon κόπου. Cette dernière leçon, manifestement fautive, se retrouve bien dans un manuscrit grec ancien. Mais il est impossible de dire si le traducteur arabe lisait κόπου dans son modèle ou s'il a mal lu le mot σκοποῦ, une telle mélecture étant très facile à commettre avec un exemplaire oncial dans lequel les mots ne sont pas séparés ni accentués.

⁴⁷ L'âge des plus anciens manuscrits fournit un *terminus ante quem* (le plus ancien manuscrit syriaque d'Évagre, l'*Addit.* 12175, ff. 81-254, est daté de 534). Plus précieuses peuvent être les premières citations d'une traduction chez un auteur ecclésiastique. Un exemple particulièrement favorable est donné pour la version syriaque S¹, comme l'a relevé A. Guillaumont. Dans sa *Lettre à Patrice d'Édesse*, écrite entre 485-505, Philoxène de Mabboug cite selon cette version les ch. 25 et 36 du *Gnostique* et le ch. 79 du *Traité pratique*. Quelle que soit la date retenue pour la composition de la lettre de Philoxène, cela nous permet de remonter de plusieurs décennies par rapport au plus ancien manuscrit.

⁴⁸ On pourra aussi utiliser les instruments bibliographiques habituels, comme l'*Année philologique* ou la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. La consultation d'*Adamantius*, «Notiziario del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su "Origene e la tradizione alessandrina"», est aussi un moyen commode de s'informer sur les nouvelles publications concernant Évagre.

⁴⁹ Evagrios Pontikos, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, Trèves 1986.

⁵⁰ Evagrio Pontico. *Per conoscere lui*, Comunità di Bose, Magnano 1996.

par Martin Parmentier⁵¹. D'autres travaux, plus rares, portent sur une œuvre particulière, comme ceux de Susanna Elm sur les *Sentences à une vierge*⁵² ou ceux de Jeremy Driscoll sur les *Sentences aux moines*⁵³. Le Dr. Christoph Joest prépare pour la collection *Fontes Christiani* une étude sur les deux *Exhortations aux moines* (CPG 2454).

La grande majorité des études est consacrée à des thèmes de spiritualité et de mystique. La revue *Studia Monastica* de l'Abbaye de Montserrat s'est spécialisée dans le genre en donnant depuis plusieurs années, dans chaque livraison, un ou deux articles consacrés à Évagre. Les congrès, comme ceux d'Oxford (International Conference on Patristic Studies) ou les congrès origéniens, donnent souvent lieu à des communications sur notre auteur. Il faut aussi faire une part aux manuels d'histoire de la spiritualité, comme celui du Père Vincent Desprez, qui reprend sous une forme enrichie et mise à jour un cours d'histoire du monachisme professé au noviciat de Ligugé depuis 1975⁵⁴: le chapitre X (p. 369-399) est consacré à Évagre.

Malgré cette profusion de publications, nous sommes encore loin de pouvoir porter un jugement global et définitif sur l'œuvre d'Évagre. Il faut dire que l'absence d'édition critique complète, la difficulté de certains textes, accrue par la perte de l'original grec, et la composition éclatée adoptée par Évagre, ne facilitent pas la tâche⁵⁵. Même sur la question de l'origénisme, domaine dans lequel l'apport d'Antoine Guillaumont a été décisif⁵⁶, il reste encore des points à explorer, voire certaines réévaluations à faire⁵⁷. Antoine Guillaumont a délibérément exclu de sa recherche la question des rapports exis-

⁵¹ «Evagrius of Pontus' Letter to Melania», *Bijdragen, tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 46 (1985) 2-38.

⁵² Voir par exemple «Evagrius Ponticus' Sententiae ad Virginem», *DOP* 45 (1991) 97-120.

⁵³ *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus. Its Structure and a select Commentary* (*Studia Anselmiana* 104), Rome 1991.

⁵⁴ *Le monachisme primitif. Des origines jusqu'au concile d'Éphèse* (*Spiritualité Orientale* 72), Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1998.

⁵⁵ En 2004 paraîtra la synthèse posthume d'Antoine Guillaumont, à laquelle il travaillait depuis plusieurs années, et dont il venait d'achever la rédaction quand la mort l'a surpris le 25 août 2000. L'ouvrage s'intitulera: *Évagre, un philosophe au désert*.

⁵⁶ *Les 'Képhalaia Gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, Paris 1962.

⁵⁷ C'est ce que tente de faire G. Bunge, qui estime qu'on lit trop Évagre à travers les anathématismes du VI^e siècle; ceux-ci reflètent, selon lui, une évolution de l'origénisme qui ne correspond pas à la situation que pouvait connaître Évagre à la fin du IV^e siècle. Voir en particulier l'article «Hénade ou monade? Au sujet de deux notions centrales de la terminologie évagrienne», *Mus* 102 (1989) 69-91.

tant entre la pensée d'Évagre et celle d'Origène⁵⁸. Une étude d'ensemble s'impose sur ces relations. L'influence d'Évagre sur l'origénisme postérieur est aussi l'objet de débats. István Perczel développe par exemple la thèse que le mystérieux Denys est un origéniste, ce qui le conduit à réexaminer toute l'histoire de l'origénisme depuis Origène jusqu'aux origénistes palestiniens du VI^e siècle, en passant par Évagre bien sûr. Une fois cette filiation admise, à grand renfort d'hypothèses, souvent invérifiables, il établit d'audacieuses concordances entre la terminologie d'Évagre et celle de Denys, pourtant à première vue bien étrangères l'une à l'autre⁵⁹.

En priorité, il faut poursuivre le travail d'identification des sources d'Évagre: c'est le préalable à une juste appréciation de son originalité. La tâche est ardue, car son œuvre est nourrie d'influences diverses: philosophie grecque, tradition alexandrine (Philon, Clément d'Alexandrie, Origène), théologie cappadocienne (Grégoire de Nazianze et Basile), spiritualité du désert. Pour ne parler que de la première, tout le monde s'accorde à reconnaître la profondeur de la culture philosophique d'Évagre, mais les opinions divergent quand il s'agit d'apprécier son ampleur et de déterminer la part qu'elle occupe dans la synthèse finale, à côté des éléments proprement chrétiens et bibliques. Il ne faudrait en tout cas pas accorder trop rapidement foi aux critiques formulées par Évagre lui-même à l'adresse de la philosophie païenne, la «sagesse du dehors», car il reprend sur ce point un lieu commun de l'apologétique chrétienne, qui vise autant les hérétiques de l'intérieur que les païens⁶⁰. Une des voies à suivre est celle qui a été ouverte par Wolfgang Lackner, lequel a montré, dans un essai bref, mais novateur, comment on retrouvait dans l'œuvre évagrienne un écho des programmes scolaires de l'époque, avec une étude des définitions de la philosophie, de l'*Isagogé* de Porphyre et de l'*Organon* aristotélien⁶¹. Toutes les œuvres spéculatives d'Évagre sont fortement marquées par la philosophie. Aristote est cité nommément plusieurs fois, y compris lorsqu'on s'y attend le moins, comme dans la scholie 96 aux Proverbes, où Évagre reproduit un extrait de l'*Histoire des ani-*

⁵⁸ A. Guillaumont, *op. cit.*, 43.

⁵⁹ Voir en particulier «Une théologie de la lumière: Denys l'Aréopagite et Évagre le Pontique», *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 45 (1999) 79-120.

⁶⁰ Sur cette attitude, voir par ex. J. de Ghellinck, «Un aspect de l'opposition entre hellénisme et christianisme. L'attitude vis-à-vis de la dialectique dans les débats trinitaires», *Patristique et Moyen-Âge. Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale*, t. III, Gembloux – Bruxelles – Paris 1948, 247-310.

⁶¹ «Zur profanen Bildung des Euagrius Pontikos», *Hans Gerstinger-Festgabe*, Graz. 1966, 17-29.

maux. Les réminiscences platoniciennes et stoïciennes affleurent constamment. Il y a également une présence de Porphyre, même si elle est plus difficile à déceler, à cause de la perte d'une partie de l'œuvre de ce philosophe. On sait comment Évagre coule le mouvement du progrès spirituel dans le moule des divisions de la philosophie en éthique, physique et théologie, quel usage il fait de la tripartition platonicienne de l'âme ou de l'impassibilité stoïcienne, comment il présente sa physique comme la «science véritable des êtres» ou encore «la vérité présente dans les êtres»⁶². Ses analyses psychologiques, si fines, prolongent une tradition qui a été illustrée par les stoïciens ou les successeurs d'Aristote, comme Théophraste⁶³. Un usage aussi général de la philosophie, qui n'est pas réduite à un rôle strictement propédeutique ou instrumental, n'a pas manqué d'influencer les doctrines elles-mêmes. Évagre est un bon représentant des élites culturelles de son époque, dans son souci de donner une base rationnelle à sa foi. Il est vrai qu'il est arrivé à un moment privilégié, qui a vu, après toute l'agitation causée par la crise arienne, l'apparition d'êtres exceptionnels, comme Grégoire de Nazianze et Basile de Césarée. L'originalité d'Évagre est d'avoir transporté ce bagage intellectuel au désert et de s'en être servi pour faire la théorie du mode de vie monastique.

B. L'intellectualisme d'Évagre

Dans cette ligne, je voudrais examiner, pour terminer, un mot qui est constamment associé à Évagre, celui d'intellectualisme. Cela me

⁶² Pour la première définition, voir par exemple *Pratique* 2. La seconde définition de la philosophie se lit en *Disciples* 105 et, sous une forme voisine, en *Gnostique* 49 (conservé seulement en syriaque). Ces définitions appartiennent aux définitions traditionnelles de la philosophie et de la sagesse, rapportées par exemple par Nicomaque de Gêrasa, *Introduction arithmétique*, livre I, ch. I, 2 (éd. Hoche, 2-3).

⁶³ Il reste à opérer la synthèse de ce matériel philosophique très abondant, afin de mieux situer Évagre dans la série des penseurs chrétiens. Les éditeurs des Sources Chrétiennes ont pris grand soin de relever ces sources philosophiques. Voir à titre d'exemple le chapitre rédigé par A. Guillaumont sur les sources de la doctrine du traité *Sur les pensées*, SC 438, 23-28. De ce point de vue, ma notice du *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (éd. R. Goulet), t. III, Paris 2000, 399-402, reste très sommaire. On trouvera des réflexions plus développées dans d'autres articles: «À propos d'Évagre le Pontique», *Revue des études grecques* 103 (1990) 263-267; «Évagre le Pontique, une anachorèse spirituelle vers le "lieu de Dieu"», *Connaissance des Pères de l'Église* 72 (1998) 47-49; «La place de la *Lettre sur la foi* dans l'Œuvre d'Évagre», dans *L'Epistula Fidei di Evagrio Pontico, Temi, contesti, sviluppi. Atti del III Convegno del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su "Origene e la Tradizione Alessandrina"*, a cura di P. Bettolo (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 72), Rome 2000, 25-58.

permettra de passer en revue quelques publications récentes sur le sujet. Le mot a été lancé par le Père Hausherr dans sa conférence sur «les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale», donnée à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental le 11 mars 1934 et imprimée l'année suivante dans le premier numéro d'*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*⁶⁴. En termes énergiques et biens sentis, il y présente Évagre comme l'inspirateur d'un courant intellectualiste, distinct à la fois de certaines formes de spiritualité primitives et des formes diffusées par le Pseudo-Macaire ou Basile: «Pour celui-ci (= Évagre), l'homme, tout l'homme, c'est l'intellect; âme et corps, θυμός et ἐπιθυμία, ne représentent que des additions (προσθήκαι) ou des dégradations... Elle (= la contemplation) est la seule occupation adéquatement humaine, la seule perfection du chrétien, le but non seulement de toute vie humaine, mais de toute la création» (p. 122). «En dernière analyse nous retrouvons toujours l'intellectualisme hellénique: l'homme est une intelligence» (p. 124). L'idée est reprise dans les travaux consacrés aux *Chapitres sur la prière*, où le mot s'applique à la mystique; il ne s'agit plus seulement de spiritualité intellectualiste, mais de mystique intellectualiste: «Le *De Oratione*, par là encore, garde la marque de son auteur. Malgré la théologie qui en est le but suprême, la mystique évagrienne reste plus philosophique que théologique, au moins au sens trinitaire» (*Leçons*, p. 98-99); plus loin apparaît l'expression «mystique d'intellectualisation» (*ibidem*, p. 153). À la lecture de ces propos, on saisit immédiatement que pour le Père Hausherr la notion d'intellectualisme s'accompagne des trois corollaires suivants: l'inspiration de la pensée est plus philosophique que chrétienne, le corpus de référence n'est pas exclusivement scripturaire, la dimension trinitaire de la théologie chrétienne n'est pas intégrée. Quelques années après cette fameuse conférence, le théologien suisse Hans Urs von Balthasar, dans un article intitulé «Metaphysik und Mystik des Evagrius Pontikus»⁶⁵, a forcé le trait en déclarant qu'Évagre était plus origéniste que son maître Origène et que sa mystique de la vacuité était plus proche du bouddhisme que du christianisme. Ces maladresses ou ces outrances n'ont pas manqué de susciter une réaction en sens inverse, dont le principal représentant est le Père Bunge. Soucieux de réhabiliter Évagre au regard de l'orthodoxie et de le décharger des lourdes accusations qui pèsent sur sa doctrine, l'auteur développe la thèse inverse,

⁶⁴ Sur cet article fondateur, voir ici-même la communication d'A. Rigo, «La spiritualità bizantina e le sue scuole nell'opera di Irénée Hausherr».

⁶⁵ *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik* 14 (1939) 31-47; traduction anglaise sous le titre «The Metaphysic and Mystical Theology of Evagrius», *Monastic Studies* 3 (1965) 183-195.

selon laquelle la mystique d'Évagre est résolument «trinitaire et personnaliste»⁶⁶ et repose sur des bases scripturaires et théologiques évidentes. Il entre dans de telles vues, de nature apologétique ou polémique, et dictées par un souci louable d'édification spirituelle des lecteurs, une certaine dose d'anachronisme et beaucoup d'extrapolations. Il est par exemple fort douteux qu'Évagre ait conçu sa mystique sur le mode occidental d'une relation entre deux personnes. Le Père Hausherr était sans doute plus près de la vérité, même si Évagre a toujours pensé être un authentique chrétien et si le corpus auquel il se réfère n'est pas Platon ou Aristote, mais bien l'Écriture inspirée par l'Esprit Saint.

L'utilisation du mot «intellectualisme» se trouve surtout justifiée par la fréquence du mot *noûs*⁶⁷. Dans ses travaux exégétiques, Évagre a en effet tendance à ramener les expressions vagues ou imagées de l'Écriture à quelques notions fondamentales, la plus fréquente étant celle d'intellect: l'intellect est identifié avec «l'homme intérieur» des écrits pauliniens (II Cor. 4, 16)⁶⁸; le «pneuma» ou le «cœur» sont considérés comme les dénominations bibliques habituelles de l'âme et de l'intellect⁶⁹. Le mot *noûs* est ainsi un des mieux représentés du lexique évagrien, et dans une œuvre comme les *Skemmata* il apparaît presque à chaque chapitre. Mais le mot est difficile à traduire; le terme d'intellect reçoit, dans plusieurs langues modernes, un sens restrictif qui ne rend pas compte de la richesse du terme grec. De la

⁶⁶ Voir en dernier l'article intitulé «"La montagne intelligible". De la contemplation indirecte à la connaissance immédiate de Dieu dans le traité *De Oratione* d'Évagre le Pontique», *Studia Monastica* 42 (2000) 7-26 (plus précisément la p. 23). Plusieurs notes visent l'interprétation du Père Hausherr, par ex. note 94: «Nous n'avons certes pas l'intention de faire ici le procès du P. Hausherr dont personne n'ignore les grands mérites pour les études évagriennes. Mais on ne peut que s'étonner du fait qu'il ignore presque systématiquement toute citation ou allusion scripturaire, si importantes chez Évagre. La portée réelle des expressions "prière véritable" ou "prière spirituelle", pourtant assez évidente, lui échappe donc. Évagre parle abondamment des trois personnes divines, mais il le fait à sa façon. Ignorer son langage signifie ignorer l'essentiel de sa théologie»; d'autres traits polémiques apparaissent dans les notes 104, 109, 115 et 180.

⁶⁷ Ce rôle central de l'intellect a été bien montré par le Père Dominique Bertrand, dans plusieurs communications à des congrès; voir en particulier la communication publiée sous le titre «Force et Faiblesse du *Noûs* chez Évagre le Pontique», *Studia Patristica* XXXV, éd. M. F. Wiles et E. J. Yarnold, Leuven 2001, 10-23 (les références aux autres articles sont données p. 11 note 8). Il y a beaucoup d'intuitions intéressantes dans ces articles, mais elles sont desservies par trop d'anachronismes et un style inadapté.

⁶⁸ Cette équivalence est donnée par exemple en *Disciples* 58.

⁶⁹ Voir par exemple la scholie 317 *ad Prov.* 25, 26 ou la schol. 10 *ad Eccl.* 2, 11.

même façon, intellectualisme est souvent synonyme de rationalisme ou d'abstraction⁷⁰. La difficulté apparaît bien quand il s'agit de traduire le conseil donné en *Prière* 110, un bon exemple de la pensée complexe d'Évagre: «Tiens le regard baissé dans ta prière et, après avoir renié ta chair et ton âme, vis intellectuellement». L'expression «vivre intellectuellement» se rencontre littéralement chez le philosophe Porphyre (*De Abstinencia* I, 48, 1)⁷¹, et la maxime paraît bien ancrée dans la tradition hellénique, qui considère la vie de pensée et la vie théorétique comme l'idéal le plus élevé auquel l'homme puisse aspirer. Mais l'expression «renier la chair et l'âme», dans sa rudesse extrême, nous ramène à un contexte chrétien nourri de la Bible. À travers ces références croisées, le chapitre vise en fait les activités supérieures de l'intellect, pour lesquelles le terme de mystique est le plus approprié. En arrivant à la conclusion que l'intellectualisme d'Évagre est fortement spiritualisé et mystique on ne fera que souligner un caractère assez commun de l'intellectualisme tardo-antique. En somme, Évagre ne se distinguerait guère d'un Plotin⁷². Son génie est certainement d'avoir situé les sommets de cette activité de l'esprit dans l'oraison pure, présentée comme «la plus haute intellection de l'intellect» (*Prière* 35) ou comme «l'activité qui convient à la dignité de l'intellect, c'est-à-dire son usage le meilleur et le plus adéquat» (*Prière* 84).

CONCLUSION

À des titres divers Évagre est un personnage fascinant. Son œuvre ne se réduit pas au moralisme plat, étriqué et obsessionnel, auquel

⁷⁰ Sur ces questions de terminologie, voir par exemple la bonne mise au point de K. Ware, «Nous and Noesis in Plato, Aristotle and Evagrius of Pontus», *Diotima* 13 (1985) 158-163. Dans la traduction en cours des *Ennéades* de Plotin, Pierre Hadot adopte pour traduire *Noûs* le mot Esprit, plutôt qu'Intellect, «à cause des aspects religieux et mystiques de la notion» (Plotin, *Traité* 38, Paris 1988, 401).

⁷¹ Le Père G. Bunge utilise l'expression comme titre d'un de ses articles, «Nach dem Intellekt leben. Zum sog. "Intellektualismus" der evagrianischen Spiritualität», *Simandron – Der Wachklopper" Gedenkschrift für Klaus Gamber (1919-1989)*, Cologne 1989, 95-109; mais, comme l'indique bien le sous-titre, l'intention est polémique et vise à réduire la part de la philosophie: le sujet de fond n'est pas abordé et la référence à Porphyre n'est naturellement pas relevée.

⁷² Sur le rapprochement entre mystique évagrienne et mystique plotinienne, voir A. Guillaumont, «La vision de l'intellect par lui-même dans la mystique évagrienne», *Études sur la spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien (Spiritualité Orientale* 66), Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1996, 144-150; C. Stewart, «Imageless Prayer and the Theological Vision of Evagrius Ponticus», *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001) 173-204.

nous habitue trop souvent la littérature ascétique. Le Père Hausherr regrettait aussi le caractère insipide et répétitif d'une bonne partie de cette production: «... ils se répètent, se copient et se plagient, sans même ajouter à des pensées cent fois exprimées le charme d'un style personnel et original»⁷³. C'est un reproche qu'on ne peut pas faire à Évagre, dont la pensée se distingue par sa vigueur et son ampleur. Ce que l'on retient surtout, c'est l'invitation constante à la réflexion et à l'intelligence. Il n'y a pas de conflit entre ascèse et pensée. Les pratiques ascétiques ont pour but de permettre à l'intellect d'exercer au mieux son activité propre, connaître et contempler. Pratique et contemplation vont de pair et se soutiennent mutuellement: «Le gnostique et le pratique se sont rencontrés: au milieu des deux se tient le Seigneur» (*Moines* 121)⁷⁴.

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Paul Géhin

⁷³ OCP 1 (1935) 114-115.

⁷⁴ J'adresse tous mes remerciements à mes deux collègues, Pierre Augustin et Muriel Debié, qui ont accepté de relire cette communication, à deux étapes de sa rédaction.

Vincenzo Poggi, S.J.

**Irénée Hausherr à travers des écrits personnels.
Trente-six lettres à Michel d'Herbigny (1920-1931)
et "Du travail pour les jeunes" (1944)**

*À mon confrère Philippe Luisier, S.J.
qui bien le mérite.*

L'Institut Pontifical Oriental accomplit un devoir vis-à-vis du P. Irénée Hausherr en célébrant son œuvre et en ravivant sa mémoire, pour que soit plus profonde et plus œcuménique la connaissance de l'Orient chrétien, ce qui est le but même de l'Institut. Afin de rendre davantage justice à cette grande figure, je voudrais ouvrir une piste de recherche à travers les archives de l'Institut, sanctuaire de sa mémoire qui conserve des documents précieux pouvant nous aider non seulement à découvrir l'histoire du PIO, mais aussi à rafraîchir le souvenir de ceux qui en ont assuré le rayonnement, comme le P. Hausherr. On y trouve en effet trente-six lettres qu'il a adressées au Président de l'Institut, le P. Michel d'Herbigny, et je crois qu'il est opportun de les publier. Elles se trouvent dans la section "Anciens Professeurs", au dossier "Irénée Hausherr S.J.". Je les édite par ordre chronologique en les numérotant progressivement, avec une brève introduction pour chacune d'elles. À la suite de cet ensemble, je publierai un texte inédit tiré d'un cahier manuscrit du P. Hausherr, dont la teneur s'allie bien avec la correspondance échangée entre Hausherr et d'Herbigny.

LETTRES D'HAUSHERR À D'HERBIGNY (1920-1931)

Quand, en automne 1927, Irénée Hausherr devient professeur au PIO, le Président de l'Institut — c'est ainsi qu'on appelait alors celui que l'on nomme aujourd'hui Recteur — est le Jésuite français Michel d'Herbigny (1880-1957), avec lequel Hausherr se trouve en relation épistolaire depuis au moins 1920. Ce personnage exceptionnel, qui jouit d'abord de la confiance illimitée de Pie XI qui le nomma en octobre 1922 à la tête du PIO, demeure, selon les mots d'Étienne

Fouilloux, "une des figures les plus controversées du catholicisme contemporain" (DHGE 23, col. 1375). On sait comment il tombera en disgrâce dès 1933 et, de 1937 à sa mort, vivra en isolement forcé dans diverses maisons de la Compagnie de Jésus. À part les deux premières lettres de la correspondance, toutes les autres se situent pendant la présidence de Michel d'Herbigny à l'Oriental.

Un aspect de la personnalité d'Hausherr ressort de chaque lettre de l'échange. Hausherr, de tempérament assez réservé, ouvre son cœur avec totale confiance au confrère plus ancien d'une génération. Une telle ouverture et une telle confiance se lisent dans les trente-six lettres qu'Hausherr adresse à d'Herbigny et que d'Herbigny a le mérite de nous avoir gardées, spécialement dans celles qui touchent à des problèmes intimes et spirituels ou à des crises existentielles attachées aux doutes sur l'avenir et au manque d'insertion concrète dans l'Institut dont Hausherr est devenu membre. Plus tard, après la tombée en disgrâce de Michel d'Herbigny, Hausherr ne parlera pas volontiers de son ancien Président, supérieur et correspondant. Si on lui posait des questions à ce sujet, il déviait le discours et se montrait réticent. Peut-être lui était-il désagréable d'en parler, d'autant plus qu'il lui avait tant de fois écrit à cœur ouvert, en bon religieux envers son supérieur. Mais je ne peux manquer ici de souligner avec vigueur que les historiens doivent reconnaître les grands mérites de Michel d'Herbigny. Quelle que soit la clé du mystère qui explique sa disgrâce, d'Herbigny a su préserver pour les générations futures non seulement la correspondance avec Hausherr, mais d'autres encore, tout aussi précieuses. Je pense aux lettres, plus nombreuses, que Paul Ali Mehmet Mulla Zade a envoyées à d'Herbigny. Mgr Mulla, Turc devenu prêtre catholique, a enseigné les institutions de l'Islam au PIO pendant trente-cinq ans. D'Herbigny a soigneusement gardé et livré aux archives de l'Institut plus de cinquante lettres reçues de Mulla, dont je voudrais également assurer l'édition. Mais ce n'est pas là le seul mérite de Michel d'Herbigny. En effet, pendant la dizaine d'années qu'il gouverna l'Institut Pontifical Oriental, il réussit à l'établir sur des bases solides, tandis qu'auparavant le PIO avait tâtonné en vain à la recherche de sa voie.

Les lettres d'Hausherr à d'Herbigny nous posent le problème de l'origine des contacts entre les deux religieux, non pas seulement parce que tous deux appartiennent à la même Province jésuite de Champagne, mais aussi parce que d'Herbigny était déjà renommé parmi ses confrères. Depuis 1912, il enseignait l'ecclésiologie aux futurs prêtres jésuites à la Faculté jésuite de théologie d'Enghien, dans le Hainaut, en Belgique. En effet, à cause des lois Combes, de-

puis 1905, les religieux ne pouvaient avoir en France de maisons de formation. Ainsi, les Jésuites français en avaient ouvertes en Belgique, en Hollande et en Angleterre.

D'Herbigny est bien équipé pour les langues, car outre le français, sa langue maternelle, il a appris très jeune l'allemand et, probablement pendant ses années de formation, l'anglais; pour le russe, il a eu comme professeur le Jésuite Paul Pierling. En 1911, il publie chez Beauchesne *Un Newman russe, Vladimir Solov'ev (1853-1900)*, pour lequel il obtient un prix de l'Académie Française. La même année, il demande à ses supérieurs la permission d'un voyage en Russie, mais le gouvernement du tsar ne lui concède aucun visa. Il parcourt alors l'Europe Orientale. Pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale, il édite un manuel multilingue qui aura grand succès auprès des chapelains militaires, *Prudens sexdecim linguarum Confessarius*. Déjà avant la guerre, d'Herbigny s'occupe de la formation de prêtres catholiques pour la Russie et recueille dans une sorte de séminaire quelques émigrés russes, tels Ivan Deubner, Trofim Semiatsky et Gleb Verkhovsky. Le séminaire doit fermer avec les hostilités, mais l'année 1920, l'année même de la première lettre conservée d'Hausherr, d'Herbigny reprend contact avec l'émigration russe. Il fonde à Paris les "Amitiés Franco-Russes" et publie dans *Études*, année 57, tome 163 (1920) 33-57, un article intitulé: "La formation d'un clergé catholique pour la Russie".

ÉDITION ET COMMENTAIRE

1. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier (17,5 × 11 cm.) écrite recto-verso; d'Amiens, le 19 mars 1920.

Irénée Hausherr, né à Eguisheim (Colmar, Alsace) le 7 juin 1891, est âgé de vingt-neuf ans en 1920 et n'est pas encore prêtre; il sera ordonné le 15 juillet 1923. Pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale, Hausherr se trouve à Gemert en Hollande, au nord de Helmond. Le catalogue de la Province jésuite de Champagne rapporte en effet sous son nom, pour les années 1917 et 1918, la terminologie technique de "studet privatim" à Kasteel Gemert.

Après la guerre, Hausherr séjourne de 1919 à 1921 à Amiens dans la Somme, en France, d'où il envoie la première lettre de son échange avec d'Herbigny qui nous soit conservée. Le catalogue Jésuite de Champagne nous apprend pour l'année 1919 qu'Hausherr est préfet des élèves du Collège, au 51 boulevard d'Alsace-Lorraine, à Amiens. L'année suivante il enseigne la philosophie aux jeunes confrères du

scolasticat qui se trouve dans la même ville, au 18 rue S. Dominique. En même temps, il suit à la Sorbonne les cours du fameux linguiste Antoine Meillet.

Hausherr s'adresse-t-il à d'Herbigny à propos de l'étude des langues slaves? Il aurait été porté à s'en occuper, car il y avait parmi ses étudiants jésuites quelques-uns qui parlaient ces langues, le serbo-croate par exemple. Ou bien l'initiative vient-elle de d'Herbigny lui-même qui cherche parmi ses confrères, ainsi que le montre l'article des *Études*, d'éventuels formateurs de prêtres catholiques russes? Cependant, la lettre d'Hausherr ne fait pas d'allusion à des Russes, mais à un Jésuite de la Province de Champagne, Gabriel Horn, et à trois Jésuites de langue serbo-croate, Jean Évangéliste Kužundžić, Frédéric (Miroslav) Vanino et Jacques Benković.

Le premier, G. Horn est né le 21 septembre 1895 à Saint-Dié dans les Vosges et, entré dans la Compagnie de Jésus le 21 octobre 1912, prononcera ses derniers vœux le 2 février 1927 et mourra de cancer à l'âge de 38 ans, le 4 juillet 1933, à Florennes en Belgique, au sud de Namur, où les Jésuites ont une maison pour leurs candidats au sacerdoce et pour les jeunes pères qui, après l'ordination sacerdotale, font leur troisième an de probation. La lettre mentionne que Horn doit subir un examen universitaire dont le succès, d'après Hausherr, ne fait pas de doute. Gabriel Horn sera cité dans les lettres n° 4 et 7, en tant qu'intéressé à l'étude de l'hésychasme. Il en fait même l'objet d'une thèse doctorale dont Hausherr souhaite la publication et se dit prêt à ajouter une vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, ce qui se fera plus tard, peu de temps avant le décès du P. Horn, comme Hausherr le racontera dans le passage du journal intime que nous publions à la suite des lettres.

Des trois jésuites de langue serbo-croate mentionnés dans la lettre, le premier est le bosniaque Jean Évangéliste Kužundžić, né à Gradilka le 15 septembre 1872, entré dans la Compagnie le 1^{er} septembre 1890. Il fait sa profession religieuse le 2 février 1905 et le P. Général le nomme en 1909 supérieur de la Mission de Croatie, à laquelle s'ajoute la Dalmatie l'année suivante. En 1918, il devient supérieur de la Vice-Province croate. Il mourra à Zagreb le 9 décembre 1933. Le P. Kužundžić a déjà invité Hausherr à rendre visite à ses confrères croates et maintenant, il renouvelle son invitation.

Le deuxième jésuite croate que nous avons pu identifier est Miroslav Vanino, né à Zagreb le 10 octobre 1879, entré dans la Compagnie le 14 août 1894. Il étudie à Louvain avant 1914 et fait sa profession religieuse le 2 février 1915; il mourra à Zagreb le 6 décembre 1965. Il est l'auteur d'un ouvrage en trois volumes sur la Compagnie de Jésus

et la Croatie, depuis l'époque d'Ignace de Loyola jusqu'à la suppression de la Compagnie en 1773. Les deux premiers volumes, *Isusovci i Hrvatski Narod* (*Les Jésuites et le peuple croate*) I, Zagreb 1969, II, Zagreb 1987, seront édités après sa mort. Le troisième attend encore d'être publié. Le P. Vanino a fondé deux revues, *Croatia sacra* et *Vela i prinosi* (*Fontes et Studia*).

Des deux autres personnages nommés dans la lettre, Louis et Benković, je n'ai pu identifier que Jacov Benković, qui suit à Enghien le troisième cours de théologie.

La lettre est accompagnée d'une fiche autographe en bristol, avec les données personnelles d'Hausherr: son triple nom de baptême, "Robert Médard Irénée", sa condition clandestine de résistant à la conscription militaire allemande, une fois la guerre éclatée, et sa cachette en Hollande, sous le pseudonyme de Jean Marie Louis Pairs, ainsi que son travail d'opérateur humanitaire, dans l'assistance hospitalière à des enfants français auprès de la légation française en Hollande.

Ce document personnel est importante, parce qu'il nous révèle un aspect par ailleurs mystérieux du P. Hausherr. Il n'aimait pas qu'on prononce son nom de famille à la manière allemande, mais comme s'il était écrit "Ausère".¹ La fiche nous offre maintenant l'explication de cette attitude à l'égard de son nom de famille: même s'il parle depuis son enfance aussi bien l'allemand que le français et qu'il porte un nom de famille germanique, Hausherr se sent français, issu de parents français. Cohérent avec sa conscience d'appartenir à la France, il refuse le service militaire allemand. Du reste, lorsqu'il décide de devenir jésuite, il n'entre pas dans une Province allemande, mais dans celle, française, de Champagne. En accord avec ses supérieurs français, pour ne pas nuire à ses parents restés en Alsace, il change de nom et se tient le plus possible caché en Hollande. Ce n'est qu'en 1918, lorsque les Puissances de l'Entente sont défaites et l'Alsace rendue à la France, qu'Hausherr retourne chez lui et obtient sa démobilisation de l'armée française. Dans les Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, parmi les papiers "Hausherr", un petit dossier est étiqueté: "Son rapatriement en 1918: Papiers office".

¹ Par conséquent, j'écris "d'Hausherr" et non "de Hausherr", considérant le "H" comme non aspiré.

Amiens, le 19 mars 1920.

Mon Révérend Père,

Aussitôt votre lettre reçue je me suis mis à écrire au R. P. Kužundžić; mais je n'eus pas le temps d'achever ma lettre; ce matin même m'est arrivé du P. Kužundžić lui-même en réponse à une lettre du mois de janvier un mot on ne peut plus aimable renouvelant l'invitation faite précédemment. Je vais donc en toute confiance commencer mes démarches a[d] M[aiorem] D[ei] G[loriam]. Merci à vous de m'avoir communiqué la décision de M. Louis. Je reçois d'ailleurs à l'instant même de sa propre main une carte dans le même sens. Pour le reste, comptons sur la Providence.

Le P. Provincial de Croatic me dit que l'année prochaine il y aura à Enghien plusieurs scolastiques croates — et de plus le P. Vanino. M^r Benković en sera heureux, et d'autres aussi.

M. Horn est à Paris depuis samedi dernier; je n'ai pas de nouvelles de son examen mais je sais que cela sera un succès.

Ci-joint la fiche demandée. Mille merci à l'avance pour ce que vous ferez pour moi, le cas échéant. Ce que Dieu voudra, se fera.

Reverentiae V^{ae} servus in D^{no}

Ir. Hausherr

18 rue S. Dominique

Jointe à la lettre, une fiche personnelle autographe, sur papier bristol (13,3 × 10,2 cm.), écrite seulement au recto:

Robert Médard Irénée Hausherr né le 7 juin 1891 à Eguisheim, arrond.^{mt} de Colmar, Alsace parents nés français, devenus sujets allemands en 1871, redevenus français en 1918. Déserteur du service militaire allemand, au service de la légation de France en Hollande en 1917 et 1918 (+); rapatrié et mobilisé puis libéré au début de novembre 1918.
Résidence actuelle: 18 rue S. Dominique Amiens".

Note en pied de page:

(+) Service de l'hospitalisation des Enfants français.

Faux nom: Jean Marie Louis Pairis

2. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier quadrillée (17,5 × 11 cm.) écrite recto-verso; de Paris, le 9 mai 1922.

Hausherr rédige sa lettre au 42 rue de Grenelle, qui aujourd'hui encore est résidence des Jésuites à Paris. Il s'adresse à d'Herbigny qui se trouve à Rome depuis un an en tant que préfet des études à l'Université Grégorienne, pour lui demander de mettre en contact avec la reine de Serbie, Natalie, quelques étudiants serbes, qui se sont faits

secrètement catholiques. Natalie, fille d'un colonel russe et d'une princesse roumaine, avait épousé le prince serbe Milan Obrenović; en 1902, elle était devenue catholique. Pour la contacter, Hausherr propose l'intermédiaire d'un étudiant croate, Ivan Merz, qui prépare une thèse sur l'influence de la liturgie dans la littérature française. Une dizaine d'années plus tard Hausherr publiera un compte-rendu de la biographie de ce jeune croate, né à Banja Luca (Bosnie) le 16 décembre 1896 et mort le 10 mai 1928: Dragutin Kniewald, *Dr. Ivan Merz, život i djelovanje*, cf. *Orientalia Christiana XXXII* (n° 89), 1933, p. 273-274. Hausherr apprend la nouvelle de sa mort en 1928. Au début de l'année suivante, en janvier 1929, il rédige un témoignage pour la cause de béatification. Ce témoignage est repris et signé le 11 avril 1972 devant deux confrères croates, Stjepan Sakač et Božidar Nagy. Le texte en a été diffusé lors de la béatification de Merz par le Pape Jean Paul II, à Banja Luca le 22 juin 2003. Le témoignage nous révèle d'autres détails de la biographie d'Hausherr. "J'ai rencontré Ivan Merz une première fois en 1920 en Bosnie". "Mais le bon Dieu a voulu que je le revoie, de beaucoup plus près, deux ans plus tard à Paris". C'est l'année de la deuxième lettre à d'Herbigny dans laquelle Hausherr parle de "l'étudiant croate à l'âme magnifique". "Je me souviens d'une excursion à laquelle il m'invita un jour avec une bande de ces jeunes compatriotes. Ils n'étaient pas tous commodes, ces jeunes croates et bosniaques, et pour un peu nous eussions eu des démêlés avec les gardiens du parc de Fontainebleau: mais Ivan les modérait et les tenait en laisse sans en avoir l'air. Il avait l'étoffe d'un chef, parce qu'il était humble dans sa supériorité, et surtout, je le sentis dès lors, parce qu'il vivait en Dieu. ... Je le perdais de nouveau de vue ... après son retour en Croatie. Mais un jour en 1925 ... près de la fontaine de Trevi ... je crus rêver en apercevant un passant qui ressemblait à notre Ivan.... Sans hésiter, lui, vint droit sur moi. Ce fut une des belles journées de ma première année romaine.... La paix de cet homme, à la vie pourtant si riche en tout sens, m'eût paru un énigme s'il ne me l'avait lui-même expliquée ... une extraordinaire foi en la Providence.... Les Croates ne doivent pas laisser périr la mémoire d'Ivan Merz. Un homme de cette intelligence et de cette vaste culture, vivant dans le monde une vie toute en Dieu ... c'est là un spectacle trop beau et trop bienfaisant pour qu'on ait le droit de le cacher ni en Croatie ni en dehors de Croatie.... En arrivant à Enghien en mai 1928, je demandais à son compatriote M. Mašić des nouvelles d'Ivan Merz. Il est mort, me dit-il, sans savoir quel mal il me faisait. Mais en réfléchissant ... je crus comprendre..Ivan Merz était mûr pour le ciel, il dût y entrer de plein pied. Il vivait au ciel dès ici-bas....

Que ses compatriotes remercient Dieu de leur avoir donné un modèle, un vrai chrétien et un patron”.

Nous apprenons ainsi qu’Hausherr a été en Bosnie en 1920. Il y a connu la première fois Ivan Merz. Il l’a retrouvé à Paris en 1922 et à Rome en 1925. Assez pour en saisir l’extraordinaire vertu chrétienne.

Paris, le 9 mai 1922.

Mon Révérend Père,
P[ax] C[hristi]

Peut-être trouverez-vous que je viens vous troubler pour bien peu de chose; encore n’est-il pas sûr que vous puissiez ce peu de chose; je l’espère cependant. —

Il y a ici des étudiants serbes — oh! c’est à peine si je puis mettre le pluriel! — devenus catholiques, évidemment dans le plus grand secret. Ils voudraient entrer en relation avec ... sa Majesté la reine Natalie; mais n’osent pas sans une recommandation. Où trouver cette recommandation? Si vous pouviez indiquer la voie, ou envoyer vous-même quelque chose au nom de mon ami Ivan Merz (étudiant croate, âme magnifique, qui prépare une thèse en français sur “L’influence de la liturgie sur la littérature française”) — Celui-ci une fois introduit, se chargerait du reste.

Je n’ajoute pas de nouvelles, puisque vous êtes au centre des nouvelles intéressantes, et que d’ailleurs il en arrive peu dans ma solitude. Veuillez croire seulement que je pense beaucoup plus que je n’en ai l’air à vous et à vos intentions.

En vous remerciant au nom des intéressés, je me recommande à vos S[aints] S[acrifices].

Reverentia vestrae serv[us] inf[imus] in Jesu C[hristo]

42 rue de Grenelle (VIIe)

I. Hausherr

3. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier quadrillée (27 × 21 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages, dont seulement trois sont écrites; de Seltisberg, le 24 septembre 1924.

Hausherr, ordonné prêtre en 1923, séjourne pour ministère à Seltisberg, près de Liestal (Bâle-Campagne) en Suisse. Deux ans auparavant, la Lettre Apostolique de Pie XI, *Decessor Noster*, du 14 septembre 1922 (cf. AAS 14 [1922] 545-546), confiait l’Institut Pontifical Oriental à la Compagnie de Jésus, en le transférant au 25, rue de la Pilotta à Rome, dans la même maison que l’Institut Biblique. D’Herbigny n’est plus préfet des études à la Grégorienne, mais Président du PIO et jouit de la pleine confiance de Pie XI. Quant à Hausherr, il vient de conclure sa quatrième année de théologie à la Maison S. Augustin, 7 rue des Augustins, à Enghien (cf. le catalogue de la Province de Champagne, 1924, p. 7). Il a reçu depuis peu sa nouvelle destination à Rome pour un “biennium” — terme consacré pour les deux

ans théoriques de ce type d'étude — de patrologie orientale. Il sait bien que d'Herbigny, comme Président du PIO, est au courant de la chose, mais il veut lui parler des suggestions qu'il a reçues du P. Marcel Viller (1880-1952) et veut lui demander ce qu'il en pense.

Viller a été le premier titulaire de la chaire de spiritualité du PIO et le fruit de ses études sera *La spiritualité des premiers siècles chrétiens*, publié chez Bloud et Gay à Paris 1930, excellent ouvrage repris par Karl Rahner dans *Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit*, publié à Freiburg i. B. chez Herder, en 1939. Comme le climat de Rome ne lui convient pas, Viller, rentre en France pour se dédier à la rédaction du *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, qu'il fonda avec les PP. Ferdinand Cavallera et Joseph de Guibert.

Il serait intéressant de connaître ce que d'Herbigny a répondu à cette lettre. Probablement il aura déconseillé de suivre ce que proposait le P. Viller, c'est-à-dire d'aborder Photius. En effet, à consulter la bibliographie d'Hausherr, il ne semble pas qu'il ait jamais étudié spécialement Photius, ce qui, au PIO, fut plutôt l'œuvre du P. Mauricio Gordillo et du Jésuite grec Pelopidas Stephanou. En tout cas, Hausherr nous révèle dans sa lettre une très bonne disposition d'esprit à l'égard du travail qui lui est assigné. Il exprime clairement son désir de servir au mieux "la grande cause".

Seltisberg, le 24 septembre 1924.

Mon Révérend Père,
P[ax] C[hristi]

Vous savez sans doute que la Providence m'envoie à Rome avec le titre à la fois prétentieux et trop étroit de "bienniste de patrologie orientale". Il était naturel que vous fussiez au courant avant moi; je ne le sais définitivement que depuis quelques jours; mais s'il ne me reste rien à vous apprendre, je n'en tiens pas moins à vous en écrire.

M. Viller m'a proposé un programme de travail: Photius. Le sujet m'agréerait tout à fait, m'en étant déjà occupé (plus peut-être que je n'aurais dû!), mais peut-être le savant professeur se fait-il illusion sur la capacité de son futur élève. Je serais heureux, à Rome, d'avoir là-dessus votre opinion et vos conseils.

Un retard de correspondance a eu pour résultat de me faire aller en Suisse où je suis encore et d'où je ne réussirai pas à partir avant le premier octobre. De la sorte je ne pourrai être à Rome que tout à la fin du mois d'octobre. Peut-être viendrai-je avec le P. Hertzog, qui partira d'Engghien vers le 20 octobre.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire, mon Révérend Père, dans quelles dispositions je viendrai; en deux mots: avec le désir de servir de mon mieux la grande cause — avec, dans l'esprit des idées telles sur la valeur relative des choses, que je trouverai aussi naturel de me retirer que de rester.

Daignez agréer, Mon Révérend Père, l'expression de mon très humble respect en N[otre] S[eigneur].

Ir. Hausherr

4. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé (26,7 × 21 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages; de Paris, le 7 juin 1926.

D'Herbigny, dont le secrétaire personnel est le P. Pierre de Belloy (1887-1931), a fait de son mieux pour rendre autonome le PIO, après une symbiose de quatre ans avec l'Institut Biblique. Pie XI, infatigable "pape constructeur", à l'écoute de son conseiller d'Herbigny, a décidé de le porter Place Sainte-Marie-Majeure, dans le quadrilatère délimité par Rue Gioberti, Rue Napoleone III, Rue Carlo Cattaneo et Rue Carlo Alberto. Au long de chaque côté du quadrilatère se dressent les bâtiments voulus par le Pape: le Collège Lombard, l'Institut Pontifical d'Archéologie Chrétienne, l'Institut Pontifical Oriental qui sera inauguré à la fin novembre 1926 et, dernier arrivé en 1929, le Collège Russe.

La lettre nous apprend à quel point se trouve Hausherr dans l'étude de l'hésychasme. Elle expose à d'Herbigny le long titre d'un travail dans lequel Hausherr veut publier et commenter deux textes inédits: le Traité de la méthode hésychaste attribué à Syméon le Nouveau Théologien et un Discours du même Syméon sur la nécessité de voir Dieu déjà dans cette vie. Ce travail d'une centaine de pages pourrait remplir un fascicule entier des *Orientalia Christiana*, publication du PIO lancée par d'Herbigny en 1923 (ce n'est qu'en 1935 que naîtront la revue annuelle *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* et la série des *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*). On pourrait aussi l'amplifier si le P. Viller, bon connaisseur des deux spiritualités chrétiennes, orientale et occidentale, voulait bien y ajouter une comparaison entre l'hésychasme et ce qui, dans la spiritualité occidentale, lui est comparable. Si Viller n'accepte pas de faire une telle comparaison, on pourrait la demander au P. Joseph de Guibert (1877-1942), grand spécialiste de la spiritualité chrétienne. Hausherr attend aussi du P. Viller l'explication d'un passage que lui-même n'a su interpréter de manière satisfaisante, tout en prévoyant que la solution de ce problème fera avancer nos connaissances.

Hausherr se déclare prêt à donner au plus tôt l'édition de la *Vie* de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien qui dort toujours dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Au XVII^e siècle, le dominicain François Combefis (1605-1679) avait dissuadé les Bollandistes de la publier; Hausherr est au contraire convaincu qu'elle apporte du nouveau que

l'on pourrait ajouter à la thèse sur l'hésychasme entreprise par le P. Horn (cf. lettre n° 1).

Sur ce riche projet d'essais autour de l'hésychasme, Hausherr demande l'avis du Président de l'Institut. D'Herbigny semble l'avoir rapidement accepté, car à parcourir les fascicules des *Orientalia Christiana*, on découvre deux publications d'Hausherr qui s'y rapportent: *La Méthode d'Oraison Hésychaste*, *Orientalia Christiana* IX, 2 (n° 36), 1927, p. 97-210; *Un grand mystique byzantin: Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicéas Stéthatos*. Texte grec inédit publié avec introduction et notes critiques par Irénée Hausherr et traduction française en collaboration avec Gabriel Horn S.I., *Orientalia Christiana* XII (n° 45), 1928, XCIII + 255 pages. Dans cette dernière publication, on notera la collaboration entre Hausherr et son jeune confrère G. Horn (cf. lettre n° 1 et "Du travail pour les jeunes", publié ci-après).

Peut-être est-il possible de deviner quelle est la question érudite dont Hausherr attend la solution du P. Viller: il s'agirait d'une équivoque de numérotation, c'est-à-dire d'un chiffre erroné qui se serait infiltré dans la chronologie de la vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Un passage de Nicéas lui attribue en effet quarante-huit ans de sacerdoce, tandis que son ordination a eu lieu seulement six ou sept ans avant sa mort. Videant consules!

Paris, 13 rue du Vieux-Colombier
le 7 juin 1926.

Mon Révérend Père,

Le P. de Belloy vous aura dit où en est mon travail. Il faut cependant que je vous en écrive un mot.

1) Cela aurait un titre assez compliqué, s'il doit dire tout ce qu'il y aura dedans! "La spiritualité sinaïte, la théorie mystique de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien et les origines de la méthode d'oraison hésychaste" avec deux documents inédits: 1) Le premier exposé de la méthode hésychaste, attribué à Syméon le N[ouveau] Th[éologien]. 2) Un discours de Syméon le N[ouveau] Th[éologien] sur la nécessité de voir Dieu dès cette vie. (texte grec et traduction française) Une bonne centaine de pages ou plus si le P. Viller voulait y ajouter un chapitre de comparaison avec les occidentaux. Cela lui serait facile (ou au P. de Guibert), à moi très difficile. Je pourrais vous envoyer le tout dès maintenant, s'il n'y avait un passage que je ne réussis pas tout seul à mettre au point. Je l'ai envoyé au P. Viller et attends ses lumières. C'est de l'érudition pure, mais dont se dégagent pas mal d'idées.

2) J'ai entrepris ce matin même un autre travail qu'il faut décidément se décider [sic] à faire si on veut traiter de l'hésychasme. C'est la vie de Syméon le N[ouveau] Th[éologien] qui reste enfouie dans deux manus-

crits de la Bibl[iothèque] Nat[ionale] depuis que Combefis a déconseillé aux Bollandistes de la publier. Si le P. Horn doit reprendre sa thèse sur les hésychastes je serais content de lui fournir cette petite contribution avant le troisième an. Je pourrais établir le texte d'ici septembre, si je puis faire photographier sinon tout, du moins une bonne moitié des manuscrits, cela ferait quelques 70 pages à photographier; le reste je le copierais à la Bibl[iothèque] Nat[ionale] même: question de finances, comme vous voyez, mais qui vaudrait tout à fait la dépense. Quant à la traduction, si je ne puis pas la faire il sera possible sans doute de trouver un homme de bonne volonté.

Voilà ce que j'ai cru de nature à vous intéresser. Si vous approuvez tout cela, un mot de votre part suffira; de même aussi si vous jugiez que cela ne vaut pas pas [sic] operam et oleum.

Je me recommande à vos S[aints] S[acrifices] et suis

R^{ae} V^{ac} in Christo

Irénée Hausherr

Plus bas, en post-scriptum:

Une chose me manque, par un oubli de ma part: il faudrait noter dans le codex Vallicellanus C 43 les commencements et fins des pages du dernier morceau qu'il contient *περὶ τῶν οἰομένων ἀγνώστως ἔχειν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον*. C'est l'affaire d'un quart d'heure; mais je ne sais à qui le demander.

Suivent au bas, à droite, quelques lettres difficiles à déchiffrer.

Dans la marge du post-scriptum, d'Herbigny a écrit au crayon: "P. Leib", c'est-à-dire le P. Bernard Leib (1893-1977), byzantiniste, à ce moment à Rome.

5. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier quadrillée (27 × 13,5 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont seulement trois sont écrites; de Florennes, Belgique, le 11 juin 1927.

Entre les lettres n° 4 et 5, une année entière s'est passée. Hausherr a terminé à Florennes, pendant l'année scolaire 1926-1927, son "troisième an" à la fin de sa formation sacerdotale, dans la Maison Saint-Jean Berchmans, sous la direction du Père Instructeur Louis Poullier.

Cette lettre est la première dans laquelle Hausherr s'adresse à d'Herbigny en l'appelant "Monseigneur". En effet, le 29 mars 1926, Michel d'Herbigny a été secrètement consacré évêque à Berlin, par le nonce en Allemagne Eugenio Pacelli. Fort de son caractère épiscopal, il a par deux fois procédé cette même année à la consécration épiscopale de prêtres catholiques en Russie et à la nomination, de la part du Pape, d'administrateurs apostoliques dans le même pays. Il en sera bientôt expulsé et sa dignité épiscopale sera connue de tous.

La lettre se réfère à des corrections aux épreuves de *La Méthode d'Oraison Hésychaste*. On pourra vérifier qu'elles ont bien été introduites (le premier point est la note 1 de la page 35/131 de l'édition; le point 4 est à la page 77/173).

Hausherr ne s'est pas encore installé dans le nouveau siège du PIO.

Florennes, le 11 juin 1927.

Monseigneur,

En vous retournant les dernières feuilles de mon article, il me faut ajouter quelques recommandations pour celui (si ce n'est pas moi) qui voudrait bien vérifier une dernière fois les corrections faites.

1) Dans une note du texte français, je me souviens d'avoir laissé échapper une faute. Il sera facile de la trouver: la note dit: ἄγξον οὖν καὶ τὴν τῆς ρινὸς ὄλκην, ἵνα μὴ ἀδέως πνῆς. Il faut évidemment mettre ὄλκην.

2) Il faudrait veiller spécialement à ce que soient ajoutés les mots omis p. 87, p. 92, p. 110. En particulier p. 92 où il doit y avoir ὄντως ὄντων, la similitude des mots a sans doute fait que les protes s'obstinent à omettre ὄντως. — Il résultera de là peut-être un changement de lignes qu'il faudra vérifier pour mettre d'accord avec le texte les chiffres de l'apparat critique, vérifier aussi que les mots coupés — s'il y en a de nouveau, le soient selon les règles grecques!

3) Je ne puis noter les chiffres de la table des matières, n'ayant pas les épreuves entre les mains.

4) Dans le préambule du discours de Syméon il est dit Vm (mutilus: se termine après λέγεσθαι δίκαιον p. xx l. xx) il faut mettre p. 101 l. 10.

Il y aura sans doute des fautes qui m'ont échappé; c'est un peu une gageure d'entreprendre pareille besogne dans des conditions telles que celles où je me trouve.

Je remercie Votre Grandeur de la bienveillante hospitalité qu'Elle me promet le cas échéant. Je ne vois guère la possibilité d'en jamais profiter, mais je ne me considérerai pas pour autant comme étranger aux intérêts des âmes dans cet Orient auquel se consacre l'Institut de la Piazza S. Maria Maggiore.

En terminant, je prie Votre Grandeur d'agréer le plus religieux respect de son humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

6. Lettre autographe constituée de deux feuilles pliées en deux pour former huit pages écrites entièrement, la première en papier filigrané "Old Mora Mill" (27 × 20,7 cm.) et la seconde (27 × 21 cm.), insérée dans la première, avec l'en-tête "Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Piazza S. Maria Maggiore 7, Roma 28. Tél: 43.539"; de Rome, le 3 février 1928.

La lettre est écrite au lendemain de la fête de la Présentation au Temple, le 2 février 1928, jour de la profession solennelle du P. Hausherr. Il y fait d'ailleurs allusion, quand il mentionne les dix jours de retraite avant la célébration. Selon toute probabilité, la lettre n'a pas circulé par la poste, mais introduite directement dans la boîte à lettres de Mgr d'Herbigny, comme le laisse entendre la date elle-même: "Ce 3 février 1928": Hausherr suppose que le destinataire lira sa lettre le jour même de sa rédaction.

La lettre nous renseigne sur un voyage manqué au Mont Athos. Deux ans plus tard, Hausherr s'y rendra en compagnie de l'abbé byzantiniste Albert Vogt, mais il y aura là encore des déceptions (cf. n° 24-26 et "Du travail pour les jeunes"). Ce contretemps n'est pas la seule note triste de la lettre: elle révèle aussi la mauvaise santé d'Hausherr, parlant de manière mystérieuse pour nous, mais claire pour le destinataire, de la nécessité d'abréger le séjour romain, l'alternant avec de longs séjours ailleurs, auprès des grandes bibliothèques, telle la Nationale de Paris. Il a dû avoir quelque accroc de santé, l'obligeant à ménager ses forces.

Il y a aussi le désagréable sentiment de l'avenir incertain. Hausherr souffre du manque d'insertion concrète dans l'Institut Oriental. Il se sent comme étranger à celui-ci, tout en ayant conscience de payer chèrement sa collaboration au but même de l'Institut. Il croit à l'importance de ses publications sur l'hésychasme et du fascicule 40 des *Orientalia Christiana* qu'il nomme explicitement: "*De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali versantur*" auctore P. Francisco Roz S.I. Inédit latin-syriaque de la fin de 1586 ou du début de 1587, retrouvé par le P. Castets S.I., annoté par le P. Irénée Hausherr S.I., *Orientalia Christiana* XI,1 (n° 40), 1928, p. 1-40. Ce travail présuppose une bonne connaissance de la langue syriaque (d'après la lettre, Hausherr montre qu'il étudie les langues non pas pour augmenter sa renommée de polyglotte, mais en fonction de son travail scientifique et il se demande si apprendre l'arabe ou le syriaque peut servir à son travail). En tout cas, au milieu de souffrances morales dont la lettre est comme le miroir, Hausherr avoue d'être heureux au fond de son cœur.

La proposition du Vice-Recteur, le P. Mauricio Gordillo, de préparer des conférences pour l'Académie spirituelle ne suscite pas l'enthousiasme chez Hausherr: même des conférences de divulgation demandent un long travail. Hausherr en fera vers la fin de sa vie, surtout aux religieuses, lorsqu'il aura accumulé un grand patrimoine qui lui permettra de vivre de ses rentes, mais pas maintenant.

Ce 3 février 1928.

Monseigneur,

L'affaire ratée du Mont Athos remet en question, une fois de plus, mon sort éternellement incertain. Je ne vous cache pas, et n'ai pas à vous cacher puisque ce n'est ni votre faute ni la mienne, que ces incessantes oscillations me sont très pénibles, plus que d'aller risquer la mort à l'Athos ou ailleurs. Vous voudrez donc m'excuser de ce que je vais vous dire: c'est pour vous prendre moins de temps que je vous le mets par écrit.

Il était entendu que je ne devais venir ici que pour la moitié de l'année, ma santé ne semblant pas permettre davantage. A cette condition il paraissait aux supérieurs que mon travail valait la peine d'être continué, si réduit qu'il fût par ailleurs. Du reste en tout état de cause ce travail lui-même nécessitait des séjours à Paris ou auprès de grandes bibliothèques. Ce n'est donc pas un accident imprévu qui interrompt mon stage à Rome. Comment a réussi l'expérience de ces trois mois, au point de vue du rendement, c'est à Votre Grandeur de l'apprécier; quant à la santé, comme je l'ai écrit au R. P. Provincial, elle s'est en somme mieux maintenue que jadis au Biblique. Moyennant certaines précautions ou industries elle pourrait se garder mieux encore. Si vous croyez utile que je vous les indique, je le ferai. Ce petit accident d'il y a quinze jours non plus n'a rien d'inattendu: si j'avais su dans quelles conditions se ferait cette excursion je m'en serais abstenu, bien que, là encore, tout n'ait pas été un mal. Ce serait long à expliquer; je fais court.

Pour revenir sur mon travail, il a souffert de certaines conditions matérielles: installation, manque de machine à écrire (j'en ai laissé une à Enghien par raison d'économie, ne voulant pas prendre une malle), manque de certains livres, — de boîte à fiche, de cartons-classeurs — — détails, mais difficiles à obtenir, notre bon P. Ministre étant très occupé ailleurs. Je vous le dis sans aucune intention de me plaindre, plutôt pour m'accuser d'une excessive indifférence. S'il faut encore avouer une chose, et peut-être la plus importante, c'est que je me trouve ici vraiment très servi de toute espèce d'occupation ou relation extérieure, fut-ce par correspondance. A quoi cela tient, je le sais; pas à moi tout seul, mais peut être à un système de raisons trop compliqué pour que j'y puisse quelque chose. Toujours est-il que le support de cet isolement m'impose une dépense de forces morales qui se chiffre en définitive par une diminution de travail et de rendement, sans compter l'usure nerveuse.

Tout cela est dit trop brièvement pour que vous puissiez l'apprécier à sa valeur. Mais je veux ménager votre temps. J'ajoute seulement que tout cela n'empêche pas qu'au fond je sois parfaitement heureux, et ne cesserai de l'être que le jour où je perdrai la foi complètement. Malheureusement je me sens parfois vaciller, et c'est la seule chose vraiment sans consolation — et alors l'isolement devient deux fois dur.

Je suis prêt à vous donner d'autres explications si vous le croyez utile pour prendre une décision. Cette décision, il faudrait y arriver cependant assez tôt pour que je puisse prendre mes dispositions. Il est inutile que je

fasse de l'arabe, du syriaque et plusieurs autres choses si cela ne doit pas servir.

Un mot encore sur "l'académie d'ascèse orientale". Il me semble, à voir l'insistance du P. Gordillo, qu'il ne se rend pas bien compte des choses. Académie ou classe, c'est tout pareil quant à la préparation. J'aurais donc dû fournir autant de travail qu'un professeur qui a une heure de classe par semaine (sans compter les deux heures de grec) et en plus assurer la publication d'un texte grec pour laquelle six mois de travail paisible n'eussent pas été de trop. J'ai eu jusqu'ici pas tout à fait deux mois, en défalquant un mois pour le fascicule 40 et dix jours pour les vœux. Evidemment je vous ai dit que la vie de Syméon pourrait être prête dans trois mois, mais il y a toujours des surprises dans un travail de ce genre, et il y a en plus la nécessité de refaire toute la traduction. Il reste que je n'ai eu en réalité guère plus d'un bon mois sur les trois que je prévoyais à donner au minimum à la mise au point du texte et à l'Introduction. C'est peut-être la première fois de ma vie que je me crois devoir rendre le témoignage que pour un homme malade j'ai encore pas mal besogné.

— Je ne tiens vraiment à rien, sauf à éviter à moi et à d'autres des décisions prises sans connaissance de cause. C'est pour cela que je vous ai écrit. Si vous pensez être suffisamment instruit maintenant de la situation, j'attends et accepterai toute espèce de décision sans un regret pour la possibilité contraire. S'il fallait un supplément d'information, je suis prêt à le donner soit à Votre Grandeur soit à tout autre. Mais il faut arriver à une décision — du moins il le faut raisonnablement, cette décision fût-elle d'ailleurs encore temporaire, c'est à dire au moins pour l'année prochaine. — Je prie Votre Grandeur de me croire son très humble et reconnaissant serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur].

Ir. Hausherr S.J.

7. Lettre dactylographiée, avec signature autographe, sur feuille de papier fin (27,4 × 21,5), écrite au recto; d'Enghien, Belgique, le 24 mai 1928.

La lettre fait allusion à un accident de parcours dans la publication des travaux sur l'hésychasme, mentionné également dans la Note de la Rédaction en tête du fascicule 46 des *Orientalia Christiana* XIII, datée du 1^{er} juin 1928: "Pourquoi ce numéro 46 (Vol. XIII-1) paraît avant le numéro 45 (Vol. XII)", à laquelle fait écho la Note de la Rédaction en tête de la *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, datée du 22 juin. Dans la revue des Pères de l'Assomption *Les Échos d'Orient*, on vient d'annoncer la publication d'une traduction de la même *Vie*, œuvre projetée par Mgr Louis Petit, décédé le 5 novembre 1927, mais que quelqu'un paraissait intéressé à publier. Il s'agissait pourtant d'une équivoque. Dans la Note du n° 45 des *Orientalia Christiana*, on lit en effet: "Un échange de vue fraternel avec la Rédaction des *Échos d'Orient* a dissipé tout malentendu..."

Elle nous fait savoir qu'elle voit avec bonheur l'apparition de notre volume". Sur cette affaire, Hausherr retournera avec quelque humeur en 1944, dans "Du travail pour les jeunes", cf. infra.

La lettre est tapée à la machine, probablement celle laissée à Enghien dont il est question dans la lettre n° 6. La disposition d'esprit d'Hausherr est magnanime, il est prêt à renoncer à son projet s'il s'agit d'une éventuelle rivalité entre chercheurs, surtout s'il sont de la taille de Mgr Louis Petit. Hausherr se dit aussi prêt à renoncer aux index des noms et des termes techniques d'ascèse et de mystique. En réalité le projet de Petit meurt avec lui. L'édition et la traduction de la Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, faite par le P. Horn et revue par Hausherr qui dira ailleurs (cf. infra) dans l'un de ses journaux personnels combien cette révision lui coûte, apparurent finalement, enrichies par les index onomastiques et ascético-mystiques qu'Hausherr avait soigneusement préparés.

Enghien, le 24 mai 1928.

Monseigneur,

Par le même courrier que le nouveau paquet d'épreuves, est arrivé le numéro d'avril-juin des *Échos d'Orient*. Vous avez certainement déjà vu la surprise qu'il nous apporte. Pourquoi cette note paraît-elle juste en ce moment? Il y aurait eu moyen de prévenir le conflit: ma publication était annoncée dans le numéro 36 des *Orientalia*: je n'aurais évidemment pas perdu mon temps à ce travail, si j'avais su celui que les Assomptionnistes préparaient pour la *Patrologia Orientalis*. Depuis le mois de janvier encore il y aurait eu moyen de nous avertir, puisque la Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien est annoncée comme devant paraître prochainement. Mais ces réflexions sont tellement obvie que j'ai tort de les faire. Elles ne signifient nullement le moindre regret personnel chez moi, si vous êtes d'avis maintenant de supprimer mon œuvre. Elle aura évidemment du mal à soutenir la comparaison avec celle de Mgr Petit. Le point de vue le plus douloureux sera sans doute le point de vue financier. Quant à moi, je ferai du même cœur tout ce que vous pourrez décider.

J'envoie sous ce pli un Index des noms propres. Il faudra évidemment l'ajouter, si la publication est maintenue. J'ai aussi commencé un Index des mots ascétiques et mystiques; mais faut-il le finir? Cela retarderait nécessairement un peu le volume; s'il faut aller vite, on omettra donc cet Index et s'il faut abandonner complètement, je n'achèverai pas non plus ce travail de fiches qui n'est pas des plus intéressants.

En attendant votre décision, je prie Votre Grandeur d'agréer mon plus profond respect en Notre Seigneur,

Ir. Hausherr

8. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier lignée (23,1 × 18 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites; de Genève, le 3 septembre 1928.

La lettre montre un état d'esprit serein, même s'il y a à l'horizon des nuages d'incertitude — le catalogue de la Province de Champagne confirme le *statu quo*) — plutôt que le beau temps stable. Hausherr fait part à d'Herbigny du programme de cours pour la prochaine année académique. Ce sera "La prière chez les Pères et chez les Écrivains Byzantins". Hausherr doit avoir quelque ministère sacerdotal à Genève, probablement à la cure de Notre-Dame (cf. lettre suivante). Il songe que sa rentrée à Rome, au début d'octobre, va lui laisser un autre mois de travail pour la préparation immédiate de son cours. Il demande une attestation écrite de son supérieur pour certifier qu'il voyage pour des motifs religieux, de façon à obtenir une réduction des chemins de fer.

Genève, le 3 septembre 1928

Monseigneur,

La lettre de Votre Grandeur est arrivée il y a deux jours déjà. J'ai voulu réfléchir sur le programme que vous me demandez. Réflexion faite, je vois qu'il peut s'en tenir à un énoncé très vague, et donc très court qui serait par exemple: "De oratione apud Patres Græcos et scriptores byzantinos" — sans plus.

Quelle que soit l'étiquette cours, classe, conférence, causerie etc. ... j'aurai du mal à faire quelque chose de convenable. Il ne me restera en tout cas pas le temps de faire des écritures, au moins la première année, si tant est qu'il y en ait d'autres après.

Ce n'est pas à Genève que j'ai pu préparer quoi que ce soit. Je ne pourrai donc plus compter que sur un petit mois, après mon départ d'ici vers la fin de septembre. Quant à la durée de mon séjour à Rome, je dois dire que je ne supporte décidément pas les chaleurs qui, même ici, m'ont éprouvé très péniblement et empêché de travailler. Je n'en suis pas encore remis, bien que la température ait fraîchi depuis huit jours.

— Le status de Champagne ne m'est pas parvenu à moi non plus. J'en conclus que c'est le *statu quo*.

Pour mon voyage Paris-Rome, pourrais-je demander dès maintenant à Votre Grandeur de me signer une attestation à présenter au P. L. M., en vue de la réduction habituelle. De cela et de toutes vos autres bontés je vous prie, Monseigneur, d'agréer ma sincère reconnaissance,

De Votre Grandeur le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

9. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier lignée (23,1 × 18 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages écrites; de Genève, le 19 octobre 1928.

Dans sa lettre précédente, Hausherr avait écrit qu'il aurait quitté Genève fin septembre, afin d'être à Rome pour consacrer le mois d'octobre à la préparation de son cours sur la prière. Cette lettre modifie le précédent programme de la façon suivante: Hausherr est encore à Genève sur la demande insistante de son ami Albert Vogt, curé de la paroisse Notre-Dame de Genève. Le curé lui demande non pas seulement de l'aide pastorale auprès de ses ouailles, mais aussi conseil et soutien personnel pour lui-même. Hausherr sait de Vogt en personne que pas même le P. André Arnou, qui séjourne à Genève comme délégué du Saint-Siège au Bureau International du Travail, ne pourrait l'aider aussi bien que lui le fera. De plus, le Curé est byzantiniste et possède une bonne bibliothèque — il a du reste publié *Basile, premier Empereur de Byzance (867-886)* chez Picard à Paris, en 1908 et assurera pour les Belles Lettres l'édition et la traduction du *Livre des Cérémonies* de Constantin Prophyrogénète, deux volumes, Paris, 1935 et 1941. Chez l'abbé Vogt, Hausherr pourra préparer son cours. Il a déjà parlé de la chose aux supérieurs de France, le P. Xavier Thoyer, alors Vice-Recteur et Maître des Novices à Florennes (futur archevêque de Tananarive, il mourra à Madagascar le 7 octobre 1970) et le P. Gabriel Picard, alors Recteur du Collège d'Enghien, communauté à laquelle Hausherr appartenait encore. Néanmoins, il demande aussi l'avis de d'Herbigny. Bien entendu, il se trouvera à Rome au commencement de l'année académique début novembre, tout en renonçant au banquet inaugural du 25 octobre, auquel il sera présent seulement "de cœur".

Genève, le 19 octobre 1928

Monseigneur,

C'est un hasard inattendu qui me fait repasser à Genève et y trouver la lettre du P. de Belloy. A vrai dire un triste hasard. Monsieur le curé de Notre-Dame, en qui j'ai trouvé il y a trois mois un des rares amis de ma vie, m'a demandé de revenir passer quelque jours chez lui à la fois pour aider ses vicaires et pour le reconforter lui-même. Je lui dois tant et la Compagnie a tant éprouvé sa bienveillance vraiment extraordinaire, que dans les circonstances infiniment pénibles qu'il traverse je crois devoir faire tout ce qu'il est en mon pouvoir pour lui procurer ne fût-ce que le soulagement d'une heure de confiance. C'est un apostolat que personne d'autre ne peut faire en ce moment, pas même (au dire de Monsieur le Curé) le P. Arnou qui est cependant un ami de vieille date. C'est dire combien la passe est douloureuse. Il m'est impossible de vous expliquer la

chose par écrit. Mais puisque nos cours ne commencent que le 1^{er} décembre, je crois de mon devoir de vous demander la permission de rester ici quelques jours encore, jusqu'au début de novembre. L'Institut Oriental n'y perdra rien, au contraire. Je vous dirai de vive voix ce que M. Vogt médite, en sa faveur: ce n'est pas le moment de mêler des vues intéressées à un acte de reconnaissance et de charité. La bibliothèque de M. le Curé qui est un byzantiniste distingué me permet d'ailleurs de préparer ici mon cours. Je compte donc sur la bonté de Votre Grandeur pour consentir à ce que M. le Curé me demande. Le R. P. Thoyer et le P. Picard sont d'accord.

— J'ai passé quelques jours à Paris; mais j'y ai été pris de la maladie qui conduisit Syméon le Nouveau Théologien au tombeau, parce que j'habitais dans une chambre froide et sans soleil. Ici je suis chauffé et me rétablis. Je serai au banquet du 25 octobre, de cœur. Je remercie le P. de Belloy de sa bonne lettre et salue affectueusement tous les PP et Mgr Mulla et les chers Frères. Merci aussi pour les imprimés que j'ai trouvés en arrivant hier.

En attendant un mot de Votre Grandeur, je La prie d'agréer mes sentiments de religieuse vénération en N[otre] S[cigneur].

Irénée Hausherr

10. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé filigrané "La Couronne" (23,2 × 18 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites, la première portant l'en-tête "Maison de Retraites St François Xavier. Colmar, le ... 3 route de Bâle, Tél. 226"; de Colmar, le 9 avril 1929.

Hausherr reste plus longtemps que prévu dans son Alsace natale, faisant du ministère, alors que la plupart des Pères de la maison sont absents, dont il nomme quatre. Sa santé ne doit pas être trop bonne, si même la correspondance le fatigue. Mais sa souffrance est surtout intérieure. Il y a du paradoxe dans sa manière de s'exprimer: "S'il suffisait de se méfier des hommes pour avoir confiance en Dieu, moi j'aurais en Dieu une confiance parfaite!"

Maison de Retraites St François Xavier
Colmar, le 9 avril 1929

Monseigneur,

La maison de Colmar étant toute déserte, j'y suis resté plus longtemps que je n'avais pensé; le P. Ritter, malade, est à Hyères, les PP. Pflieger et Kirscher ont été à la semaine des Exercices et ne sont pas encore de retour, le P. Keller en est encore à se remettre de la grave opération subie il y a deux mois, le P. Hæffele est en Suisse, chez un curé de ses amis. J'ai donc pu rendre quelques service, ayant encore, jusqu'au 30 avril, les pouvoirs reçus en 26 pour trois ans. Mais je serai à Paris à la fin de la semaine (5 rue du Regard). La correspondance m'est bien difficile — mais

je suis sûr que vous comprenez. S'il suffisait pour avoir confiance en Dieu d'avoir désespéré des hommes, je serais arrivé à la confiance parfaite; mais j'en suis au contraire à la crise même de la foi.

Je me recommande à vos prières.

Mes respectueuses salutations à tous les PP. et FF.

De Votre Grandeur le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

11. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier (27,1 × 21 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages écrites; de Paris, le 18 avril 1929.

Comme prévu dans la précédente, cette lettre provient de la résidence jésuite du 5, rue du Regard, à Paris. Elle nous montre un Hausherr bibliophile chez les bouquinistes du bord de la Seine. Ayant trouvé fermée la Bibliothèque Nationale, il occupe son temps en étudiant le roumain. Il demande un exemplaire de la *Vie* de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (cf. n° 4 et 7) et un autre du "De Erroribus Nestorianorum" dont il a parlé dans la lettre n° 4. L'économe de la communauté jésuite du PIO, le Fr. Joaquín Beristáin (1864-1948), pourrait se charger d'expédier les deux exemplaires des *Orientalia Christiana*.

Paris, 5 Rue du Regard (VI^e)

le 18 avril 1929.

Monseigneur,

C'est pour affaire que je vous écris encore: j'ai acheté sur les quais 7 volumes de liturgie hébraïque, trois gros et quatre petits. Je pensais qu'ils valaient les 25 francs que le bonhomme en demandait: un autre eût été capable de demander quatre fois plus et davantage. Si vous voulez les avoir je les expédierai par la poste, en portant à votre compte le prix d'achat et les frais d'expédition.

Il serait peut-être convenable d'offrir à cette maison un exemplaire de mon "Syméon", puisque c'est ici que je l'ai en bonne partie fabriqué. Si vous êtes de cet avis, ou bien le F. Beristáin devrait m'en envoyer un, ou, sur un mot de vous, je pourrais en demander un chez "Spes". A l'avance mes remerciements.

Je suis venu à Paris trop tôt de dix jours: la Bibliothèque Nationale est fermée jusqu'à lundi, 22. En attendant j'ai fait du roumain. J'ai bien un peu de ministère, des remplacements pour la messe et quelques confessions; durant tout le mois de mai je pourrai ainsi suppléer mon voisin le P. Francés qui va prêcher le mois de Marie à N. D. de Genève.

Je remercie V[otre] G[randeur] de sa bonne lettre et me recommande encore à ses S[aints] S[acrifices] et prières, en La priant d'agréer mes humbles hommages en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Irénée Hausherr

S'il y avait encore un n° du "De erroribus Nestorianorum" disponible, je le recevrais aussi avec reconnaissance.

12. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier (27,1 × 21 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages écrites; de Paris, le 8 mai 1929.

La lettre a son origine dans la nécessité de renvoyer à Rome une autre insérée par erreur dans une enveloppe adressée à Hausherr. Quant aux livres hébreux achetés chez les bouquinistes (cf. lettre précédente), ils seront expédiés de Paris au plus tôt par le Fr. Marc Rabreau (1880-1956).

Mais l'occasion est surtout bonne pour parler de Palamas, plutôt que des anti-palamites. Hausherr rêve d'un *corpus hesychastarum* — le mot viendra dans la lettre n° 14 — qui demanderait plusieurs volumes. Pourtant, le curé de Notre-Dame de Genève, Albert Vogt, (cf. lettre n° 9), propose l'édition d'une *Vie* de S. Blaise d'Amorium, contemporain de Photius et d'un Ignace (vers 775-848), dit souvent Constantinopolitanus ou bien Diaconus, ou encore Magister (cet auteur a fait l'objet d'une récente publication de Cyril Mango, *The Correspondence of Ignatios Deacon*, Dumbarton Oaks 1997 et de Stephanos Efthymiadis, *The Life of the Patriarch Tharasios*, Aldershot 1998). Pour la *Vie*, le curé byzantiniste Vogt aura recours aux conseils du bollandiste Hippolyte Delehaye.

Paris, le 8 mai 1929.

Monseigneur,

Dans une lettre que l'on m'a fait suivre de Rome, je trouve le pli ci-joint que je m'empresse de vous retourner. Je profite de l'occasion pour ajouter quelques mots.

Les livres hébreux ont été ou seront envoyés ces jours-ci par le Frère Rabreau.

Les œuvres de Jean Cyparissiotès contre Palamas, que j'ai entreprises, seront un rude et très long travail: il y a la matière d'une dizaine de volumes. C'est de la polémique, aux allusions historiques nombreuses et aux citations difficiles à vérifier. Cela prouve au moins que Palamas était énergiquement combattu — et l'oraison hésychaste copieusement ridiculisée. C'est assez dans la suite de mes précédents travaux.

Mais il y a beaucoup plus intéressant. M. l'abbé Vogt m'ayant demandé de vérifier quelque chose dans une biographie de S. Blaise d'Amorium, encore inédite, j'ai trouvé là un contemporain de S. Ignace et de Photius qui alla vivre de longues années à Rome, où il est dit avoir vécu dans l'intimité du pape, avant de retourner à Byzance après l'avènement de Léon le Sage, et de là à l'Athos d'où il revient après douze ans pour obtenir une chrysobulle du basileus en faveur des moines hagiorites. Un

grand éloge de S. Ignace, de Rome, des détails sur l'état religieux des Bulgares etc. — rendent cette vie extrêmement intéressante, d'autant plus qu'elle est écrite au 10^e siècle, peu après la mort du héros. M. Vogt doit en écrire au P. Delehaye. En attendant je copie.

A part cela, rien de nouveau. La fête de S. Michel ce matin n'a pas été oublié.

Mes meilleures salutations à tout le monde, et à Votre Grandeur mon sincère et profond respect en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

13. Lettre dactylographiée, avec signature autographe, sur deux feuilles de papier aujourd'hui agrafées (27,5 × 21,5 cm.), écrites au recto; d'Enghien, le 5 juin 1929.

C'est un document intéressant pour l'idée qu'Hausherr se fait du travail intellectuel. Il ne se contente pas de simples découvertes et il ne se laisse pas griser par la publication d'un inédit. S'il possède d'excellentes capacités heuristiques, de recherche, de découverte, il y a en lui également un sain réalisme qui l'empêche de rêver, sans considérer les difficultés concrètes et l'interprétation des découvertes elles-mêmes. Quand on se perd dans la polémique palamite de Cyparissiotès, on néglige l'approfondissement de Palamas lui-même. Il est probable que les dossiers d'Hausherr "Johannes Cyparissiotès" et "Copie ms. de Johannes Cyparissiotès" qui se trouvent dans les Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, représentent ce qu'Hausherr avait recueilli et mis de côté sur cet adversaire de Palamas.

La lettre montre aussi la frustration d'Hausherr qui se sent tout seul dans la lutte, nouveau Don Quichotte qui se bat contre des moulins à vent. Hausherr demande un travail d'équipe. C'est la crise des lettres précédentes qui se poursuit. L'Institut manque d'une planification globale et d'une insertion vitale de chaque membre dans ce plan commun. L'idée de la publication scientifique d'un "Corpus palamiticum" est tellement grande qu'elle n'a pas encore été réalisée de manière critique, pas même en Grèce. Le pionnier Hausherr prévoit les problèmes que l'Institut cherchera à résoudre par des initiatives communes, l'édition documentaire du Concile de Florence, le Symposium Syriaque, les Anaphores Orientales. À la fin de la lettre, Hausherr mentionne un jeune confrère, Joseph Ledit (1898-1986) qui était parti avec le P. Schweigl pour la Russie en 1926, quitte à en être renvoyé brusquement par le gouvernement soviétique, après quelques semaines de séjour. Il inclut à son intention un papier que d'Herbigny transmettra. Hausherr parlera encore de Ledit dans la lettre n° 33, pour suggérer qu'il étudie le géorgien.

Enghien, le 5 juin 1929.

Monseigneur,

Après avoir copié une bonne partie de Jean Cyprisotes à la Bibliothèque Nationale je veux vous soumettre un certain nombre d'idées avant d'aller plus loin.

Il me paraît impossible d'éditer cet auteur avant d'avoir publié les écrits d'autres personnages et en particulier de Grégoire Palamas. Cyprisotes n'est qu'un interlocuteur dans le grand drame hésychaste, et un des derniers. Ses répliques ne signifient rien pour qui ne connaît pas les dires de ses adversaires. La littérature hésychaste forme un tout, un bloc dont on ne peut pas détacher au hasard une pièce isolée. Il faudrait autant que possible déterminer au préalable l'ordre chronologique, et puis commencer par le début. Mais vous entrevoyez quelle somme de travail cela constituerait. J'ai passé un bon nombre de jours à relever dans les manuscrits de la B[ibliothèque] N[ationale] les seuls écrits de Palamas: cela forme approximativement deux cents numéros, et sans doute il y en a d'autres dans d'autres codex. C'est Palamas qu'il faudrait entreprendre tout d'abord; il est du reste encore le plus intéressant parce que c'est lui qui a donné le branle à tout le mouvement. Seulement pour mener à bon terme une entreprise de cette étendue, il faudrait non pas un seul homme mais une équipe de travailleurs. Et il faudrait les mettre dans des conditions favorables pour travailler à leur aise: je veux dire qu'il faudrait mettre à leur disposition d'assez grosses sommes pour frais de voyages, de photographies, de séjours. Des séjours prolongés seraient en effet nécessaires dans des villes où se trouvent les manuscrits, en particulier Paris. A ce propos je dois dire que pour ce séjour il conviendrait de réaliser des conditions physiques et morales qui sont impossibles tant qu'on a l'air d'y être de par sa propre initiative; plus clairement il faudrait que le "status" lui-même prévît ces séjours, et que le règlement, heures de repas etc. facilitât l'emploi du temps le plus utile. Le dîner à midi cause une perte de temps quotidienne considérable, à moins que l'on n'ait une santé à pouvoir se remettre à la tâche aussitôt après, ce qui n'est pas et ne sera jamais mon cas. Cette accommodation ne pourrait se faire sans une petite dépense supplémentaire journalière. Telle quelle est, la manière dont j'ai été obligé de travailler, tout en me fatiguant beaucoup, n'est pas rémunératrice comme je l'aurais voulu. Je ne demande pas mieux du reste que de céder l'honneur à d'autres qui se pourraient imposer plus la peine.

Ce n'est pas à moi de juger que l'Institut Oriental pourrait gagner beaucoup en prestige, s'il entreprenait une œuvre comme la publication intégrale des hésychastes. Une fois qu'elle serait commencée, il ne serait pas nécessaire d'aller tellement vite; et du reste plus elle avancerait plus elle pourrait s'accélérer.

Je joins un mot pour le P. Ledit. Que Votre Grandeur daigne agréer le religieux respect de son humble serviteur en N[otre]. S[ci]gneur].

Ir. Hausherr

14. Lettre dactylographiée, avec signature autographe, sur feuille de papier (27,5 × 21,5 cm.), écrite recto-verso; d'Enghien, le 16 juin 1929. Au crayon, sur la date, d'Herbigny a ajouté: "R. P. Hausherr".

Il semble qu'Hausherr ait pu faire bouger un peu les choses. Le projet d'une série de l'Institut sous le nom de "Corpus hesychastarum" paraît recevoir un certain accueil. Hausherr est encouragé à se choisir des collaborateurs. Cependant, les exigences d'une vie de chercheur hautement spécialisé doivent être reconnues au prix de quelques exemptions de la vie religieuse communautaire — ce qui d'ailleurs n'est pas contraire à l'esprit originel de la Compagnie de Jésus dont le fondateur s'est adonné aux études à l'âge adulte et a reconnu par expérience qu'elles demandent tout l'homme. Dommage qu'avec cette feuille conservée dans les Archives de l'Institut, on n'ait pas gardé "la liste ci-jointe" d'ouvrages sur l'hésychasme.

Le cours qu'Hausherr donnera la prochaine année académique sera le même que celui de l'année précédente. Mais il y ajoute les textes latins et syriaques que les byzantins auront pu lire en traduction grecque. Quant à l'intuition d'Hausherr sur l'importance de la littérature syriaque pour l'étude de la mystique orientale, on sait combien elle se trouvera confirmée par la suite. Il inclut dans l'enveloppe le compte-rendu que son confrère croate, le P. Stjepan Sakač, lui a proposé d'écrire sur le livre de Velimir Deželić, *Kardinal Haulik, nadbiskup Zagrebački*, Zagreb 1929. Il paraîtra dans *Orientalia Christiana* XVI,1 (n° 55), 1929, p. 132-133, nous donnant la preuve qu'Hausherr connaît aussi le serbo-croate, ce que suggérerait la lettre n° 1 et le compte-rendu de la biographie d'Ivan Merz mentionné dans l'introduction à la lettre 2.

Enghien, le 16 juin 1929

Monseigneur,

Puisque le principe de ce "Corpus hesychastarum" est admis il serait bon que le P. Bibliothécaire tâche de trouver quelques livres sur ce sujet, à commencer par ceux qui sont indiqués dans Krumbacher à propos de Palamas, et ses amis et adversaires. Dans la liste ci-jointe j'en ajoute quelques autres en vue des classes que je dois faire; il y en a plusieurs en syriaque, et il pourrait y en avoir davantage: la littérature syriaque a, je crois une importance considérable pour l'histoire de la mystique orientale.

Quant aux collaborateurs éventuels, je ne saurais en trouver ne connaissant pas les jeunes. Du reste d'autres provinces pourraient en fournir: si on doit donner une traduction de ces textes palamites, elle ne pourra guère être qu'en latin.

Pour ce qui est de l'utilisation du temps à Paris, il faut sans doute laisser à chacun la possibilité de trouver sa manière, d'accord avec les supérieurs de Paris. Cela suppose, comme je l'ai dit, au moral, une situation nette, prévue par le status ou une déclaration authentique des supérieurs majeurs, et, matériellement, la liberté de prendre un petit repas à proximité de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Je travaille en vue de mes classes de l'année prochaine; le titre en est le même que par le passé: *De oratione quid docuerint Patres græci et scriptores byzantini et ex latinis syrisque ii quorum opera græce translata byzantinis patebant, ut sunt Cassiani, Gregorii Dialogi, Ephrem, Isaaci Ninivitæ...*

Je joins aussi à cette lettre la recension que le P. Sakač m'a confiée de la vie du Cardinal Haulik.

Que V[otre] G[randeur] daigne agréer l'expression renouvelée de mon très profond respect.

Ir. Hausherr

15. Lettre dactylographiée, avec signature autographe, sur feuille de papier (27,5 × 21,5 cm.), écrite au recto; d'Enghien, le 26 juin 1929.

C'est un chef-d'œuvre d'ironie et de délicatesse. Hausherr s'excuse des fautes de frappe. Il y voit, non sans exagérer, des signes de fatigue nerveuse. Mais il aborde avec esprit les objections, qui ne manquent pas, de la part de ses confrères. Les exemptions à la vie commune, légitimées par les tâches scientifiques, déplaisent à quelques-uns. Il faut des "lettres de créance", ainsi qu'Hausherr les appelle avec humour, pour fermer la bouche aux "petites majestés" qui considèrent ces exemptions comme des "vulnera legis" et se considèrent eux-mêmes comme les gardiens attitrés des autres membres de la communauté, tout en n'ayant aucune expérience du travail scientifique, ni avoir compris que les études exigent un don total.

Enghien, le 26 juin 1929.

Monseigneur,

Je m'excuse à l'avance des fautes d'impression que je vais faire: je ne sais ce que c'est, mais je ne parviens plus à fixer mon attention sur mes pensées et gestes.

Pour en finir avec cette question de Paris, peu importe ce qui est écrit sur la feuille du status: ce qu'il faut c'est que les PP. de Paris sachent que l'on n'y vient pas pour son simple caprice; il y a toujours des gens charitables qui se croient les gardiens de leurs frères; ce sont évidemment ceux qui ont le temps et les loisirs de se préoccuper de ce que font les autres, ne faisant eux-mêmes pas grand-chose. Tant pis, j'ai dit ce que je ne voulais pas dire. Ceux qui travaillent, à commencer par les supérieurs, ne

m'ont jamais témoigné que le désir de me voir rester à Paris, parce que je pourrais leur rendre des services bien appréciés à l'église des étrangers. Qu'on nous donne une lettre dûment contresignée, une "lettre de créance" qui m'accrédite auprès de ces petites majestés, ou qui du moins coupe court à leurs malices.

Pour les repas, cela ne presse pas: ce n'est ni en juillet ni en août que la combinaison doit servir. Je m'excuse de ne pas en dire plus long. Je crois du reste que cela suffira.

De Votre Grandeur le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

16. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier (27 × 21,4 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages, dont trois sont écrites, portant sur la première l'en-tête imprimé "Maison St-Augustin, 7 Rue des Augustins, Enghien (Belgique). Le ... 192."; d'Enghien, le 16 octobre 1929.

Il serait déjà temps de rentrer pour le commencement des cours. Mais le médecin se demande s'il faut intervenir par une opération chirurgicale pour échapper au danger d'une sinusite. Hausherr annonce l'éventualité de l'opération et par conséquent, un retour tardif à Rome. En tout cas, l'opération n'est pas encore décidée. Il y a encore quelques jours avant d'en diffuser la nouvelle.

Maison Saint-Augustin, 7 rue des Augustins, Enghien
Le 16 octobre 1929

Monseigneur,

Le moment approche de mon retour à Rome. Plus rien ne me retiendrait (je suis rentré hier de mon dernier ministère, une retraite de huit jours), si je n'étais menacé de passer entre les mains du chirurgien. Je crois que je n'y échapperai pas.

C'est une vieille affaire qui pourrait, paraît-il, tourner à la sinusite. Comme je n'ai pas le cœur très solide, l'avenir est assez incertain.

Votre Grandeur sera évidemment tenue au courant, aussitôt que le médecin se sera prononcé définitivement; ce sera sans doute la semaine prochaine.

— J'ai trop prêché aux autres la Providence pour pouvoir loyalement avoir une crainte ou un regret. Je m'excuse seulement du dérangement que peut-être je vais causer au programme de l'Institut Oriental. Mais je me console en pensant que mon cours libre n'est pas d'une importance bien grande. Si je ne pouvais le faire cette année, il se trouverait facilement quelqu'un pour le faire mieux que moi l'année prochaine. Je serai cependant toujours heureux de le continuer, si tel est le bon plaisir du Maître.

Si je puis exprimer un désir, c'est que l'on ne parle pas de cette affaire. Il sera toujours temps, quand la décision sera connue.

Je salue bien cordialement tous les PP. et FF., et prie Votre Grandeur d'agréer mes plus respectueux hommages,

Ir. Hausherr

17. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier lignée (21,4 × 13,4 cm.), écrite recto-verso, avec en haut à gauche, sous une photographie du bâtiment, l'en-tête imprimé "Clinique St-Remy, Rue Vander Noot, 29" et en haut à droite, en italique, "Bruxelles, le ..."; de Bruxelles, le 14 novembre 1929. Hausherr a évité d'écrire dans les premières lignes du verso où transparaît la photographie.

Hausherr n'a pas échappé à l'opération: cette lettre et les deux suivantes sont écrites d'une clinique bruxelloise. Au début novembre, une grippe attrapée par le patient a renvoyé l'opération. Lorsqu'elle a eu lieu, la plaie ne s'est pas fermée, contre toute prévision.

Clinique St-Remy, Rue Vander Noot, 29
Bruxelles, le 14 novembre 1929.

Monseigneur,

C'est encore à la clinique que je passe la fête de S. Josaphat. J'ai dit la sainte messe ce matin après une seconde interruption, de dix jours. Le premier essai, à la Toussaint, m'a valu une bonne grippe.

Du reste, même sans cet accident je ne serais sans doute pas parti encore. Les prédictions du médecin, avant l'opération, ne se vérifient pas. Dix jours de clinique, avait-il dit, et ce sera à peu près 25. Un mois, pour tout guérir — ce sera certainement plus; je ne saurais dire combien. En tout cas, tant que la plaie du sinus n'est pas fermée, il faudra que je me présente chez le docteur régulièrement. Une bonne appendicite eût été beaucoup plus vite guérie.

Je regrette de ne pouvoir donner d'autres nouvelles. Il se peut du reste que je ne sache pas tout.

En remerciant Votre Grandeur de sa bonne lettre d'il y a quinze jours, je la prie d'agréer l'expression de ma très humble soumission

Ir. Hausherr

18. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier lignée (27,3 × 21,3 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites; de Bruxelles, le 2 décembre 1929.

La blessure postopératoire n'est pas encore fermée. On écoute d'autres médecins et on fait une consultation collective. On se décide pour une autre intervention chirurgicale afin de fermer la blessure restée ouverte. D'après le ton de la lettre et son humour fin, on ne dirait pas que le patient parle de lui-même. Hausherr est un écrivain

qui connaît son métier et attire l'attention du lecteur, dans un style simple et efficace. Remarquable aussi la manière souple et délicate de laquelle il répond à la pieuse dame qui le confond avec quelqu'un d'autre.

Bruxelles, le 2 décembre 1929.

Monseigneur,

Il y a aujourd'hui quinze jours que mon "opérateur", — un ultra-méridional — s'est écrié triomphalement en voyant le trou qu'il m'a fait: "ça va très bien; dans quinze jours ce sera fermé". J'ai attendu quinze jours, pensant pouvoir vous annoncer la bonne nouvelle: le dit trou est plus ouvert que jamais. Le docteur a dit bien d'autres choses encore; il m'a même dit de pratiquer les vertus que je prêchais aux autres, in specie la patience. Il a oublié de remarquer que je ne lui ai jamais prêché la prudence dans les paroles.

Finalement il va y avoir une consultation aujourd'hui pour savoir s'il y a encore quelque espoir que je ne reste pas pour le reste de mes jours affligé de ce fameux trou. Un médecin, sans le voir, a dit que "cela se ferait quelquefois à la longue" mais que d'autres fois cela ne se ferait pas. On va voir tout à l'heure. J'ai bien mon idée, mais est-ce que je sais quelque chose? En tout cas d'ici janvier il n'y a pas à songer à bouger de la banlieue bruxelloise.

Résultat de la consultation: on va me faire je ne sais pas trop quoi jeudi prochain. Jeudi c'est le jour où mon docteur opère. C'est une petite opération dans le but de fermer ce que la précédente a laissé ouvert. Quelques jours de lit et de grandissimes précautions, et pour la 3^{me} fois on me promet la guérison, rapidement, pas pour une date fixe cependant. Amen.

M^{lle} F. du Bardon [?] doit confondre; elle n'a jamais bien su distinguer ses visiteurs, au moins depuis que je la connais. Le P. de Belloy peut lui dire en tout cas que j'ai pensé à elle pas mal de fois et le ferai encore. Quant à [sc] préparer à la mort, cela ne presse pas!

Je remercie les PP. de l'Oriental de leurs prières; mais les miracles ne sont pas pour moi.

Que Votre Grandeur veuille bien agréer mes sincères remerciements pour ses bonnes lettres et croire à tout mon profond respect en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

19. Lettre autographe constituée de deux feuilles pour former six pages écrites, la première de papier (27 × 21,4 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages, portant sur la première page l'en-tête imprimé "Maison St-Augustin, 7 Rue des Augustins, Enghien (Belgique). Le ... 192." (cf. n° 16) et la seconde, insérée dans la première, n'étant que la moitié découpée d'une feuille semblable, celle qui porte

l'en-tête; Hausherr a biffé sur la première page écrite l'en-tête et l'a remplacé à la main, au dessous, par "Clinique S. Remy"; de Bruxelles, 11 décembre 1929.

Dans cette lettre domine encore la personnalité du chirurgien bavard et présomptueux, optimiste à outrance, un peu comme le tailleur de Rome, Signor Musica. Mais dans le récit plein de verve et d'humour, Hausherr n'oublie pas le côté tragique, en se demandant s'il pourra encore parler avec cette cavité ouverte dans son palais qui l'empêchera d'articuler les occlusives labiales.

Hausherr se préoccupe aussi de papiers personnels qu'il a laissés à Rome: qu'on n'y touche pas. Il en parlera encore dans une autre lettre et il s'agit probablement de ses journaux intimes, pareils à ceux qu'Alexandra Celia, en préparant sa thèse doctorale sur Hausherr, a retrouvés. Mais ces deux journaux intimes sont plus récents et remontent aux années 1943-1946.

À la fin de sa lettre, dans laquelle on trouve une plaisante description du chirurgien qui l'a opéré, Hausherr demande à d'Herbigny de détruire ces pages pour ne pas nuire à la renommée professionnelle du médecin. Heureusement que d'Herbigny n'a pas obéi à la demande de l'expéditeur! D'autre part, il aura transmis les remerciements d'Hausherr au P. Général Vladimir Ledóchowski (1866-1942) qui doit lui avoir envoyé un message de réconfort et d'encouragement.

Clinique S. Remy
Le 11 décembre 1929

Monseigneur,

Hier déjà j'avais commencé une lettre pour Votre Grandeur. Je recommence aujourd'hui que je viens de recevoir la bonne lettre du 7 dont je vous remercie. Le médecin dit souvent sa pensée, trop souvent; elle est toujours d'un optimisme catégorique (lequel, je ne sais pourquoi, me rappelle le ton de mon tailleur romain, M. Musica!), mais les événements lui ont donné un démenti plus catégorique encore.

Ainsi au lendemain de cette seconde opération (une bonne heure -- dont je préfère ne rien dire), le cher homme me regardant d'un air entendu me dit avec un sourire: "Cela vous ferait-il plaisir d'être à Rome pour Noël?" — "Je me contenterais de l'Épiphanie". — "Eh bien, je crois que pour Noël vous pourrez y être."

Or voici d'abord le résultat brut de l'opération:

Un bon morceau de la mâchoire enlevé; une couture entre la gencive et la joue; et un peu plus au fond de la bouche que le trou qui a été bouché, un autre trou qu'il n'y a pas eu moyen de fermer.

Hier donc que j'ai constaté (à la respiration) la présence de cette ouverture, le médecin m'a dit qu'il le savait! (Si je l'avais su, moi, je n'aurais certainement pas permis la seconde opération!). Que pour l'avenir il ne me restait qu'à aller chez un bon dentiste me faire faire un appareil avec une plaque spéciale qui fermerait ce trou comme un couvercle. Et c'est pour éviter cela que la seconde opération a été faite. Tout son résultat pratique se résume donc à un mois de clinique en plus — et un peu de mâchoire en moins: le tout acheté par — — — cfr la note du docteur, et par ce que le bon Dieu sait.

Le grand point d'interrogation c'est de savoir si je pourrai parler. Tant que cette cheminée subsiste, il m'est impossible de prononcer les "occlusives" labiales, pour la bonne raison que l'occlusion est impossible. Il y va donc de tout ministère; la sainte messe elle-même est en question parce que les liquides que j'absorbe (je ne vis guère que de cela) passent très facilement par l'ouverture malencontreuse. Je ne parle pas d'autres inconvénients qui sont tout personnels.

Les prières ne m'ont pas manqué, ni les neuvaines aux saints ou saintes estimés les plus secourables. Je porte même une double relique qui m'a été donnée et imposée exprès pour cela.

— Je pense quelquefois à des papiers que j'ai laissés dans l'armoire de la chambre que j'habitais l'année dernière. J'espère qu'ils ne gênent personne. Il y a certaines notes personnelles dont la perte me serait plus sensible que toute autre.

Voilà une bien longue lettre, dont je m'excuse. Il faudra la détruire, parce que je ne veux en aucune façon nuire à la réputation de mon docteur.

Que Votre Grandeur veuille bien transmettre mon merci au T. R. P. Général, mon souvenir fraternel à tous les PP. et Frères, et agréer Elle-même les sentiments très respectueux de
son humble serviteur en N[otre]. S[eigneur].

Ir. Hausherr

20. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé filigrané (cf. n° 10), mais lignée (22,9 × 17,9 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites, avec sur la première l'en-tête imprimé "Maison de Retraites St François Xavier, Colmar le ..., 3 route de Bâle, Tél. 22.26"; de Colmar, le 28 avril 1930.

Cette lettre vient du même endroit que le n° 10. Hausherr ne parle heureusement plus d'opérations chirurgicales subies pour éviter la sinusite, ni de l'incapacité d'articuler les occlusives labiales, mais il s'étend plutôt sur la correspondance manquée d'un train en gare de Turin et la nouvelle parue dans un journal allemand, la *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, de la prochaine élévation au cardinalat de Mgr d'Herbigny — jamais advenue — et signale une série d'articles de l'écrivain Jules Chancel dans l'hebdomadaire littéraire *Candide*.

Maison de Retraites S^t François Xavier
Colmar, le 28 avril 1930

Monseigneur,

C'est la troisième lettre que je fais pour Votre Grandeur depuis mon départ. Les deux autres sont restées dans mes papiers.

M. Vogt m'ayant écrit de Paris que la Bibliothèque Nationale est fermée quelques jours encore, je ne partirai d'ici que vers jeudi ou vendredi. Une huitaine de jours après je serai à Enghien. J'ai fait un voyage accidenté: erreur de train à Turin, d'où retard et dépense imprévue. Au temps de Pâques je n'ai pu me refuser à quelques petits ministères.

La Kölnische Volkszeitung ayant annoncé le prochain cardinalat de Votre Grandeur, je profite de cette occasion pour Lui offrir mes vœux et félicitations.

— Ayant eu par hasard sous la main un numéro du journal "Candid" (jeudi 24 avril) j'y ai trouvé le début d'une série d'articles intéressants: "La frontière Rouge" par Jules Chancel. Je me permets de les signaler à V[otre] Grandeur.

En me recommandant aux S[aints] S[acrifices] de V[otre] G[randeur], je suis en N[otre] S[eigneur] son très humble serviteur,

Ir. Hausherr

21. Lettre constituée de deux feuilles dactylographiées aujourd'hui agrafées, avec signature autographe, de papier (27,4 × 21,5), écrites seulement au recto; d'Enghien, le 5 juin 1930.

Hausherr traite de son échange avec l'érudit métropolite grec orthodoxe de Léontopolis, Sofronios Eustratiadès. Eustratiadès a reçu des photos de manuscrits de l'Athos faites par un professeur de l'Institut Oriental, le P. Georg Hofmann, et voudrait envoyer en compensation à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut quelques uns de ses nombreux ouvrages. Hausherr donne l'exemple du byzantiniste Henri Grégoire (1881-1964) de Bruxelles qui s'intéresse à imprimer des travaux d'Eustratiadès en histoire profane. De son côté, Hausherr propose d'accueillir dans les publications de l'Institut un ouvrage sur les titres grecs de Marie qu'Eustratiadès a complété, mais qu'il ne peut faire imprimer, faute d'argent. Connaissant les contacts fréquents entre Pie XI et d'Herbigny, il propose à ce dernier d'en parler directement au Pape qui a connu personnellement le docte métropolite de Leontopolis lorsque, encore Achille Ratti, il était préfet de l'Ambrosienne, puis de la Vaticane.

Pour finir, Hausherr informe d'Herbigny de son travail scientifique sur les versions syriaques et arméniennes d'Évagre le Pontique, qui sera de fait publié l'année suivante: *Les versions syriaque et armé-*

nienne d'Évagre le Pontique. Leur valeur, leur relation, leur utilisation, Orientalia Christiana XXII,2 (n° 69), 1931, p. 65-118.

Enghien, le 5 juin 1930.

Monseigneur,

Il faut que je donne connaissance à Votre Grandeur de quelques affaires, bien petites, mais qui peuvent l'intéresser.

D'abord, les photographies que le Père Hofmann a bien voulu se charger de faire faire, étaient pour l'ancien métropolite de Léontopolis, Mgr Eustratiadès. Je lui ai demandé en retour de faire parvenir à l'Institut Oriental certaines de ses publications, en particulier des catalogues de manuscrits de l'Athos et d'ailleurs. Les prix s'équivaldront à peu près de part et d'autre; mais si V[otre] G[randeur] le désire je ferai établir le compte exact.

Ce même personnage qui est un érudit bien connu, possède dans ses cartons des travaux intéressants qu'il ne peut publier faute de ressources. M. Grégoire à Bruxelles prendra ce qui (est) de nature profane; mais il reste en particulier une œuvre d'une grande patience, et qui me paraîtrait convenir tout à fait aux *Orientalia* [*Christiana*]: un dictionnaire de toutes les invocations, titres, vocables de la très sainte Vierge qui se rencontrent dans les auteurs ecclésiastiques et la liturgie byzantine. C'est d'une richesse extraordinaire, et le manuscrit que j'ai vu est si bien écrit qu'il n'y aurait aucune difficulté pour les protes. Je crois que l'auteur ne ferait aucun difficulté de publier cela à Rome, mais peut-être en verrait-on à Rome? S'il faut des renseignements sur Mgr Eustratiadès, V[otre] G[randeur] pourra les demander au Saint Père lui-même, que l'ancien métropolite de Léontopolis a connu beaucoup, à ce qu'il me dit, lorsqu'il travaillait dans les bibliothèques de Milan et de Rome. Je serais heureux de savoir bientôt votre avis là-dessus.

Quant à moi je continue à bûcher Évagre en arménien et en syriaque. Il en sortira une dissertation que l'on pourra intituler "Remarques sur la traduction arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique, comparée au texte grec et à la version syriaque" ou quelque chose dans ce genre. Ce sera, si Dieu veut, pour l'année prochaine.

En finissant je me permets de recommander aux prières de la communauté l'âme de mon frère qui est mort la semaine dernière.

De votre grandeur le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

P.S. 12 juin. L'article sur Évagre est à peu près fini. Titre: "Remarques sur les traductions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique". Une quarantaine de pages. Si V[otre] G[randeur] désire le publier dans les *Orientalia* [*Christiana*], ce pourra être dès Octobre, et je crois qu'il serait bon de ne pas tarder. Je pense que la "tipografia" aura des caractères arméniens. Il n'en faudra pas des masses. Merci pour le petit mot reçu ce matin.

22. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier (26,4 × 17,1 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites; de Genève, le 7 août 1930. Sur la première page, d'Herbigny a ajouté sous la date au crayon "Hausherr."

Le travail sur Évagre n'est pas encore prêt et le "Corpus hesychastarum" doit encore attendre. Par contre, on peut remettre à l'imprimeur le panégyrique de saint Pierre de Nicéas Paphlagon, édité par les soins d'Albert Vogt. Il sera mieux de le publier dans un seul fascicule. De fait, l'année suivante paraîtront *Panégyrique de St. Pierre. Panégyrique de St. Paul. Deux discours inédits de Nicéas de Paphlagonie disciple de Photius, Orientalia Christiana XXIII,1* (n° 71), 1931, p. 1-97.

Hausherr annonce aussi qu'il a retrouvé une sorte de *Legenda aurea* byzantine, composée par Paul de Monembasie, bien qu'abrégée si on la compare avec les manuscrits de l'Athos qui nous la conservent. De toute façon, même abrégé, ce travail hagiographique est précieux pour l'histoire de la spiritualité byzantine. Si on le restitue dans son intégrité, on pourrait aussi en publier la seule traduction, agrémentée de quelques illustrations bien choisies. Avec un peu de réclame, ce devrait être un succès de diffusion. — Je constate en passant que ce n'est que de nos jours qu'on a réalisé ce rêve de 1930, qu'Hausherr qualifiait de châteaux en Espagne, cf. *Les récits édifiants de Paul évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs*, introduction et textes par J. Wortley, Paris, 1987.

Genève, le 7 août 1930.

Monseigneur,

Il m'est impossible d'envoyer mon manuscrit sur Évagre, parce que je me suis aperçu au dernier moment qu'il me faudrait encore quelques bonnes semaines de travail pour le mettre au point. En revanche M. l'abbé Vogt vous enverra un premier panégyrique de Nicéas Paphlagon, celui de S. Pierre; on peut commencer à l'imprimer. Les autres pourront suivre bientôt. "S. Pierre" fera bien un fascicule à lui seul, et il vaut mieux l'éditer séparément.

Quant à d'autres travaux, la grande publication hésychaste ne me paraît pas abordable encore. Nous avons découvert des διηγήματα διάφορα d'un certain Paul de Monembasie, qui me paraissent intéressants au point de vue de la vie religieuse byzantine. C'est une espèce de légende dorée très joliment racontée, et pittoresque. Au passage il y aurait pas mal à glaner pour l'histoire et l'érudition. Mais nous n'en possédons que quelques extraits. Le reste (qui ferait un bon volume) se trouve à l'Athos. Si on réussissait à l'avoir — je proposerais de publier à part le texte et à part la traduction, qui avec un peu de réclame, pourrait se vendre largement,

surtout si on y mettait quelques illustrations appropriées. Mais ce sont châteaux en Espagne.

Je salue cordialement tous les PP. et FF. restés à Rome et reste de Votre Grandeur le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

23. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier (26,2 × 17,1 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages écrites; de Genève, le 18 août 1930.

Hausherr annonce à son correspondant l'éventualité d'un voyage au Mont Athos avec l'abbé Albert Vogt. La lettre n° 6 nous apprenait la faillite d'un tel projet en 1928. Cette fois-ci, la perspective semble favorable. Hausherr décrit avec réalisme les pas à accomplir et les dépenses à aborder. Il propose l'achat d'un appareil photographique de type nouveau, certes coûteux, mais utile pour la reproduction photographique de manuscrits.

Hausherr fait appel à l'expérience de d'Herbigny qui s'est lui-même rendu à l'Athos en octobre 1927, à l'occasion de sa visite aux Patriarches orientaux, cf. son article "Une visite aux patriarches orientaux" publié dans les *Études*, 20 janvier 1928, p. 129-153, à la page 142. La lettre d'Hausherr révèle son enthousiasme et son courage face aux difficultés de l'entreprise. La santé, pour le moment, est suffisante. L'allusion à Athènes et aux rencontres utiles que l'on pourra y faire se rapporte au congrès des byzantinistes qui s'y tiendra en octobre, cf. *III^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Athènes 1930*, Athènes 1932, où nous trouvons, dans la liste des participants, deux professeurs du PIO, Guillaume de Jerphanion et Irénée Hausherr.

Genève, le 18 août 1930.

Monseigneur,

Il y aurait beaucoup à dire sur le projet de M. Vogt. Il est surtout regrettable qu'il vienne si tard: je devrais 1) me défaire de certains ministères, au risque de mettre dans l'embarras 2) vous demander de ne faire commencer mes cours que le 1^{er} décembre.

Quant au prix du voyage, je ne sais que très approximativement. M. Vogt ne s'en tirera pas à moins de 2000 francs suisses. Mais je pense que Votre Grandeur pourra évaluer la chose d'après ses propres souvenirs. Il y aurait à côté du voyage quelques dépenses à faire pour divers articles d'habillement. — De plus M. Vogt a bien un appareil photographique pour les monuments; mais ce serait peut-être l'occasion d'en acquérir un pour l'Institut Oriental. Celui de M. Vogt est un tout nouveau système (paraît-il) "Leica": on tire les vues sur des films — 35 vues par film; le photographe les développe et les agrandit, et le résultat est vraiment par-

fait et pas cher. Quant à l'appareil il est cher: avec ses accessoires il revient à plus de 400 francs suisses (à Paris il est plus cher encore).

Si malgré tout cela, mon voyage vous paraît souhaitable, je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir me le dire vite, pour que je puisse faire les préparatifs. Il faudra que j'aille à Colmar pour mon passeport, et pour prendre des objets que j'y ai laissés.

Athènes serait évidemment une occasion unique pour faire d'utiles connaissances; mais je n'y tiens que si V[otre] G[randeur] y tient. Quant à la santé je crois qu'elle est suffisante pour le moment.

Je prie Votre Grandeur d'agréer mes sentiments de profond respect en N[otre] S[ei]gneur]

Ir. Hausherr

24. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier épais lignée (29,8 × 18,8 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites; de Genève, le 25 août 1930.

La lettre est écrite une vingtaine de jours seulement avant le départ pour l'Athos. Les places sur le bateau de Marseille sont réservées pour le 13 septembre. Quelques détails concrets sont spécifiés, jusqu'au sac et au nécessaire de voyage à acheter, le nombre de photographies à faire, établi après de minutieuses recherches dans les catalogues de manuscrits de l'Athos.

Genève, 25 août 30.

Monsieur,

à la suite de votre lettre d'Enghien M. Vogt et moi avons arrêté deux places sur un bateau partant de Marseille le samedi 13 septembre.

Il reste quelques préparatifs à faire. Nous avons dépouillé minutieusement tous les catalogues de l'Athos et si nos plans se réalisaient, nous rapporterions au moins quatre mille photos, de Nicéas Paphlagon, Paul de Monembasie, Nicéas Stéthatos, Barsanuphe etc. ... Plaise au ciel que nous puissions en prendre au moins quelques unes!

Restent d'autres préparatifs plus matériels, que je pense faire la semaine prochaine. Il me faudrait acheter un sac de voyage, un pantalon, une trousse de voyage et d'autres menus objets indispensables — sans compter quelque Ba[c]deker et dictionnaire...

Quant à l'argent, comment faire? M. Vogt se fait faire une lettre de crédit pour Athènes et Salonique. Je n'entends rien dans ces choses-là.

Autre chose: si je trouvais à Athènes des livres intéressants, conviendrait-il d'en acheter, et dans quelles conditions?

Enfin Votre Grandeur pourrait-elle me donner quelques adresses utiles? Nous avons écrit au curé catholique de Salonique qui nous a répondu très aimablement.

Pour tout autre renseignement je serai reconnaissant à Votre Grandeur dont je reste le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

25. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé (22,3 × 17,5 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites; d'Athènes, le 17 septembre 1930.

Description de l'arrivée au Pirée, débarquement, hébergement d'Hausherr chez les Jésuites, de l'abbé Vogt à l'hôtel, amabilité de M. Delernia de la cathédrale latine d'Athènes, dépenses.

Athènes (ruc Michel Voda 28)
le 17 sept[embre] 1930.

Monseigneur,

Nous sommes — M. Vogt et moi — arrivés avant-hier dans la nuit. J'ai été reçu excellemment ici; la maison est presque vide pour quelques jours encore. Mon compagnon loge à l'hôtel. M. de Lernia, de la cathédrale latine, s'est mis entièrement à notre disposition et nous a déjà rendu bien des services avec une bonne grâce sans égale. — Il faut maintenant obtenir la permission de pousser jusqu'à l'Athos. C'est la légation de France qui doit faire les démarches. Nous ne pourrons donc guère partir avant lundi. Il fait une chaleur qui nous casse bras et jambes.

Au reste il y aurait beaucoup à dire — mais ce n'est pas indispensable. Je tâcherai de m'en tirer avec la somme mise à ma disposition. Le fait d'avoir un compagnon habitué à y aller largement, rend l'économie difficile. Par exemple le seul débarquement et la route du Pirée à Athènes est revenu à plus de cent francs français. Et puis, nous ne pouvons profiter des réductions accordées aux congressistes, parce qu'elles ne valent que pour le mois d'octobre.

Que Votre Grandeur m'excuse — je tombe de sommeil ou plutôt de lassitude.

En me recommandant à ses S[aints] S[acrifices], je suis de V[otre] G[randeur] le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

26. Carte postale illustrée en noir et blanc (9 × 14 cm.), avec vue de la façade d'une église identifiée par deux inscriptions au-dessous de la photo, à gauche "36 - ΑΓΙΑ ΣΟΦΙΑ - ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ" et à droite "Sainte Sophie - Salonique", autographe; de Thessalonique, le 26 septembre 1930.

Peu de mots, mais avec des allusions aux difficultés de santé et de bureaucratie. L'adresse du destinataire, généralement perdue avec

l'enveloppe où elle avait été écrite, nous est conservée ici: "Mgr d'Illion, 7 piazza S. Maria Maggiore, Roma 128, Italia". Depuis que d'Herbigny a reçu le titre épiscopal d'Illion, les adresses perdues pourraient avoir été rédigées sur le même modèle.

Vendredi 26.

Partons ce soir, après longues démarches! — et malgré indisposition. Que pourrons-nous faire?... Les journaux ont parlé des difficultés de plusieurs autres. Circonstances particulièrement difficiles.

In D[omi]no serv[us]

Ir. Hausherr

27. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier lignée (22,8 × 18,4 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages écrites; d'Athènes, le 11 octobre 1930.

Hausherr commence par remercier d'Herbigny des cent dollars qu'il lui a envoyés. Pour le reste, on ne saurait appeler ce message un bulletin de victoire. C'est bien plutôt l'admission d'une défaite. Les deux voyageurs, Hausherr et le curé byzantiniste Albert Vogt, sont montés à l'Athos et y ont passé une douzaine de jours. Ils voulaient surtout y photographier des manuscrits, mais ils n'en ont pas reçu la permission. Décidément, ils ont péché par naïveté en croyant qu'il suffisait d'avoir des appareils pour le faire, comme on le voit en comparaison avec le byzantiniste Gabriel Millet (1867-1953), de l'Institut de France, plus rusé qu'eux, ou Louis Bréhier de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand qui s'associe à Millet, bien qu'à contrecœur. Mais ceux-ci sont arrivés à l'Athos avec beaucoup d'avance et ont mis en mouvement la diplomatie française pour obtenir les permissions requises. Hausherr nomme aussi, dans sa lettre, Dölger — il s'agit de Franz, et non pas de Franz Josef Dölger, comme nous l'apprend la liste des participants au Congrès d'Athènes.

Hausherr n'est pourtant pas resté désœuvré, si dans les Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus en France figurent dans l'inventaire de ses papiers des "Notes prises à l'Athos".

Dans un mot ajouté le surlendemain, Hausherr avoue que son état de santé l'empêche pour le moment d'assister aux séances du Congrès.

Athènes, le 11 octobre 1930.

Monseigneur,

En rentrant hier de Salonique j'ai trouvé la lettre de V[otre] G[randeur], y inclus 100 doll[ars], dont je La remercie.

Il m'est impossible aujourd'hui d'écrire tout au long notre petite histoire de ces 12 jours à l'Athos. Nous avons partagé le sort des Millet, Bréhier, Dölger etc. ... Défense absolue aux étrangers de photographier, et même de copier. On peut seulement lire en prenant quelques notes. Il est vrai que Millet (auquel Bréhier, bien à contre-cœur sans doute, s'est adjoint pour ne pas perdre son temps) a pu photographier pendant une quinzaine de jours, mais pour obtenir cette permission il a fallu passer à l'Athos trois mois entiers et mettre en branle les gouvernements de Paris et d'Athènes; finalement Athènes a envoyé un ministre plénipotentiaire aux épistates pour leur arracher leur autorisation. Que pourrions-nous, nous, avec nos quelques jours, et notre insignifiance?

A Vatopédi cependant nous aurions pu photographier, et nous l'avons fait en effet un peu, croyant que la chose irait aussi ailleurs. Mais dès que Karyès a eu vent de l'affaire, ç'a été presque un éclat. Les épitropes de Vatopédi ont dû attraper sur les doigts, mais je crois qu'ils s'en moquent. Nous n'avons plus rien pu faire nulle part. A S. Pantéléimon on nous eût volontiers permis ce que nous voulions, mais la peur des épistates.... C'est du reste la misère à S. Pantéléimon, mais fort rigoureusement supportée.

Je n'en dis pas plus long. Le reste de vive voix.

Lundi 13. Impossible d'assister au Congrès: un peu de fièvre et indisposition intestinale. J'espère que cela sera passé demain.

Que Votre Grandeur agrée mes très humbles hommages,

Ir. Hausherr

28. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé lignée (26,8 × 18,4 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites; de Colmar, le 26 octobre 1930.

Même le second but du voyage en Grèce, la participation au Congrès International des Études Byzantines d'octobre 1930 à Athènes, n'a pas été non plus un succès. Le mauvais état de santé et les longs colloques avec l'archevêque latin d'Athènes, Mgr Giovanni Battista Filippucci, lui ont fait désertier la grande partie des conférences. En compagnie de Mgr Filippucci, Hausherr est du reste allé rendre visite à l'écrivain Manouel Gédéon, comme on l'apprendra plus bas dans l'extrait du journal intime "Du travail pour les jeunes". Là aussi, on en saura davantage sur l'excursion à Sparte qu'il a sacrifiée, cédant sa place à un Père Assomptionniste. Il y en avait trois au Congrès: Venance Grumel, Vitalien Laurent et Séverien Salaville.

Hausherr n'aimait pas se mesurer avec les spécialistes fameux. Il se croyait isolé et avait un certain mépris de soi-même. Il pensait qu'il était incapable de produire des chef-d'œuvres. Heureusement, il arrive souvent que celui qui se croit un nain à côté de géants, s'il est

fidèle à son travail comme Hausherr l'était, produit plus et mieux que ceux qu'il juge supérieurs.

Colmar, le 26 octobre 1930.

Monseigneur,

Ma dernière semaine à Athènes a été pénible: fièvre, dérangement, éruptions un peu partout, inappétence. La dernière nuit de mer m'avait laissé mauvais souvenir. J'ai donc cédé ma place pour la visite de Sparte à un P. Assomptionniste, et je suis revenu ici par petites étapes, pour ne pas arriver malade à Rome, et aussi pour prendre habits et papiers laissés ici. Je serai à Rome mercredi 5 novembre. Je ne sais à quelle heure, n'ayant pas d'indicateur sous la main. Mais je connais suffisamment le chemin pour que personne n'ait à me chercher à la gare.

Je dois dire que le Congrès d'Athènes ne m'a pas beaucoup encouragé dans ma carrière d'auteur byzantiniste. Des travailleurs isolés et, qui plus est, autodidactes, ne peuvent guère produire des chefs-d'œuvre. — Au reste, j'ai manqué en grande partie les réunions pour cause de santé et pour avoir été retenu cinq après-midis par Mgr Filip[p]ucci!

Je me réjouis de savoir que l'on va former des jeunes: eux pourront faire du bon travail.

Que Votre Grandeur daigne agréer mes très humbles respects en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

29. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé filigrané "Old Mora Mill" (22,1 × 18 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites, avec sur la première l'en-tête imprimé "Pontificium Institutum Orientalium, Piazza S. Maria Maggiore 7, Roma 128"; de Rome, le 4 février, à coup sûr 1931.

L'année se trouve confirmée par le texte de la lettre, où Hausherr parle du P. Emil Herman (1891-1963) en tant que responsable de la publication de l'Institut, tâche que ce dernier n'assume qu'à partir de l'année académique 1930-1931, comme on le lit dans les *Acta Pontificii Instituti Orientalium Studiorum, I Octobris 1930*, p. 8: "Secretarius periodici *Orientalia Christiana*". Par ailleurs, Hausherr fait allusion dans sa lettre aux "Remarques sur Évagre" qui apparaîtront sous le titre *Les Versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique. Leur valeur, leur relation, leur utilisation, Orientalia Christiana XXII,2* (n° 69), 1931, p. 65-118.

Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum

4 février.

Monseigneur,

Mes classes finissant à la fin de ce mois, il n'y a plus rien qui me retienne à Rome. Si mes "Remarques sur Évagre" sont allées à l'imprimerie, comme le P. Herman me l'avait dit, vers le milieu de janvier, il n'y aura pas de difficultés non plus de ce côté. Du moins j'espère que, si elles doivent être imprimées, ce sera fait avant la fin de mars — et que je pourrais par conséquent partir vers le Dimanche des Rameaux. Il y a quelque temps déjà que je voulais parler de cela avec V[otre] G[randeur], mais je n'en ai pas trouvé l'occasion. Il est grand temps que je donne une réponse à qui m'a demandé de l'aider pendant la semaine sainte.

De Votre Grandeur le très humble serv[iteur] en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

30. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé filigrané "Old Mora Mill" (22,1 × 18 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages dont trois sont écrites, avec sur la première l'en-tête imprimé "Pontificium Institutum Orientalium, Piazza S. Maria Maggiore 7, Roma 128" (cf. n° 29); de Rome, non datée — mais d'Herbigny a ajouté en haut à droite, au crayon: "19 février 1931". Hausherr avait plié en deux la lettre pour en faire un billet, inscrivant le destinataire sur la face du bas de la page non écrite, au milieu: "Sa Gr[andeur] Mgr d'Herbigny."

La lettre parle de la sainte Prieure du Carmel de Lens-Saint-Remy près de Waremmes, Province de Liège, qui offre sa vie et ses souffrances pour l'Orient et la Russie et mentionne une seconde feuille, avec un écrit de la même religieuse au P. Hausherr, qui ne nous a pas été conservée: d'Herbigny doit l'avoir gardée chez lui. Mais l'écrit en question réapparaîtra, tapé à la machine et inclus dans l'enveloppe de la lettre suivante, datée du lendemain, 20 février 1931. Je rappelle qu'aux Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, on garde une série de lettres de la même religieuse carmélite, Mère Mariana de Jésus, adressées au P. Hausherr entre 1929 et 1930.

Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum

19 févr. 1931 [ajouté au crayon de la main du destinataire]

Monseigneur,

Dans la lettre que j'envoie ce matin à Lens-S.-Remy il y a (2^{de} feuille) des choses qui vous intéresseront peut-être. Il y a même, si je comprends bien, un mot qui est spécialement pour V[otre] G[randeur]. La sainte Prieure du pauvre Carmel de Lens Saint Remy après des années de souffrances terribles supportées avec une joie d'enfant, a donné, à sa manière, sa vie pour "l'Orient et toutes les âmes". Quand elle dit qu'elle est si faible dans "une certaine souffrance", cela veut dire que ses dernières forces

physiques se sont brisées à la pensée de Notre Seigneur et de ce qui se passe en particulier en Russie.

Je m'excuse de prendre votre temps par cette affaire, mais j'ai pensé que cela en valait la peine.

Que V[otre] G[randeur] veuille bien prier pour son très humble serv[iteur] en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

[Au recto de la lettre:] Sa Gr[andeur] Mgr d'Herbigny.

31. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier vergé filigrané "Old Mora Mill" (18 × 11 cm.), page avec en-tête découpée d'une feuille pliée du type n° 29 et 30, écrite seulement au recto; de Rome, sans date, mais d'Herbigny a ajouté en haut à droite, au crayon, "20 févr[ier] 1931".

Il s'agit d'un simple billet pour introduire l'écrit de la Prieure Carmélite Mariana de Jésus. Hausherr croit avoir reconnu dans la réponse perdue de d'Herbigny, l'invitation à lui donner une copie dactylographiée de la généreuse oblation de la Carmélite, ce qu'il s'empresse de faire, laissant le dernier jugement à son supérieur. Il est probable que d'Herbigny aura conservé pour lui-même l'original manuscrit de la religieuse.

À la suite du billet, nous publions le texte de Mère Mariana de Jésus.

Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum

20 févr. 1931 [ajouté au crayon de la main du destinataire]

Monseigneur,

Je ne sais si votre mot d'hier était une invitation à écrire à la machine la dernière petite lettre que je vous avais signalée, de Mère Mariana de Jésus. En tout cas la voici. Que V[otre] Grandeur en fasse ce qu'Elle jugera.

Ir. H.

Appendice constitué de deux feuilles de papier aujourd'hui agrafées (28,1 × 21,9 cm.), dactylographiées au recto.

Dernières lignes écrites avant sa mort (survenue le 11 février dernier) par la Mère Mariana de Jésus, née M. de Bellevue, fondatrice et Prieure du Carmel de Lens-Saint-Remy (exilé de Brest).

J.+M.J.T.

Carmel
5 Février

M. ...

J'ai été malade. Je le suis encore. ... Je ne puis que vous tracer quelques mots. De jour et de nuit vous m'êtes présent devant Dieu. Oh merci de votre chère lettre. ... Qu'Il vous ramène en ce petit Carmel où Sœur Thérèse est Prieure et sera si heureuse de vous recevoir. Moi, j'ai semé — à présent j'aime dans la souffrance — A Lui le reste.

Je reçois le Divin Maître en viatique. Il est ma voie — elle est belle — je vais y entrer. Il est la Vérité — Elle est douce ... c'est l'amour. Il est la vie — cela ce sera le ciel — — Je prie pour l'Orient — pour toutes les âmes — Elles sont belles! puisqu'Il les aime et les veut — — Mes yeux sont bien mauvais ces jours-ci — mais j'espère que votre nuit sera lumineuse — Je suis si heureuse ...

...

1er Vendredi

Je viens de recevoir mon Divin Viatique. Quel besoin de Lui, maintenant que j'ai goûté à ces souffrances qui dépassant nos forces, ont une absolue nécessité de Lui! Notre cœur défaille — nos forces physiques sont nulles — notre esprit même est écrasé — notre volonté ... est allée — Dieu sait où — et ne répond plus à l'appel. Alors quoi? Lui Lui — Mais on ne le voit pas ... on ne l'entend pas? Est-il là! — J'offre la Foi, l'Espérance et l'Amour de ceux de mes frères qui en ont.

Cher Père, que je suis faible dans une certaine souffrance — — — C'est un surmenage, me dit-on. Surmenage de désirs alors. J'ai tant désiré et si peu fait. — C'est après avoir reçu votre lettre datée du Vatican et contenant celle de Mgr d'H[er]bigny] et l'image du Christ russe que j'ai commencé mes grandes hémorragies et qu'il a fallu le docteur pour me tamponner le nez. Avec mes bouchons dedans j'ai pensé et je ne suis qu'une pauvre créature — —

— Ces jours-ci je ne pouvais voir le Maître l'Époux qu'avec un calice en main. — et j'aurais dû en être heureuse — et je tremblais un peu — Aujourd'hui un rayonnement étincelait autour du calice d'or ... et (une dernière ligne illisible).

Note. Mère Mariana de Jésus a souffert pendant des années tout ce que créature humaine peut souffrir: presque aveugle, maladie de cœur, douleurs rhumatismales terribles, impossibilité d'assister à la sainte messe et la plupart des jours sans communion, journées et nuits d'immobilité sur une chaise, presque point de sommeil etc. et avec cela un rayonnement de joie si profonde que grâce à son influence ce pauvre Carmel, très éprouvé, était de l'avis de tous, carmélites et prêtres qui le connaissaient, une vraie image du ciel. "Plus je souffre, et plus mon cœur chante", m'écrivait-elle une fois: elle participait vraiment à l'amour de Dieu pour toutes les âmes, et pensait très particulièrement à l'Orient. C'est cette pensée qui est "cette souffrance dans laquelle elle est si faible" — c'est de cette souffrance qu'elle est morte, heureuse jusqu'au bout.

32. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier lignée (27 × 21 cm.), écrite recto-verso; de Vallorbe, Suisse, le 5 avril 1931.

Hausherr envoie cette lettre de Vallorbe, dans le canton de Vaud, en Suisse, où il s'adonne au ministère dans une paroisse, écoutant les confessions en français, en allemand et en italien. Mais il parle surtout de son programme de travail et annonce son projet de continuer en profondeur son étude d'Évagre, en préparant une édition critique du *De oratione* attribué à saint Nil, avec une traduction française meilleure que celle parue dans la *Vie spirituelle*, tome XII (1925) pp. 472-497, par le bénédictin Dom Jehan Joliet. Admirable largeur de perspective scientifique! Hausherr énonce le principe qu'on ne peut donner une bonne traduction d'un texte sans avoir au préalable profondément étudié son auteur et le contexte historique dans lequel il a vécu.

En effet, si on parcourt chronologiquement la bibliographie d'Hausherr, avant d'en arriver à l'ouvrage *Les leçons d'un contemplatif. Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris, Beauchesne 1960, il n'a pas seulement publié en 1931 l'essai sur *Les versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique* déjà nommé (cf. lettre n° 29), avec l'appendice "Une trouvaille et quelques réflexions qu'elle suggère", *Orientalia Christiana* XXIV,1 (n° 73), 1931, p. 38-40, mais encore: "Par delà l'oraison pure grâce à une coquille. À propos d'un texte d'Évagre", *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* (= RAM) 13(1932), p. 184-188; "Une énigme d'Évagre le Pontique. Centurie II,50", *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses* 23 (1933) 321-325; "Le *de oratione* de Nil et d'Évagre", RAM 14 (1933), p. 196-198; "Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique (Pseudo-Nil)", RAM 15 (1934), p. 34-93, 113-170; "Le *de oratione* d'Évagre le Pontique en syriaque et en arabe", OCP 5 (1939), p. 7-71; "Nouveaux fragments grecs d'Évagre le Pontique", OCP 5 (1939), p. 229-233; "Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique", RAM 35 (1959), p. 1-26, 121-146, 241-265, 361-385 et RAM 36 (1960), p. 3-35, 137-187.

Hausherr recommande en outre de préserver certains papiers personnels restés au PIO, comme il l'écrivait dans la lettre n° 19, depuis la clinique bruxelloise: "Je pense quelquefois à des papiers que j'ai laissés dans l'armoire de la chambre que j'habitais l'année dernière. J'espère qu'ils ne gênent personne. Il y a certaines notes personnelles dont la perte me serait plus sensible que toute autre". Il fait allusion au nouveau secrétaire du P. d'Herbigny qui remplace le P. de Belloy, malade: le P. Eugène Lavigne, né à Lille le 7 juillet 1885, entré dans la Compagnie 1902 et mort centenaire dans sa ville natale.

D'après Hausherr, ces papiers sont tellement personnels qu'il faudrait les brûler après sa mort, ou bien les remettre au P. Louis Poulhier qui a été son Instructeur à Florennes entre 1926 et 1927 (cf. l'introduction à la lettre n° 5) et qui l'a convaincu de ne pas les détruire. Il s'agit selon toute probabilité de journaux intimes du même genre que les deux cahiers retrouvés par Alexandra Celia, lors de recherches pour sa thèse défendue au PIO en 2002, *Unità di Dogma e di Spiritualità nel Pensiero di Irénée Hausherr*. Mais ces deux cahiers ont été rédigés en France, le premier entre le 11 novembre 1943 et le 12 avril 1944 et le second entre le 23 avril 1944 et le 21 février 1946. Ceux que mentionne Hausherr dans les lettres n° 19 et 32 remontent respectivement au moins aux années 1929 et 1931. Cela signifie que plus de dix ans avant les cahiers retrouvés par A. Celia, Hausherr rédigeait déjà des journaux intimes. Où sont-ils? Sont-ils conservés sous les "Notes diverses" qui figurent aux Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus en France? Le P. Robert Bonfils, archiviste de Province, nous écrit le 21 février 2004 que les Archives possèdent des cahiers qui vont de juillet 1941 à novembre 1942 et un gros carnet, de juin 1955 à janvier 1966.

Vallorbe, dimanche de Pâques 1931

Monseigneur,

Après avoir prêché, et confessé à moi tout seul toute la paroisse de Vallorbe (français, italien, allemand), il est temps que je tâche de faire ce que je n'ai pu faire avant mon départ de Rome. Il n'a pas tenu à moi que je voie Votre Grandeur la semaine dernière. Du reste mes affaires étaient réglées depuis le début du Carême. Il ne restait qu'une chose à décider: vaut-il la peine que j'entreprenne un travail pour le P.I.O., et donc que je passe par Paris? A la fin de mon travail sur Évangé, je dis qu'il nous faudrait une édition critique du "de oratione" de Nil. Ce serait très utile et faisable assez facilement pour moi. Cela servirait entre autres à mettre au point une piètre traduction française parue dans la *Vie Spirituelle* — car ce traité n'est intelligible que moyennant une préparation que certains intuitifs estiment superflue pour eux.

— Je ne pourrais aller à Paris que quinze jours après Pâques, parce que la Bibliothèque Nationale est fermée jusque là.

Le P. Lavigne a sans doute remis à V[otre] G[randeur] un paquet de papiers que je n'aimerais pas savoir égaré. Je m'excuse de vous causer cet embarras. S'il arrivait que je trépassé d'ici l'automne, il n'y aurait qu'à brûler ces notes, ou à les envoyer au R. P. Poullier qui est cause que je ne les ai pas brûlées encore.

J'ai été invité à entendre encore des confessions en allemand et en italien jusqu'au lundi de Quasimodo; et j'ai accepté, puisqu'aussi bien je ne puis aller à Paris avant quinze jours; ni ne suis pressé d'aller à Enghien.

Que Votre Grandeur veuille se souvenir de moi devant Notre Seigneur, et me croire en Lui son très humble serviteur

Ir. Hausherr

33. Lettre dactylographiée, avec signature autographe, sur une feuille de papier (27,1 × 21,5 cm.) qui, pliée en deux, forme quatre pages avec en-tête imprimé "Maison St-Augustin, 7 Rue des Augustins, Enghien (Belgique)" (cf. n° 16 et 19), mais Hausherr l'a utilisée comme une unique feuille écrite recto-verso, l'en-tête se trouvant dans la partie du bas à droite, au verso; d'Enghien, le 4 mai 1931.

Hausherr séjourne à Enghien jusqu'à l'ouverture au public de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Il se rendra quelques jours au Carmel de Lens-Saint-Remy où il a fait connaissance avant sa mort de la Prieure Mariana (cf. lettres n° 30 et 31). Il mentionne aussi sa rencontre à Strasbourg avec Joseph Karst, spécialiste du Caucase, disciple d'Adolf Dirr. Karst est beau-frère du P. Louis Shanté, jésuite, missionnaire en Chine. Hausherr apprécie la compétence de Karst et il serait heureux que son jeune confrère à l'Oriental, Joseph Ledit (cf. lettre n° 13) profite des cours de géorgien donnés par Karst. Il voudrait faire hommage à Karst d'un de ses travaux sur Évagre, probablement *Les versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique*, ouvrage qui vient de sortir, mais les exemplaires que le P. Emil Herman lui a envoyés ne sont pas encore arrivés. Quelqu'un, probablement d'Herbigny, a relevé ce dernier passage par deux traits au crayon rouge dans la marge. Mais je pense peu probable qu'on ait pu recevoir de Rome à Enghien déjà au 4 mai 1931, date de la lettre d'Hausherr, un livre qui porte sur sa couverture comme date de publication "mai 1931". À la fin de sa lettre, Hausherr souhaite une bonne santé au P. Pierre de Belloy, le secrétaire malade de Mgr d'Herbigny, dont il a eu des nouvelles alarmantes.

Enghien, le 4 mai 1931.

Monseigneur,

Voilà une bonne quinzaine de jours que j'ai l'aimable lettre de Votre Grandeur; c'est que je ne voyais rien à y répondre. Je suis venu à Enghien avant d'aller à Paris, pour ne pas trouver, comme cela m'est arrivé une fois, la Bibliothèque Nationale fermée après Pâques. J'ai du reste un petit ministère à faire à Lens-Saint-Remy, et je préfère ne pas le remettre à plus tard.

A Strasbourg j'ai vu le professeur de langues Orientales à l'Université, M. Karst, un excellent et très savant homme, beau-frère du P. Schanté, missionnaire en Chine; il m'a dit qu'il travaille depuis vingt ans à un dic-

tionnaire arménien qui va être fini; l'année prochaine il fera un cours de géorgien; et j'ai pensé qu'il était bien dommage que le P. Ledit ne puisse en profiter. Peut-être y aurait-il un autre jeune qui pourrait saisir cette occasion: les professeurs de géorgien ne sont pas nombreux, et celui-ci me paraît tout à fait à la hauteur; il ne lui manque que ... les élèves: la génération actuelle ne va guère à ces choses difficiles sans rendement immédiat. Le P. Ledit appréciera la valeur de M. Karst, quand il saura qu'il a été le collaborateur de Dirr, l'auteur de l'Introduction à l'étude des langues caucasiennes. J'ai pensé bien faire en signalant cela à Votre Grandeur. — J'aurais volontiers offert à ce savant homme un exemplaire de mon petit travail sur Évagre; mais ceux que le P. Herman m'aura envoyés ont dû s'égarer: ils ne sont pas parvenus en tout cas ni à Colmar ni à Enghien.

J'espère que la santé du P. de Belloy s'est rétablie et que personne d'autre n'aura eu d'accroc. Mon meilleur souvenir à tous.

De Votre Grandeur le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[cigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

34. Lettre autographe sur feuille de papier (27,2 × 21 cm.), pliée en deux pour former quatre pages écrites; de Paris, le 23 juin 1931.

Bien qu'on soit au mois de juin, Hausherr souffre d'un rhume qui le contraint à suspendre ses visites à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Il accepte de bon cœur l'appel de M^{me} la Comtesse de Bellevüe, dont il indique l'adresse en post-scriptum. Ce doit être une parente de Mère Mariana de Jésus, puisque dans le texte dactylographié donné en appendice à la lettre n° 31, la Carmélite est dite "née M. de Bellevüe". Hausherr, qui a déjà manifesté dans les lettres n° 30 et 31 son admiration pour la sainte Prieure, suggère à d'Herbigny de promouvoir la connaissance de cette âme privilégiée, en trouvant quelqu'un qui en écrive la vie et même plus, en signant l'introduction du futur opuscule?

Hausherr donne enfin la nouvelle d'une belle trouvaille, puisqu'il a découvert à la Bibliothèque Nationale (dans le Graec. 913) que plusieurs passages attribués à saint Nil sont en réalité des chapitres des centuries gnostiques d'Évagre. C'est la version syriaque qui lui a permis une telle identification.

Paris, (5 rue du Regard)
le 23 juin 1931.

Monseigneur,

Il y a quelque temps que je désirais vous écrire. La Providence m'en impose le loisir, par le moyen d'un gros rhume que j'ai pris et qui

m'empêche d'aller continuer mes tête-à-tête avec "S. Nil" à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Justement ce matin je reçois de M^{me} la Comtesse de Bellevüe le Souvenir ci-joint qu'elle me prie de transmettre à Votre Excellence.

A ce propos je crois de plus en plus qu'il ne faut pas laisser dans l'ombre cette âme de la Fondatrice du Carmel de Lens S. Remy. Je n'ai jamais rencontré, même dans les vies imprimées, rien de plus beau. La Compagnie de Jésus — et l'Orient y tiennent une large part. Si je savais écrire, j'écrirais; mais quoi que me disent plusieurs, je ne puis me résoudre. Si V[otre] Exc[ellence] connaissait un auteur ... je lui fournirais tous les documents et il ferait une si bonne œuvre. Dès maintenant je veux vous soumettre une idée qui m'est venue: puisque cette sainte Mère s'est offerte toute entière pour la Russie et l'Orient, V[otre] E[xc]ellence serait-elle disposée à donner à la notice future un petit mot d'introduction?

Une bonne trouvaille faite à la Nationale: en dépouillant un ms du X^e siècle j'ai trouvé sous le nom de σκέμματα attribués à S. Nil 62 chapitres que j'ai reconnus tout de suite pour une partie des "Centuries gnostiques" d'Évagre le Pontique. J'en ai commandé aussitôt la photographie. Ce sera une bonne surprise pour les érudits, et une bonne aubaine pour les *Orientalia*. Ce serait prêt à paraître dès la fin de cette année: il n'y a qu'à transcrire et à identifier les chapitres sur la version syriaque. Mais cela ne fera pas un fascicule entier, je crois.

Voilà mes nouvelles. Là-dessus je vais essayer de cuire mon rhume. Mes respectueuses salutations à tout le monde.

De Votre Excellence le très humble serviteur en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Ir. Hausherr

Ajouté entre crochets:

M^{me} la C^{sse} de Bellevüe, Ermitage S. Joseph, Le Val-André (Côtes du Nord)

35. Lettre dactylographiée, avec signature autographe, sur deux feuilles de papier aujourd'hui agrafées (27 × 21,5 cm.), écrites au recto; de Genève, le 24 août 1931.

Hausherr séjourne à la cure de Notre-Dame, à Genève, chez son ami le curé byzantiniste Albert Vogt (cf. n° 9, 12, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27). Il vient de recevoir une lettre du P. Maurice Viller, hélas perdue, qui lui suggère de laisser à un autre la primeur de la découverte sur Évagre (cf. lettre n° 34), un certain Muyldermans qui s'occupe, lui aussi, du Pontique. Hausherr, piqué, réagit de manière plutôt vive. Il propose de publier une brève note où il pourrait, sans empiéter sur personne, exposer sa découverte. Si après cela Muyldermans réussit à prouver qu'il l'avait constaté avant lui, tant mieux. Mais, de toute

façon, il faudra avoir recours aux manuscrits de l'Athos pour donner une véritable édition critique.

Sa proposition d'insérer au plus tôt une note dans la publication scientifique de l'Institut est néanmoins accueillie, cf. l'Appendice au fascicule 69: "Les Versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique. Une trouvaille et quelques réflexions qu'elle suggère", *Orientalia Christiana* XXIV,1 (n° 73), 1931, p. 38-40. Quant à Muyldermans, il publie le texte du Graecus 913 dans sa "Note additionnelle à: *Evagriana*", dans *Le Muséon* 44 (1931) 369-383; dans l'introduction à l'article, il écrit: "Notre contribution à la revue *Le Muséon* sortait de presse, quand nous avons mis la main sur les manuscrits de S. Nil, conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris"...

Une douzaine d'année plus tard, Hausherr reviendra sur cette affaire et il en donnera une version probablement plus objective, cf. "Du travail pour les jeunes", le texte que nous publions plus bas d'après un des deux journaux intimes qu'Alexandra Celia a retrouvés: le ton est plus détaché, plus serein. Ici Hausherr, trop ému, ne garde pas tout son équilibre.

Heureusement, à la fin de sa lettre, il passe à un autre plan pour s'intéresser à la santé du P. de Belloy qui cause de sérieuses préoccupations.

Une espèce de post-scriptum fait allusion au fascicule 71 des *Orientalia Christiana* XXIII,1, où paraissent les deux textes de Nicéas de Paphlagonie publiés par Albert Vogt (cf. lettre n° 22).

Genève, le 24 août 1931.

Monseigneur,

Ci-joint une lettre que je reçois du P. Villier.

Si V[otre] E[xcellence] en conclut qu'il faut abandonner complètement ma découverte d'Évagre à ce Mr Muyldermans que l'on attendait depuis cinq cents ans au moins et qui vient juste à temps pour me souffler ma pièce — Amen.

Mais je ne suis pas convaincu que je doive obtempérer sans plus à une injonction qui me vient d'un inconnu par tant d'intermédiaires. J'ai envie de l'ignorer totalement. C'est trop commode vraiment, pour eux; et trop vexant pour moi; et la petite fiche de consolation: collaboration avec un bon travailleur, ne m'appâte pas du tout. L'aubaine était trop bonne pour les *Orientalia* pour qu'on la laisse tomber ainsi parce que M. Muyldermans a des amis qui lui communiquent les nouvelles du "Canard d'Enghien".

Du reste, une autre fois je me méfierai de ce canard.

Voici ce que je pense faire, si c'est possible. Ces soixante-deux chapitres en contiennent plusieurs dont j'ai parlé dans mon dernier fascicule

sur Évagre. Je ferai une courte note qui dirait en quoi j'ai rencontré juste dans mes explications de ces chapitres, en quoi je n'ai pas tout deviné; et cela servirait à faire savoir ma découverte. Si après cela M. Muyldermans démontre qu'il m'a devancé, tout est pour le mieux. Seulement je signalerai aussi qu'il y a d'autres manuscrits du morceau au Mont Athos, et la nécessité de les avoir pour faire une édition qui vaille la peine.

Tout cela suppose que ma note puisse [biffé: s'imprimer] paraître dès le mois d'octobre: elle n'aurait pas plus de deux pages probablement, et pourrait se mettre comme "Rectification" à la fin de n'importe quel fascicule. Je vais me mettre tout de suite à la rédiger et l'enverrai sans retard.

— J'ai trouvé la semaine dernière à Colmar (où j'étais allé pour assister aux noces de diamant de mes parents) une lettre déjà vieille de près de deux mois du P. de Belloy; et en même temps j'ai appris par le R. P. Ritter de bien mauvaises nouvelles, qui m'ont fait grande peine. Est-il vraiment vrai qu'il n'y a plus d'espoir?

Que V[otre] E[xcellence] daigne recevoir l'hommage de mon profond respect en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Irénée Hausherr

Ajouté à la main:

(Paroisse Notre-Dame)
ci-joint la "Note"

Ajouté à la machine à écrire:

Nous espérons que le fascicule de Mr Vogt aura pu se terminer sans encombres? Mr Vogt présente à V[otre] E[xcellence] ses plus respectueux hommages.

36. Lettre dactylographiée, avec signature autographe, sur feuille de papier fin (27 × 21,5 cm.), écrite recto-verso; de Genève, le 4 septembre 1931.

Cette lettre, la dernière conservée de la correspondance, vient de Genève, probablement de la paroisse de Notre-Dame, cf. n° 35. Hausherr commente d'abord la nouvelle de la mort du P. Pierre de Belloy, décédé au Puy le 24 août (cf. l'hommage des *Acta Pontificii Instituti Orientalium Studiorum*, 10 Octobris 1931, p. 8).

Les épreuves de la note qu'a rédigée Hausherr pour réclamer les droits de sa découverte sur Évagre (cf. lettre n° 35) sont arrivées. Le titre ne le satisfait pas et il propose de le modifier, suggestion qui fut probablement acceptée si l'on se réfère au titre de la note imprimée, cf. l'introduction à la lettre précédente.

Hausherr mentionne un ministère qu'il va faire à Vallorbe en Suisse. Il l'avait promis pour le dimanche après Pâques 1930, cf. lettre n° 32, mais il avait dû l'ajourner à cause de son voyage à l'Athos avec l'abbé Vogt.

Genève, le 4 septembre 1931.

Monseigneur,

Encore une fois je suis en retard; que dire aussi à V[otre] E[xcellence] dans une circonstance aussi douloureuse? Il me semble que c'est bien le plus dur sacrifice que le bon Dieu pouvait demander et au Président de l'Institut Oriental et à Mgr d'Herbigny. Serait-il jamais possible de trouver un autre P. de Belloy? Mais du haut du ciel il est un peu obligé de se trouver lui-même un remplaçant. Il gardera pour lui le rôle d'intercesseur, et il le remplira sans doute mieux encore là-haut que sur terre, en sorte que le sacrifice que cette mort aura été pour V[otre] E[xcellence] deviendra un commencement de grâces plus grandes. C'est le vœu que je me permets de formuler et que formulent, j'en suis sûr, bien des personnes qui s'intéressent devant Dieu aux œuvres de V[otre] E[xcellence].

Lc 5 Sept. — J'ai reçu hier soir les épreuves de ma note sur Évangile. Merci de cette promptitude. Je les renvoie par cette même lettre. Peut-être faudrait-il changer le titre; mettre par exemple "A propos du fascicule 69: Les versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évangile le Pontique...." Cela justifierait davantage cette note en la présentant dès le titre comme un complément de ce fascicule. Mais V[otre] E[xcellence] fera comme il lui semblera.

Je suis à mes derniers jours ici. Mais il me reste un petit ministère à faire à Vallorbe (Vaud, Cure catholique). Il faut bien que je répare un peu la façon dont j'ai laissé l'année dernière ce bon curé dans l'embarras en partant pour l'Athos au temps que je lui avais promis de venir à son secours.

Mais je serai à mon poste de professeur à temps, quoi qu'il arrive -- sauf raisons majeures qui ne dépendraient pas de moi.

Je m'excuse d'écrire à la machine: j'ai cassé mon stylo.

Que Votre Excellence daigne agréer mes très respectueux sentiments en N[otre] S[eigneur]

Irénée Hausherr

C'est donc ici que s'arrête la correspondance Hausherr-d'Herbigny conservée dans les archives de l'Institut Pontifical Oriental. La raison en est probablement à chercher dans le changement à la direction de l'Institut, Mgr d'Herbigny cédant officiellement la place de Président du PIO au P. Emil Herman le 18 décembre 1931. En 1933, il quittera Rome pour ne jamais plus y retourner.

Les rapports entre Irénée Hausherr et Michel d'Herbigny sont marqués, de la première à la dernière lettre, par la déférence qu'un religieux doit à son supérieur, déférence qui s'accentuera encore lorsque d'Herbigny sera élevé à la dignité épiscopale, en 1926. Mais on ne peut s'empêcher de penser qu'il y avait entre les deux hommes sinon de l'amitié, du moins une certaine affinité intellectuelle et spirituelle qui a dû favoriser l'ouverture de cœur et la confiance d'Hausherr, jamais démentie tout au long de ces trente-six lettres, à l'égard de Mgr d'Herbigny. J'espère que le lecteur, après coup, se soit aussi convaincu de l'utilité de la publication de ces lettres.

Je propose maintenant un texte d'Hausherr qui n'est pas du genre épistolier, mais plutôt de la lettre ouverte. Rédigé pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale qui contraint Hausherr à se retirer en France, il se rapporte à des faits et à des personnes que nous venons de rencontrer dans la correspondance avec d'Herbigny. La comparaison aide à mieux situer les deux genres d'inédits en les éclairant l'un l'autre et nous fait mieux connaître la personnalité d'Hausherr.

"DU TRAVAIL POUR LES JEUNES"
EXTRAITS D'UN JOURNAL INTIME
(29 FÉVRIER – 1 MARS 1944)

Alexandra Celia, travaillant à une thèse sur Hausherr défendue au PIO en 2002, a retrouvé deux cahiers auxquels Hausherr confiait ses idées et ses états d'esprit. Comme je l'ai dit dans l'introduction à la lettre n° 32, ils ne constituent pas un cas isolé et depuis 1926-1927 au moins, Hausherr tenait une espèce de journal intime, mais ce sont les seuls que l'on garde maintenant à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental. L'un des deux, un cahier de format écolier (22,5 × 17 cm.) de 56 pages, embrasse la période entre le 11 novembre 1943 et le 12 avril 1944.

Hausherr avait dû quitter Rome en conséquence de la déclaration de guerre de l'Italie à la France en 1940. C'était un temps assez difficile pour lui. Les instruments de travail, ses livres et ses notes laissées au PIO lui manquaient. Il donnait parfois des cours à Toulouse et à Lyon. Mais souvent il devait se déplacer ici ou là, remplacer quelqu'un, "boucher des trous" comme il disait, s'occupant souvent du ministère dans des paroisses ou dans des maisons de religieuses qui demandaient des messes, des conférences ou des confessions. Il avait aussi du temps pour réfléchir. Le texte que j'édite est le fruit d'une telle réflexion, en vingt points selon Hausherr, mais en fait vingt-et-

un, car le chiffre “6” revient deux fois par mégarde entre le “5” et le “7”. Dans le cahier non numéroté, ce texte s’étend de la page 18 à la page 41.

Hausherr écrit le premier point le 29 février 1944. Après avoir traité de douze points — en fait treize à cause du chiffre “6” redoublé —, Hausherr s’arrête avec un “basta per oggi” en italien. Mais il reprend la suite le même jour, peut-être dans l’après-midi, avec un “Pendant que j’y suis...”. Il interrompt le dernier point, le plus long, le 29 février et le reprend le 1^{er} mars. Dans cette interruption que l’on trouve à la page 29, il confie à son journal intime, en date du 29 février et du jour suivant, deux brèves réflexions d’ordre spirituel.

Nous publions les points séparément — à l’exception des quatre premiers qui forment deux unités — en donnant à chacun, comme pour les lettres, une introduction.

ÉDITION

1.-2. Les deux premiers points se rapportent à saint Ephrem. Hausherr souligne la nécessité d’un travail critique sur l’authenticité des écrits qui lui sont attribués, avant toute reconstruction de sa pensée. Il y a déjà 60 ans que ces mots d’Hausherr ont été mis sur papier; entre-temps, il y a eu les travaux d’Edmund Beck et d’autres pour résoudre ce problème. Hausherr expose des critères négatifs pour exclure l’authenticité, non pas seulement des textes syriaques originaux ou traduits, mais aussi des versions grecque et arménienne.

Je relève cette phrase: “Mon volume sur la spiritualité de Saint Ephrem a été remis en question”. Effectivement, dans son *De Doctrina Spirituali Christianorum Orientalium. Quaestiones et Scripta I., Orientalia Christiana*, XXX,3 (n° 86), 1933, p. 143-216, Hausherr consacre les pages 153 à 163 à une question éphrémiennne, “Utrum sanctus Ephraem Mariam Marthae plus aequo anteposuerit”. Dans l’avant-propos à cet ouvrage, Hausherr annonce: “Sequentur, si Deus otia fecerit: De doctrina spirituali Sancti Ephraem Syri”. Il avait donc en vue un ouvrage sur le grand Syrien, mais il a dû renoncer au projet, justement à cause de l’état de la tradition manuscrite.

29 II. [19]44 “Du travail pour les jeunes” — entrevu, commencé, esquissé et abandonné il y a 4 ans.

1) Saint-Ephrem. Tirer au clair le rapport entre les commentaires syriaques et les arméniens. Mon volume sur la spiritualité de S[aint] E[phrem] a été remis en question, quand j’ai découvert que malgré les affirmations rassurantes des Baumstark etc. ... il est impossible que les commentaires susdits soient, tels quels, du même auteur, p[ar]c[e] q[u’]

ils [sic?] polémiquent l'un contre l'autre. Tous essais sur la doctrine du maître syrien sont non-avenus, tant que ce point ne sera pas clarifié. (et d'autres encore!)

2) L'Ephrem grec: il y a un triage à faire (notes laissées à Rome), et qui peut se faire moyennant seulement de bons yeux pour lire les infolios inaccessibles à un myope. Certaines pièces s'éliminent d'elles-mêmes, par des allusions historiques — d'autres pour la doctrine et enfin pour le style (langue: on peut voir si un écrit est une traduction ou un original grec.)

3.-4. Le troisième point est un aveu. Hausherr aurait désiré écrire l'histoire complète du messalianisme en fouillant toute la littérature disponible, grecque, syriaque, arménienne et arabe. On aurait des surprises, comme par exemple (point 4) ce qu'il a déjà suggéré à ses confrères islamologues, Henri Fleisch (1904-1985) et André d'Alverny (1907-1965). D'après Hausherr, les chrétiens avec lesquels Mahomet est entré en contact auraient été des messaliens. C'est donc à lui, à travers l'un ou l'autre des confrères nommés, qu'Édouard des Places doit une note dans son édition de Diadoque de Photicé, *Cent chapitres sur la perfection spirituelle* (Sources Chrétiennes n° 5), Paris, 1943. Il s'agit probablement de la phrase de la page 10 à laquelle est attachée une note bibliographique, où le Coran est mentionné: "Ils [sc. les Messaliens] tenaient d'origines stoïciennes un matérialisme grossier qui, tel plus tard celui du Coran, ne contribua pas peu à leur succès".

3) Le travail que j'aurais fait le plus volontiers, comme le plus important pour l'histoire spirituelle ancienne: Une histoire aussi complète que possible du messalianisme. Seul pourra la faire qui aura fouillé toutes les littératures grecque, syriaque surtout, arménienne et arabe du 3^e au 7^e ou 8^e siècle. Mais cela en vaudrait la peine. On y aura les surprises comme

4) ce fait qui me paraît certain depuis au moins huit ans: que les chrétiens avec qui Mahomet a eu affaire, par qui il a connu le peu qu'il sait du Christianisme, ce furent précisément les messaliens. J'ai laissé là-dessus quelques papiers à Rome. J'ai donné cette idée dès 1936-7 au P. Fleisch S.J., au P. d'Alverny en 1941 — (De là la note du P. des Places, d[an]s Diadoque, trad. française, p. 10)

5. Le cinquième point affirme que pour connaître l'origine des écrits du Pseudo-Denys, il faut étudier à fond l'histoire de Sergius de Rešaina. Hausherr avait déjà posé la question du Pseudo-Denys dans "L'influence du «Livre de saint Hiérothée»", quatrième chapitre, p. 176-211, de son *De Doctrina Spiritualis Christianorum Orientalium* (cf. l'introduction aux points 1.-2.). Ici, il renvoie à son article "Doutes au sujet du Divin Denys", OCP 2 (1936) 484-490. On y lit, p. 489, n. 1:

“Ceux qui n’ont pas perdu l’espoir de mettre la main sur le véritable auteur des œuvres aéropagitiques, feraient peut-être bien de prendre note du renseignement de Joseph Ḥazzaya: la similitude de style entre les écrits originaux de Sargis de Rešaina (c’est évidemment lui, le traducteur incriminé) et la version syriaque de Denys”.

Hausherr revendique la priorité sur la même idée avancée par son confrère d’alors, Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905-1988). Et il a raison. C’est seulement quatre ans plus tard, en 1940, que Balthasar écrit dans son essai “Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis”, *Scholastik* 15 (1940), p. 38: “Sollte Johannes nicht in die Mitwissenschaft, vielleicht in den Freundeskreis des Autors eingeweiht gewesen sein? Es wäre der Mühe wert, diesen Kreis daraufhin näher anzusehen, zumal jene seltsame Persönlichkeit, welche die syrische Übertragung der Dionysiuschriften besorgte: Sergius von Resaina”.

Hausherr s’occupera encore des écrits pseudo-dionysiens une dizaine d’années plus tard avec deux articles: “Le Pseudo-Denys est-il Pierre l’Ibérien?”, OCP 19 (1953), p. 247-260 et “Note sur l’auteur du Corpus Dionysiacum”, OCP 23 (1956), p. 384-385.

5) Pour l’origine des écrits pseudo-aréopagitiques, étudier à fond l’histoire de Sergius de Rešaina, selon ma note des *Orientalia Christiana* (Doutes sur le divin Denys), bien antérieure à une autre note du P. von Balthasar.

6. Le sixième point concerne Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Hausherr, qui l’a beaucoup travaillé, pense que sa “nouveauité” réside surtout dans la connaissance qu’il a d’Isaac de Ninive. Il est le premier Byzantin à l’avoir lu. On peut prévoir des découvertes, révélant un substrat évagrien, mais sémitisé et byzantinisé.

6) L’originalité de Syméon le N[ouveau] Théologien. Sans nier sa puissance personnelle qui tient à son tempérament plus qu’à son intelligence, je crois que la “nouveauité” de ses idées vient de ce qu’il est le premier écrivain byzantin qui a utilisé en grand la traduction, encore récente alors, d’Isaac de Ninive. Il y a là aussi les découvertes.... En somme on y verra un renouveau du courant évagrien, mais pas mal sémitisé et byzantinisé...

6bis. C’est à l’Église que la Grèce doit sa survivance pendant la période turque, mais Hausherr estime que cette survivance est aussi redevable à la spiritualité occidentale, à laquelle certains écrivains grecs ont largement puisé pour nourrir les âmes orthodoxes. Haus-

herr mentionne deux personnages pour appuyer son idée: Agapios Landos, Crétois mort avant 1664, qui traduit plusieurs ouvrages spirituels de l'Occident; Élie Miniatis, né en 1669 à Céphalonie alors vénitienne, élève d'un collège à Venise, qui a exploité les connaissances acquises chez les Latins pour sa prédication dans l'île natale, tout en reprochant aux Catholiques d'être la cause de la désunion des Chrétiens. Hausherr avait vu l'article sur Agapios par V. Grumel dans le *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, t. I, 1932-1937, col. 248-250. L'article du DSp sur Miniatis, par D. Stiernon, ne paraîtra que dans le tome X, 1977-1980, col. 1236-1238.

6) [sic = 6 bis] La littérature spirituelle grecque après la chute de Constantinople. On y verra que si, comme c'est universellement reconnu, la nation grecque doit sa persistance à l'Église, l'Église grecque d'alors s'est très largement, beaucoup plus largement qu'on ne le pense, nourrie de nourriture spirituelle latine et italienne, et même française et espagnole. P. ex., Agapios Landos, l'auteur le plus populaire, dans son ouvrage même que le P. Grumel déclare le plus original, *ἡ ἀμαρτωλῶν σωτηρία* (Dict[ionnaire de] Spiritualité, art. Agapios), traduit littéralement des livres occidentaux, tel que le Guide des Pécheurs et autres ouvrages de Louis de Grenade (Notes laissées à Rome). De même ce grand anti-latin de Miniatis etc. — Mais il faut pour ce travail, connaître à fond les spirituels occidentaux des 14-18 siècles.

7. Dans le point sept, Hausherr lance un défi au sujet de la mystique pré-évagrienne, celle d'Ammonios, d'Isaïe, etc. Il est difficile, mais nécessaire, de la séparer du messalianisme, avec lequel elle est en contact. Il faut aussi lui reconnaître un caractère davantage pneumatique et moins noétique, bien qu'elle se tienne à côté de la mystique intellectualiste, au risque d'en être contaminée. Ammonios était un des Longs Frères que s'attacha Évagre, en formant un groupe de moines appelé par Pallade "compagnie" ou "confrérie" d'Évagre (cf. A. et Cl. Guillaumont, "Évagre le Pontique", DSp, t. IV, 1960-1961, col. 1732).

La question des Isaïe d'Égypte aux IV^e-V^e siècles est assez compliquée et J.-Cl. Guy n'a pu la résoudre dans l'article "2. Isaïe" du DSp, t. VII, 1970-1971, col. 2079-2080. Je me demande si Hausherr ne pense pas déjà à un tout autre Isaïe, celui dont les Grecs connaissent le Météricon et sur lequel Hausherr écrira plus tard, cf. le point 12 ci-après et, dans le premier paragraphe de son article "Le météricon de l'abbé Isaïe", OCP 12 (1946), p. 286-301: "L'un d'eux s'appelle Isaïe. Il a été longtemps totalement inconnu aux historiens de la littérature, parce que son nom leur a fait supposer qu'il s'agissait, dans les ma-

nuscrits, d'un abbé Isaïe plus ancien, soit un Scétiote du quatrième siècle soit un monophysite du cinquième. Il faut distinguer de ces antiques personnages un Isaïe beaucoup plus récent, père spirituel d'une moniale Théodora qui semble être la propre fille du basileus Isaac II Ange. Nous sommes donc à la fin du douzième siècle ou au commencement du treizième".

7) La mystique pré-évagrienne, ou proto-évagrienne d'Ammonios, Isaïe etc. ... Plus pneumatique que noétique — — Et ses rapports avec le messalianisme, et sa persistance à côté de la mystique intellectualiste, et la contamination de l'une par l'autre. — —

8. Dans le point huit, Hausherr revient sur le problème de Jean de Lycopolis dont il avait traité au Congrès International des Orientalistes à Rome, 23-24 septembre 1935, cf. p. 635 de son article "Le Messalianisme", *Atti del XIX Congresso degli Orientalisti*, Roma 1938, pp. 634-636: "Il y a lieu de signaler (c'est du reste un des desiderata les plus urgents de l'histoire de la mystique) les nombreux écrits conservés en syriaque sous le nom de Jean de Lycopolis". Il avait écrit aussi "Aux origines de la mystique syrienne: Grégoire de Chypre ou Jean de Lycopolis?", OCP 4 (1938), p. 497-520 et avait déjà publié, d'après l'édition de Leipzig, 1936, Joannes Lycopolitanus, *Ein Dialog über die Seele und die Affekte des Menschen*: Jean le Solitaire (Pseudo-Jean de Lycopolis), *Dialogue sur l'âme et les passions des hommes*, traduit du syriaque sur l'édition de Sven Dederling, OCA 120, Rome 1939.

8) Continuer l'édition et la traduction des œuvres du faux Jean de Lycopolis, si heureusement commencé[es] par les Suédois.-

9. Hausherr s'intéresse ici à Philoxène de Mabboug. Il avait déjà écrit "Contemplation et Sainteté. Une remarquable mise au point par Philoxène de Mabboug († 523)", RAM 14 (1933), p. 171-195 et l'avait encore mentionné au même Congrès Orientaliste de Rome: "Il faudra éditer toutes les lettres de Philoxène de Mabboug, cet esprit si perspicace qui nous réserve sans doute encore plus d'une surprise" ("Le Messalianisme", *Atti del XIX Congresso degli Orientalisti*, ibid.).

9) Item, les œuvres spir[ituelles] de Philoxène de Mabboug, qui sont de première importance.

10. Au point dix, il s'agit d'une traduction complète d'Évagre qu'Hausherr a préparé sans la livrer à l'impression, pour ne pas dé-

plaire à son confrère Louis Mariès (1876-1958). Elle a été achevée en 1933, dit-il. S'agit-il de la version du seul ouvrage sur la prière, imprimée dans RAM et ensuite paru en tiré à part à Toulouse? Cf. I. Hausherr, *Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique (Pseudo-Nil)*, RAM 15 (1934), p. 34-93 et 113-170, publié à Toulouse comme extrait de la revue la même année et avec le même titre, avec double pagination — en continu, un fascicule de 118 pages; on relèvera le complément au titre: "Traduction française et commentaire d'après les autres écrits d'Évagre". Réimprimé dans RAM en 1959-1960, "sous une forme allégée de certaines discussions techniques" (note de la rédaction, dans RAM 35 [1959], p. 3), ce travail sera publié presque inchangé, mais enrichi de trois index, chez Beauchesne à Paris, en 1960, avec un titre amplifié: *Les leçons d'un contemplatif. Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique*.

10) Une trad[uction] complète d'Évagre le P[ontique], en français. Elle était faite en 1933, mais restée en m[anu]s[crit] pour ne pas déplaire au P. Mariès. Il faudra la revoir avant de la publier; en particulier pour substituer aux passages traduits sur le syriaque ou l'arménien, la traduction des fragments grecs retrouvés depuis.

11. Au point onze, Hausherr reprend le problème critique qu'il avait soulevé dans les deux premiers points, mais en l'amplifiant. Les *Lettres* d'Ignace d'Antioche, l'*Histoire Lausiaque*, les *Apophtegmes des Pères*, les ouvrages attribués à saint Éphrem exigent une recherche poussée à fond pour en redécouvrir, à travers les passages d'une langue à l'autre ou à travers les retouches et les ajouts de quelques pieux manipulateurs, le texte original.

11) Des textes importants ont été paraphrasés, interpolés, glosés, telles les *Lettres* de Saint Ignace d'Ant[ioc]he, l'*Histoire Lausiaque*, les *Apophtegmes* des PP.; parfois cet élargissement a lieu au passage d'une langue d[an]s l'autre, ou pour S. Ephrem. Étudier ces différents états du texte, pour voir dans quel sens s'opère le remaniement. Indice net de tendance doctrinale.

12. Le point douze s'occupe à nouveau de cet Isaïe qui n'a rien à faire avec les Isaïe égyptiens des IV^e et V^e siècles (cf. point 7), mais est contemporain d'Isaac II Ange. Hausherr a trouvé une version russe du *Métérikon* "par l'évêque Théophane [Georgij Govorov 1815-1894], publiée d'abord dans les *Lectures Dominicales* Воскресное Чтение (1853-1859), puis en volume par les soins du monastère athonien rus-

se de Saint Pantéléimon, Moscou 1891 ... Météricon, c'est un terme forgé sur le modèle de Patéricon... c'est une collection d'apophthegmes de saintes femmes", cf. "Le Météricon de l'abbé Isaïe", OCP 12 (1946), p. 286-301, à la p. 286 et 287. Hausherr ajoute une note à la fin de cet article: "Ce travail était terminé quand j'ai pu consulter le texte grec d'Isaïe. Vérification faite, Théophane apparaît comme un admirable et scrupuleux traducteur", ibid. p. 301. Lorsqu'il écrit ce point douze, Hausherr a déjà préparé son article sur le Météricon, car il met entre parenthèse que le manuscrit en est resté à Rome.

12) Le second Isaïe, sous Isaac Ange; éditer son texte grec et en déterminer les sources. Le 2^e travail a été fait sur une édition russe. (M[anu]s[crit] à Rome)

Etc — — — basta per oggi.

13. Dans le treizième point, Hausherr se demande si son ouvrage sur la componction, resté à Rome manuscrit mais déjà complété, sera finalement publié. *Penthos. La doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient chrétien*, OCA 132, Rome 1944, sortira effectivement des presses cette même année. Dans son journal Hausherr fait deux remarques. Premièrement, il a constaté en y travaillant, qu'identifier la spiritualité orientale avec la joie de la résurrection est d'un optimisme excessif. Deuxièmement, la nécessité de la componction naît avec Origène et se développe avec le monachisme.

29.II.44 Pendant que j'y suis...

13) Un volume m[anu]s[crit] laissé à Rome: "Penthos. La doctrine de la componction d[an]s l'Orient Chrétien." Sera-t-il imprimé? Il a peut-être rencontré des oppositions en mon absence. Mais en le composant, j'ai vu a) que la spiritualité orientale n'est pas du tout aussi simplement qu'on l'a dit et écrit, la "joie de la résurrection". Elle insiste au moins autant que l'occidentale sur l'effort, la pénitence, la "tristesse selon Dieu". Cela je le savais. Mais b) ce que je savais moins, c'est que je ne trouverais à peu près rien sur la componction avant Origène et que sur ce point le monachisme a mis en pratique et développé les idées d'Origène. Qu'on publie mon volume ou qu'on ne le publie pas, cela demeure.

14. Le quatorzième point nous apprend que Hausherr a donné à Lyon en 1941, à la Faculté jésuite de théologie sur la colline de Fourvière, un cours sur la spiritualité de l'Église primitive. Ce cours lui a donné l'occasion de réfléchir sur le problème de savoir comment cette période diffère de la suivante. Peut-être cette considération se rattache-t-elle au point précédent, où Hausherr dit que la componc-

tion se présente en premier chez Origène et pas avant lui. Il croit nécessaire de mieux connaître cette spiritualité primitive et il reste du travail à faire, car ni Gustave Bardy et ni Jules Lebreton, grands maîtres de l'histoire de l'Église, n'ont épuisé le sujet. Il songe à la préparation d'un ouvrage qui tâche de remplir nos lacunes sur la spiritualité primitive et puisse sortir après *Penthos*. On sent qu'il est heureux d'avoir chez lui ses notes manuscrites du cours de Lyon.

14) En 1941, faisant à Fourvière un cours sur la spiritualité primitive, je me suis convaincu davantage de cette vérité. Il y a un contraste (qu'il ne faut ni exagérer ni nier!) entre ces deux périodes. Aussi pensais-je, après publication du volume susdit, faire paraître un travail sur cette spiritualité primitive. Ni Bardy ni le P. Lebreton n'ont épuisé le sujet! Le contraste aurait apparu par la simple juxtaposition des deux ouvrages. Et il aurait inspiré sans doute beaucoup de réflexions, pour pénétrer mieux "l'essence du Christianisme [écrit: X^{me}]" (Mon cours de Lyon, ms. ici)

15. Quinzième point: le contraste entre la spiritualité de l'Église primitive et la spiritualité de la période qui s'ouvre avec Origène est semblable à la différence qu'il y a entre Aphraat et Éphrem. À ce propos, Hausherr cite son "Aphraat", DSp, t. I, 1934, col. 746-752. Hausherr se pose alors la question: "Cur ratio habenda sit Origenis", c'est-à-dire comment expliquer alors l'influence d'Origène sur l'illettré Pachôme et son cercle. Il en conclut que l'évolution de la spiritualité doit être étudiée de pair avec l'origine et le développement du monachisme.

15. Mais le contraste existe aussi en dehors de toute influence d'Origène, p. ex. entre Aphraate et Saint Ephrem (cfr Dict[ionnaire] de Spiritualité, "Aphraate"). Et d'ailleurs la question se pose, comment l'influence d'un professeur — prédicateur — écrivain ait pu arriver à des quasi illettrés comme Saint Pachôme et son cercle (tandis que Saint Antoine en est indemne: contraste encore!). [Dans la marge: Se méfier du "mirage littéraire"!] En somme cette évolution de la spiritualité va de pair avec le développement du monachisme, et doit être étudié de conserve avec le problème des origines de celui-ci. De m[ême] qu'on a écrit, avec un titre si juste, à propos du monachisme "Cur ratio habenda sit Origenis", il faudrait en faire autant sur le problème connexe que j'indique.

16. D'après le seizième point, Hausherr aurait laissé à Rome, en 1940, une note dans laquelle il montrait que les versions arméniennes des *Apophthegmata Patrum* sont issues non pas du texte grec, mais des versions syriaques.

16) Une note était prête en 40 pour démontrer l'origine syriaque des versions arméniennes des *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Elle serait à reprendre.

17. Dans le dix-septième point, Hausherr s'exprime en philologue à propos de grammaire géorgienne. Les spécialistes Nikolaj Jakovlevič Marr et Maurice Brière en ont fait une langue difficile, dans leur manuel *La langue géorgienne*, Firmin-Didot, Paris 1931. Il faut revenir aux *Junggrammatiker*. Hausherr se base sur sa propre expérience lorsqu'il nous dit que le géorgien est moins difficile que l'arabe. Et de citer en latin son confrère, le bollandiste Paul Peeters: "Iberorum nobilissimae litterae". Ce point est à rapprocher de la lettre n° 33, où il veut suggérer à son jeune confrère Joseph Ledit de suivre le cours de géorgien de Joseph Karst à Strasbourg.

17) Un grand service à rendre aux Orientalistes chrétiens, ce serait de refaire la grammaire géorgienne de Marr-Brière, simplement avec les éléments qu'ils donnent, en éliminant les fantastiques, prétentieux et inconsistants "philologuèmes" qui nous ramènent en linguistique en arrière des *Junggrammatiker*. De là vient la fausse impression que le géorgien est affreusement difficile. Il l'est moins que l'arabe que beaucoup de gens apprennent. Or, il y a là une veine à exploiter, à en juger seulement par le peu que j'ai pu en voir dans les rares textes géorgiens existant à l'Inst[itut] Or[iental]. "Iberorum nobilissimae litterae", vraiment, comme dit le P. Peeters, Préface de la Bibl[iotheca] Hagiogr[aphica] Orientalis.

18. Au dix-huitième point, on se demande si Hausherr n'a pas eu l'intention de rédiger un dictionnaire des termes techniques grecs de la spiritualité chrétienne. Pour illustrer sa pensée, il renvoie à ce qu'il a déjà commencé dans *Penthos*.

18) Des monographies à faire, dans le genre de la "Heroische Tugend" de Hofmann. Mais il faudrait y citer beaucoup de textes, de façon à constituer en m[ê]me temps des sortes d'anthologies, à l'usage des gens qui ne lisent pas les langues orientales. C'est ce que j'ai voulu commencer dans "Penthos". P. ex. ἐγκράτεια, θεωρία (et πράξις), εἰκὼν et ὁμοίωσις, ἀπάθεια, πνεῦμα et πνευματικός, φῶς – φωτίζειν – φωτισμός, τέλειος – τελειότης, ἐξαγόρευσις, ἡσυχία – ἡσυχάζειν – ἡσυχαστής, ἀνάγνωσις – μελέτη – ἀποστηθίζειν etc..., ψαλμωδία – προσευχή, χάρις dans tous ses sens, ἐντολή, προκοπή, κάθαρσις, ἔλλαμψις, ἐνωσις etc etc — —

19. Le dix-neuvième point revient sur les problèmes déjà abordés des écrits pseudo-dionysiens. Mais cette fois, ce n'est plus la question

de l'origine de ces écrits, mais de l'influence qu'ils ont exercée. Hausherr avait préparé la-dessus une étude pour le Congrès des Byzantinistes qui aurait dû se tenir à Beyrouth, puis à Alger. Les notes de cet essai attendent à Rome.

19) L'influence du pseudo-Denys. Travail préparé pour le Congrès des byzantinistes qui devait avoir lieu à Beyrouth puis à Alger en 1939. Les notes restées à Rome... — —

E.ct. [sic, écrit à l'encre mais biffé au crayon]

20. Le vingtième et dernier point est le plus long et le plus biographique. En premier lieu, Hausherr raconte le malentendu avec les Pères Assomptionnistes, à propos de la publication des œuvres et de la vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Nous en avons déjà une allusion dans la lettre n° 7 à d'Herbigny. Mais ici, nous apprenons certains détails que la lettre nous taisait. Hausherr évoque la traduction française de la *Vie* que son confrère G. Horn (cf. lettres n° 1, 4 et 7) avait faite et de la peine qu'il lui en a coûté pour la mettre au point: tenaillé par le cancer qui allait l'emporter en 1933, Horn n'avait pu offrir un travail convenable, bien qu'il eût révélé ses dons par sa thèse et par des articles sur Diadoque de Photicé et le Pseudo-Denys parus dans RAM en 1927 et 1930.

Mais alors que Hausherr travaille depuis longtemps sur Syméon, il lui arrive un jour un article des *Échos d'Orient* 31, n° 150 (avril-juin 1928), p. 163-167, au titre ambigu: "La vie et les œuvres de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien". En fait, l'article ne présente ni une *Vie* ni les œuvres de Syméon, mais seulement une Introduction, précédée d'une note de la Rédaction de la revue: "...Nous avons trouvé parmi ses papiers [sc. de Mgr. Louis Petit, Assomptionniste, ancien archevêque latin d'Athènes, décédé le 5 novembre 1927] la traduction française de la Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien... L'Introduction à cette Vie était aussi en partie rédigée, et nous la donnons ci-dessous".

Avant de raconter sa réaction à ce coup de théâtre inattendu (personne, pas même l'Assomptionniste Vitalien Laurent, réviseur bénévole du travail d'Hausherr sur Syméon, ne lui avait jamais soufflé mot de la *Vie* préparée par Petit), Hausherr nous peint un sympathique tableau de la communauté jésuite et de la façon dont il a décidé d'imprimer son travail. Cependant, à la vue du fascicule des *Échos d'Orient*, il est prêt à se retirer, ne presumant pas d'être meilleur que Petit. Mais la rédaction de *Orientalia Christiana* ne veut pas renoncer à publier le travail d'Hausherr, après l'avoir accepté et mis au programme. Il y eut alors un compromis avec lequel Hausherr ne fut pas

d'accord. Je crois que c'est d'Herbigny lui-même, responsable de l'Institut et de ses publications, qui a rédigé un mot assez saugrenu, une "Note de la Rédaction des *Orientalia Christiana*. Pourquoi ce numéro 46 de O. Ch. (vol. XIII-1) paraît avant le numéro 45 (vol. XII)", *Orientalia Christiana* XIII,1 (n° 46), 1928, p. 3.

Le texte de la note n'est pas moins bizarre que son titre: "Au début de juin allait paraître, formant notre vol. XII (n. 45) la *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicétas Stéthatos*.... Dès Juin 1927 le R.P. Irénée Hausherr l'avait promise et, depuis Janvier 1928, chacun de nos fascicules rappelait la réalisation de cette promesse. Or, à la fin de Mai 1928, les *Échos d'Orient* annoncent à leur tour une publication analogue, préparée 'en partie', disent-ils, par Mgr Petit... Soucieux de fraternelle harmonie nous différons quelque peu notre publication afin d'épargner à l'héritier anonyme de Mgr Petit l'ennui de devoir trop compléter une Introduction et des notes que le Maître avait abandonnées depuis 1904. Mais nous ne pourrions changer une numérotation, déjà imprimée, qui, selon notre usage, rappelle à toute les pages de nombre pair que l'œuvre du P. Hausherr forme le n. 45 et le tome XII de notre collection, bien qu'elle soit précédée par le fascicule 46, premier du tome XIII". Hausherr était contraire à cette décision. Il dit même qu'il voulait arracher cette note. Elle est sur une page d'un format un peu plus petit que les autres.

Hausherr a donc vu son travail imprimé en 1928 (cf. l'introduction au n° 4), mais il est comme meurtri par cette expérience et reste quelque temps sans poursuivre son travail sur l'hésychasme. Il donne des comptes rendus et reprend son *Évagre*, à propos duquel il va encore rencontrer des difficultés. Mais sa manière de réagir vis-à-vis de cet autre problème va changer. Cette fois, Hausherr lui-même décide d'écrire une note, moins saugrenue, il est vrai, mais assez résolue, pour défendre la priorité de la découverte qu'il avait faite, identifiant certains passages du *De Oratione* attribué à saint Nil comme des chapitres des Centuries Gnostiques d'Évagre. Ce qui avait agacé Hausherr, c'était plutôt la façon dont un confrère arménisant, le P. Louis Mariès (cf. le point 10 ci-dessus), s'était entremis pour défendre la cause d'un tiers, son disciple Joseph Muyldermans. J'ai déjà abordé ce problème dans l'introduction aux trois dernières lettres 34, 35 et 36 de la correspondance Hausherr-d'Herbigny. Il se peut du reste que Joseph Muyldermans eût en effet la priorité dans l'identification mais, Hausherr le reconnaît, il avait un bon caractère et se comporta avec une parfaite correction à l'égard de son collègue. C'est davantage l'hostilité du P. Mariès qui pousse Hausherr à affirmer en 1944 que son livre sur *Évagre*, complété depuis onze ans, attend en-

core la publication. Est-ce que cela signifie que *Le Traité de l'Oraison d'Évagre le Pontique* (Pseudo-Nil) de 1934 n'est pas, dans l'esprit d'Hausherr, l'Évagre qui sera édité bien des années plus tard, en 1960, sous le titre: *Les Leçons d'un contemplatif*?

Hausherr nous parle ensuite de ses travaux sur Grégoire de Chypre, qu'il avait ramené à son époque véritable, non plus le IV^e siècle, mais le début du VII^e, cf. Gregorii monachi Cyprii *De Theoria sanctae syriace interpretata dicitur visio divina*, OCA 110, Rome 1937, ainsi que sur Philoxène de Mabboug, cf. le point 9 ci-dessus. Puis il passe à ses agréables relations avec de grands maîtres, tels Cornelis van Arendonk et Arent Jan Wensinck.

Regrettant la manière dont l'Institut s'était comporté avec les Assomptionnistes, Hausherr essaya à la première occasion de leur montrer qu'il n'avait rien contre eux. Il l'a trouvé lors du Congrès International des Byzantinistes en octobre 1930, quand il put convaincre son ami l'abbé Vogt à céder avec lui à deux Assomptionnistes présents au Congrès leurs places pour l'excursions de Sparte, ainsi qu'il nous le raconte dans la lettre n° 27 à d'Herbigny. À Rome même, il a pu fréquenter les admirables Petites Sœurs de l'Assomption de la rue Bixio. Il revient ensuite à J. Muijldermans. Enfin, il raconte son expérience singulière au congrès international des Byzantinistes qui se tint à Rome et à Naples du 20 au 28 septembre 1936.

Quatre professeurs de l'Institut Oriental devaient y tenir des conférences, le Recteur Emil Herman, Irénée Hausherr, Guillaume de Jerphanion et Ignacio Ortiz de Urbina. L'organisation du Congrès n'était pas fameuse. "Par une rencontre singulière, partiellement due à l'ordre alphabétique, les quatre communications des professeurs de notre Institut — écrit G. de Jerphanion — devaient être lues presque en même temps, dans quatre sections différentes, ce qui priva chacun de nous d'entendre ses collègues. Et la troisième d'entre elles, dont le titre, par tout ce qu'il promettait de nouveau, avait excité au plus haut point l'attente de plus d'un auditeur, ne put, par suite de l'encombrement, être lue" (cf. "Chronica. Le cinquième Congrès International des Études Byzantines", OCP 3 [1937], p. 279-288, à la page 287).

Cette conférence tant attendue était celle d'Hausherr, dont celui qui en empêcha la lecture, le fameux Henri Grégoire, écrivait à l'avance: "On sait qu'une des plus graves lacunes des études d'histoire religieuse byzantine apparaît au chapitre de la mystique, au point que l'une des plus grandes crises de l'Église d'Orient, celle de l'hésychasme au quatorzième siècle, semble inattendue et incompréhensible. Aussi le P. Hausherr, savant auteur de tant d'études pénétrantes sur la mystique, est-il assuré d'un nombreux auditoire, lorsqu'il fera,

en séance plénière, nous l'espérons, son exposé intitulé: "Pour l'histoire de la mystique byzantine" (cf. "Notes et Informations. Le V^{ème} Congrès International des Études Byzantines [Rome et Naples, 20-28 septembre 1936]", *Byzantion* 11 [1936], p. 377-381, à la page 380).

Comme il va nous le raconter avec une certaine malice, Hausherr n'a pas pu tenir au Congrès sa conférence et il ne l'a jamais publiée, ni dans le *Byzantion*, comme le lui demanda Grégoire, ni dans les Actes du Congrès, selon les vœux du professeur "barbu" Silvio Giuseppe Mercati. Par chance pour nous, il en a conservé quelques bribes dans les pages du journal qu'Alexandra Celia a retrouvé.

20) L'édition des œuvres de Syméon le N[ouveau] Th[éologien], abandonnée par égard pour le mécontentement des AA [sc. Assomptionnistes]. Et puisque j'ai le temps, je vais raconter en q[uel]ques mots cette affaire. — C'est en étudiant la Méthode d'oraison hésychaste que je reconnus la nécessité, pour l'histoire de la spiritualité orientale, d'éditer la vie et les œuvres de Syméon. J'en écrivis au P. Viller qui fut de mon avis. Je travaillais donc en toute innocence et paix. Je ne pensais d'ailleurs pas que la chose irait si vite. Mais un jour au repas de midi, à l'Inst[itut] Or[iental], dans le réfectoire provisoire au rez-de-chaussée de la maison qui devait disparaître après pour faire place à la bibliothèque, sur la via Napoleone III, le P. Sakač qui s'occupait alors de la "cuisine" des Orientalia Ch[ristiana], demande quel sera le prochain fascicule et ce disant il se tourne vers moi. Je prends la balle au bond, et, histoire de répliquer à une taquinerie, je réponds que ce pourrait être le mien. Je croyais vraiment que tout le monde entendrait la plaisanterie. Mais quelqu'un était là, qui présidait, et qui prit tout au sérieux. Et ainsi fut décidé, littéralement entre la poire et le fromage, l'envoi de mon m[anu]s[crit] à l'imprimeur. J'eus parfaitement conscience de la gageure que c'était, de commencer à imprimer un travail encore si peu avancé; mais d'une part, je croyais pouvoir compter sur la clairvoyance des réviseurs; d'autre part, il faut le dire, j'étais parfaitement indifférent au succès ou à l'échec sur ce terrain de l'érudition. La pire des choses qui pût m'arriver, c'est que je fusse "coulé", et alors je retournerais à mes moutons — je ne demandais pas mieux. Seulement, de réviseurs, il n'y en eut point, du moins pour le texte et la traduction. Quant à l'Introduction elle n'était pas composée. Et voilà l'affaire engrenée. Tandis que s'imprime le texte, morceau par morceau, p[ar]c[e] q[ue] l'imprimeur n'avait pas de quoi composer plus de 16 pages, de caractères; je m'attelle à l'Introduction: celle-là a trouvé grâce devant les censeurs, même aux yeux du P. V. Laurent... Quant à la traduction, j'avais une ébauche faite par le cher Père G. Horn, à Florennes, pendant mon 3^e an. A l'examen elle se révéla impossible à conserver: pas une phrase qui fût suffisamment exacte. Le pauvre P. H[orn] était déjà tenaillé par le mal qui devait l'emporter, et après avoir commencé avec enthousiasme, il avait eu hâte de se débarrasser d'une besogne trop lourde et trop longue pour ses forces — il avait bâclé, et me rapporta un jour avec

un geste fébrile mon m[anu]s[crit] et le sien en me disant: "Voilà, fini". Il restait dans sa version des trouvailles d'expressions, lueurs de son génie littéraire; mais il fallut tout refaire et ce fut double fatigue, de traduire le texte et de corriger la traduction du P. H[orn], en cherchant à en conserver ce qui se pouvait. Tout cela pendant que s'imprimait le texte grec, dont m'incombait la correction des épreuves. Là-dessus, nouveau surcroît de difficultés, je m'en vais à Enghien... Et quand enfin, la harassante besogne touchait à sa fin, un jour arriva le n° des Échos d'Orient qui me fit tomber de mon haut! J'écrivis immédiatement au président de l'Inst[itut] Or[ienta]l qu'il n'y avait qu'à retirer mon travail, p[ar]c[e] q[u'] évidemment celui des AA [sc. Assomptionnistes] vaudrait mieux. Mais je ne m'étais pas un seul instant imaginé que Mgr Petit mort, (1) [En bas de page, le texte de la note: (1) Il est arrivé à Mgr Petit de publier un texte que deux savants russes avaient annoncé avant lui. "Ils n'auront qu'à présenter leurs corrections", dit-il à peu près. Ils étaient donc vivants. Le fait est certain, bien que je ne puisse, par cœur, donner la référence.] il pût y avoir un inconvénient à reprendre une publication nécessaire à mes études et à mes cours, d'ailleurs assez peu préparée encore par l'illustre archevêque d'Athènes, comme le susdit article des E[chos d']O[rient] lui-même le démontre. J'étais un nouveau-venu dans le camp des érudits; j'ignorais que, par l'irritabilité du moins, ils appartiennent au genus vatum. L'esprit sportif manque dans cette race; et je ne le savais pas. Je venais de l'apprendre. Aussi n'avais-je qu'à disparaître avec mon factum. Seulement la direction des Or[ientalia] Ch[ristiana] ne l'entendit pas de la sorte. (La suite?) [Suivent six lignes du journal spirituel, du 29 février et 1^{er} mars.]

1. III. 44. (suite). J'ignorais, et ignore toujours ce qui s'est passé entre elle et la direction des E[chos d']O[rient]. Je reçus une lettre me demandant de faire une note justifiant la publication en cause. A quoi je répondis que ce n'était pas mon affaire; que, quant à moi, je préférerais me retirer. La note fut rédigée néanmoins, par qui? Elle ne me fut pas soumise avant l'impression. Je ne l'ai même jamais lue en entier. Partout où j'ai pu, je l'ai arrachée. Le plus que j'en lus jamais, ce fut longtemps après, à la Bibliothèque Vaticane où j'eus un jour à consulter mon volume (on n'a pas pu le réduire aux dimensions des autres volumes de la collection, à cause d'une lettre dédicatoire à S[a] S[ain]t[e]t[e] Pie XI, lettre dont j'eus alors seulement connaissance). Voilà la vérité. Tout ce bruit et cette polémique me dégoûta si fort que je changeai entièrement la direction de mes travaux. Laissant dormir un stock de copies faites à la Nationale, à la Vaticane, à la Vallicelliana et ailleurs, je me mis à l'étude d'Évagre le Pontique. Pour cela il fallait perfectionner ma connaissance du syriaque et de l'arménien. Pendant trois ans je ne publiai rien. La Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique désirait une traduction française d'Évagre dans sa collection. Je me croyais là en toute sécurité, puisque je travaillais sur la demande du P. Cavallera. Un jour cependant j'eus vent qu'un élève du P. Mariès préparait qu[el]q[ue] c[h]ose sur Évagre. Interrogé à ce sujet, le P. Cavallera répondit que ce Monsieur, un arménisant, s'intéressait à la philologie; que par conséquent je ne risquais pas de me heurter à lui. Néan-

moins, et malgré les assurances données aussi par le P. Viller, je gardai ma traduction dans mes tiroirs et me contentai de lancer d'abord, comme coup de sonde, le petit fascicule sur "Les versions syriaque et arménienne d'É[vagrc] l[c] P[ontique]" prolégomènes d'ailleurs nécessaires. Résultat: approbation chalcureuse du P. Peeters, M. Lebon etc.; mais du P. Mariès me parvinrent bientôt, non pas une lettre directe demandant ou donnant des explications, mais des chuchotements, des allusions, des échos transmis par des tiers... je compris que j'avais mis le pied dans un nouveau guépier, pire peut-être que le précédent. Je mets hors de cause M. Muyltermans dont je pus apprécier plus tard la compréhension et la douceur. Mais à Paris, il y avait q[uel]qu'un qui, à tout venant, faisait la leçon à mon intention. Je pourrais citer les noms de plusieurs de ces "victimes", ou de ces agents du P. M.: j'étais une bête noire, un affreux bonhomme, un sale type. Et on me regardait de travers à Rome et à Nîmes (1) [Texte de la note dans la marge: A Nîmes au Congrès Budé — q[uel]q[u']un se rappellerait bien de quel œil il me regarda... Mais depuis, j'ai passé plus de six semaines à lui mettre au point un travail pour lequel il n'était pas préparé... Encore un qui aura appris à se méfier des "susurrone"! et à Paris... J'eus ample loisir de savourer, au sens ironique, le "dulce est digito monstrari et dicier: Hic est!" [sic. Il s'agit d'une réminiscence classique, le verset 28 de la première satire de Perse (Aulus Persius Flaccus): "at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier 'hic est'". Je remercie mon neveu Paolo Poggi pour l'identification.] Plus tard, après des années, des émissaires d'autres milieux vinrent me supplier de passer outre (je pense bon nommer le P. de Guibert, le seul qui soit dans l'éternité), et de publier cette traduction d'Évagre, qui serait si utile. Elle dort encore, onze ans après, à Rome. — Je renversai la vapeur une seconde fois. Au Congrès Orientaliste de Rome en 1935 j'exposai la nécessité d'éditer les écrits syriaques attribués à Jean de Lycopolis. Trois ans après Sven Dederling, à Uppsala lançait un premier volume. Aurais-je dû me plaindre? Je fis la traduction de ce volume et demandai à Dederling de la publier. Il en fut enchanté. Depuis d'autres suédois continuent l'édition commencée (je n'ai pas vu le volume que l'un d'eux au moins m'a envoyé à Rome), et tant mieux. D'ailleurs avant Jean de Lycopolis, je crus nécessaire de débayer le terrain en délogeant de la place qu'il occupait indûment au 4^e siècle, Grégoire de Chypre. Il fut remis à sa date, autour de 600, dans une édition du "De Theoria sancta". — Entre temps j'avais aussi abordé Philoxène de Mabboug (R[evue d']A[scétique et de] M[ystique]); mais comme M. Lebon s'en était occupé, au point de vue théologique, je lui écrivis pour lui demander s'il avait l'intention d'en venir aussi à ses écrits ascétiques. Il me répondit que non; que cependant un américain avait vaguement manifesté une velléité de ce genre, mais que, à son avis, cela ne devait pas du tout m'empêcher de m'y mettre de mon côté. Je brisai net — et attends encore un signe quelconque des projets d'Amérique.

Il faut dire que j'ai rencontré autre chose que ce farouche et ombrageux annexionnisme. Sans reparler des suédois, je garde un souvenir embaumé de mes relations avec les professeurs de Leyde, MM. van Aren-donk et Wensinck. Le premier qui oublie ses propres travaux pour aider

de toute sa science et de toute sa peine l'inconnu qui recourt à lui. "C'est son grand plaisir", disent ses collègues. Le second, que j'avais critiqué: tel un roquet qui jabote contre un lion — et lui, illustre entre tous les orientalistes, n'eut d'autre souci au Congrès de Bruxelles en 1938, que de me chercher pour causer longuement, s'enquérir du lieu et de l'heure de ma communication,: "P[ar]c[c] q[ue] je tiens à y assister". Or, cette communication, contredisait encore M. Wensinck; et, la lecture finie, il se lève pour ... me remercier du secours que mes travaux apportent aux siens, p[ar]c[e] q[ue] "nous ne pouvons pas tout faire" Un an après M. Wensinck était mort. Mais je sais qu'il se délassait de ses labeurs d'islamisant en publiant des opuscules de dévotion — —

Aux histoires ci-dessus il y a des épilogues, tout à l'honneur de la plupart des intéressés. Je ne pouvais donner aux AA. [sc. Assompionnistes] aucune explication sans rejeter la responsabilité qu'ils me supposaient sur qui l'avait tout entière — ou qui la partageait avec eux. Eux d'ailleurs se gardèrent de jamais souffler mot de la contestation dans les occasions assez fréquentes que j'eus de les rencontrer. La première fut au Congrès d'Athènes en 1930, où je pris part avec mon ami A. Vogt, après quelques semaines passées à l'Hagion Oros. Je n'étais rien; ils étaient des "puissances" dans cette ville où l'un d'entre eux avait naguère été archevêque (avec le successeur de Mgr Petit, Mgr Filippucci, j'eus amplement le loisir de faire connaissance au cours de plusieurs après-midi que je passai avec lui, soit chez lui, soit à travers ville, en visite p[ar] ex[emple] chez le nonagénaire ancien chartophylax du Phanar, M. Gédéon). Les relations furent correctes — et réticentes. Il fallait faire qu[el]q[ue] c[hose]. La Providence en fournit le moyen. Vogt et moi, nous étions inscrits pour une grande excursion à Sparte. Quand je sus que les inscriptions étaient closes, et les AA. [sc. Assompionnistes] forclos, il me vint une irrésistible envie de leur céder la place; j'en dis un mot à Vogt qui tout à coup n'eut plus aucune envie de faire le voyage. Ce fut lui qui alla faire la déclaration au siège du comité. Deux AA. [sc. Assompionnistes] eurent ainsi la joie scientifique d'une randonnée d'archéologues. Ont-ils jamais su à qui ils la devaient? En tout cas, je leur dus ce jour-là une joie bien plus grande, d'une autre essence. — Pendant des années — une dizaine d'années — une autre joie me fut en partage, grâce à eux ou à leur ambiance, dans la Ville Éternelle. Ils demeuraient sur un Lungotevere, loin de la Via Bixio où leurs admirables petites Sœurs de l'Assomption déployaient silencieusement leur activité au service des pauvres gens. Or, ces Sœurs avaient besoin d'un confesseur tous les dimanches pour les clients de leur chapelle. Je ne sais comment — Dieu le sait qui est Bon — il se fit que ce confesseur ce fut moi. L'entente fut parfaite avec les Sœurs, qui me demandaient souvent un sermon pour elles. "Vous, dis-je un jour, à la Supérieure, vous êtes catholiques". Le mérite en revient sans doute à leur fondateur, et aussi à leur P. Spirituel actuel, le P. Sévérien (Salaville)... Comme quoi, on a toujours tort quand on se fâche, au moins le tort de se fâcher. Enfin, pour terminer ce récit trop long, j'ajoute que parmi les jeunes recrues, tel que le P. Gouillard, je constatai une volonté résolue de paix, d'entente, d'estime et de collaboration. Amen.

Quant à M. Muyldermans, l'occasion de nouer des relations personnelles avec lui tarda longtemps à venir. Au Congrès des Orientalistes en 1938, je le cherchai en vain; d'aucuns attribuaient son effacement à sa timidité. Cela faisait un peu "les deux timides". Mais un peu plus tard, ayant découvert dans une publication rarissime d'Epiphanovitch, en russe, des soi-disant "Capitula practica" qui étaient notoirement évagriens, je pris ma plume pour offrir à M. M[uyl]dermans de les incorporer à ses propres trouvailles. La réponse fut aussi aimable que possible. M. M[uyl]dermans me dit de les republier sans retard; il se réjouissait de notre collaboration sur un m[ê]me champ de travail... και πάλιν ἀμήν.

Au Congrès byzantin de Rome en 1932 [1936] (je confonds les dates!) je devais lire une communication "sur les desiderata les plus urgents de l'histoire de la mystique byzantine". Le mot mystique figurant là pour remplacer celui de spiritualité peu ou mal compris par les profanes, mais en fait il s'agissait de spiritualité au sens général. Mon manuscrit dans ma poche je m'en fus à la nouvelle Université. Il y avait eu un peu de pagaïe dans l'organisation ou dans l'observation des règlements. Les orateurs empiétaient sur le temps de leurs successeurs... on ne savait plus qu'à qua hora, quo loco verba facturus esset. Ainsi un jour j'avais rencontré M. Schatzmann, bâlois-genevois peu habitué à ce doux laisser-aller, qui me déclara "Je suis furieux, je m'en vais..." en brandissant le rouleau de son mémoire. Le comité venait en conséquence de recommander encore fortement aux honorables de ne pas dépasser les 20 minutes qui leur étaient imparties. Après différents changements, mon tour fut fixé à la dernière heure de ce jour-là, avant la fermeture des portes. J'assistai à toute la séance. L'avant dernier à parler fut M. Grégoire, le prodigieux et prestigieux directeur de *Byzantion*. Quelle figure allais-je faire après lui? Au lieu d'un sujet, le voilà qui en annonce deux. Il parle, il parle d'abondance... Le premier des sujets annoncés n'était pas terminé, que l'heure avait passé... Et cela continue: il reste un quart d'heure, dix minutes.... J'eus l'impression très nette que tout en pérorant avec son aisance phénoménale, le grand homme ne me perdait pas un instant de vue. Enfin, cinq minutes avant l'heure de la clôture, je ramassai papiers et chapeau et ferraiolo et m'en allai, pas fâché du tout d'avoir échappé à une corvée. — Mais quel ne fut pas mon étonnement q[u]elque temps après, quand je reçus de ce même Grégoire une carte de Bruxelles, où après avoir dit tout le mal qu'il pensait de ce congrès romain, lui qui m'avait sciemment empêché de lire ma communication, il en venait à me parler de "la plus importante des communications, la vôtre"!! En conséquence il demandait pour son *Byzantion* l'honneur de la publier. — Il ne la connaissait que par le titre. — Je lui répondis en le remerciant... de m'avoir sauvé par son obstruction d'une 'Blâmage' (Il aime à parsemer ses phrases de mots allemands ou autres); que mon mémoire ne valait pas la publication et que j'étais résolu à ne pas le publier. Et en effet ma résolution fut prise, inspirée par l'exagération des éloges. Il devait y avoir une raison à ce procédé en deux parties. Ce ne fut que plus tard que je crus la comprendre, devant l'insistance de M. Mercati (dit Il Barbato) pour insérer mon travail dans les "Atti" du Congrès — je le priai "di non farne parola" — et du président

de l'Inst[itut] Or[iental] pour le faire paraître dans les Or[ientali]^a Ch[ris-tia]^{na}. Je me rappelai alors l'“annexionnisme” des érudits, et je me dis que la Providence s'était servi de M. Grégoire pour m'empêcher de donner l'effarant spectacle d'un travailleur d'érudition qui livre à la curée générale cette proie si précieuse que sont les problèmes à étudier. Il est vrai que le but de M. Grégoire avait été tout autre — car il avait un séminaire de byzantinistes auxquels il fallait fournir une pitance toujours nouvelle — — — J'ai peut-être eu tort de n'être pas naïf jusqu'au bout; mais pourquoi le très ὀξυδερκής M. Grégoire n'a-t-il pas su que trop d'habilité risque de provoquer chez les plus lourdauds une réaction de clairvoyance? Enfin, je fais mon mea culpa, et mieux qu'en paroles, puisque j'ai transcrit ci-dessus q[uel]ques uns de ces fameux “desiderata de la Mystique byzantine” et extra-byzantine. Il y en avait d'autres, mais je les ai oubliés — quatre ans de guerre ont passé là-dessus — le byzantinisme et l'orientalisme m'ont des airs de pré-histoire — la tête est vide, p[ar]c[e] q[ue] souvent le ventre creux — l'âge avance à étapes renforcées — je n'ai ni livres, ni revues, ni avec qui causer. — Aussi est-ce seulement pour occuper le temps, utilement peut-être, qu'avec un mauvais stylo je me suis exercé à écrire dans ce français que je ne sais pas, parce que je n'ai pas le droit de le savoir.

De tout, Dieu est béni. Amen. Si jamais q[uel]qu'un lit ces pages, qu'il le fasse avec la sérénité avec laquelle elles ont été écrites. Il se trompe s'il y croit percevoir des taches d'amertume. Les souffrances — d'ailleurs depuis longtemps tournées en bonheur — que le Père Céleste a daigné m'envoyer, ou mieux, me présenter de sa main, ne seront écrites que dans son Livre à Lui — à la gloire de sa Charité. Les anecdotes ci-dessus, mon passage un peu cahoteux dans le byzantinisme, ce sont hochets d'enfants. A qui le Père les enlève, c'est qu'Il le veut rendre adulte in Christo Jesu. Amen.

1.III.44.

Ihs. Maria

Institut Pontifical Oriental

Vincenzo Poggi, S.J.

La spiritualità bizantina e le sue scuole nell'opera di Irénée Hausherr

Con l'anno accademico 1928-29, Padre Irénée Hausherr¹ iniziava i suoi corsi in ascetica e mistica al Pontificio Istituto Orientale, sostituendo Marcel Viller² che vi aveva insegnato dal 1923 al 1927. Nel biennio precedente, Hausherr aveva pubblicato due brevi ma densi volumi, l'uno consacrato alla dottrina ascetico-spirituale di Teodoro Studita (1926)³ e l'altro al metodo di orazione tradizionalmente attribuito a Simeone il Nuovo Teologo (1927)⁴. Queste ricerche degli inizi contengono *in nuce* molte linee di ricerca e proposte interpretative della spiritualità bizantina che, sviluppate nel decennio seguente, saranno poi recepite e utilizzate da intere generazioni di studiosi. Il contributo di Irénée Hausherr alle ricerche sulla storia della spiritualità bizantina si rivela già decisivo con gli studi di questo periodo, ben prima dei grandi volumi tematici della maturità sul *penthos* (1944), la *philauthia* (1952), sulla direzione spirituale (1955), sull'Esicasmo (1956 e 1962) e sui nomi di Gesù (1960).

1. DA SIMEONE IL NUOVO TEOLOGO ALLO PSEUDO-SIMEONE

Dopo aver trattato del martirio della sottomissione (μαρτύριον τῆς ὑποταγῆς)⁵ nelle *Catechesi* di Teodoro Studita, Irénée Hausherr si volge alla personalità e all'opera di Simeone il Nuovo Teologo. L'interesse per questa figura era caratteristico dell'epoca. Soprattutto dopo

¹ Per la figura e l'opera di I. H. abbiamo utilizzato T. Špidlík, "In memoriam. Irénée Hausherr S.I. (7.6.1891 – 5.12.1978)", OCP 45 (1979) 159-165; V. Poggi, *Per la storia del Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Saggi sull'istituzione, i suoi uomini e l'Oriente Cristiano*, (= OCA 263), Roma 2000, 221-225 (Irénée Hausherr: un maestro); A. Celia, *Unità di dogma e di spiritualità nel pensiero di Irénée Hausherr*, (= Diss. Ph. D. PIO), Roma 2002.

² Sul quale v. innanzitutto G. Dumeige, "Viller Marcel", DSp 16 (1994), coll. 799-801.

³ *Saint Théodore Studite. L'homme et l'ascète, d'après ses Catéchèses*, (= OC 6/1), Roma 1926.

⁴ *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste*, (= OC 9/2), Roma 1927.

⁵ Cfr. *Saint Théodore Studite*, 28.

la pubblicazione della monografia di Karl Holl (1898)⁶, gli scritti di Simeone avevano attirato l'attenzione di bizantinisti, come Karl Krumbacher (1897)⁷, di filologi classici, come Paul Maas (1922)⁸, e anche di un Martin Buber (1909)⁹ e di un Friedrich Heiler (1918)¹⁰. Non soltanto ragioni d'ordine culturale spingevano I. Hausherr a questo argomento, ma anche una evidente simpatia personale verso Simeone, che traspare in molte circostanze anche nei suoi contributi più tardi. Egli riteneva inoltre che «le travail préliminaire à l'histoire des doctrines hésychastes doit commencer par la publication des œuvres de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien»¹¹. Volendosi dedicare a questa fatica, I. Hausherr iniziò con alcune ricerche preliminari, con, per così dire, i rami secondari della tradizione, lo studio e l'edizione del *Metodo della santa preghiera e attenzione* attribuito a Simeone e poi della *Vita* del santo scritta da Niceta Stethatos (1928)¹². L'uscita di quest'ultimo testo suscitò il disappunto degli Assunzionisti della rivista *Échos d'Orient*¹³, dal momento che la pubblicazione della *Vita* di Niceta e delle opere di Simeone era già stata annunciata un quarto di secolo prima dall'assunzionista Louis Petit, poi arcivescovo latino di Atene¹⁴. Questa piccola polemica fu senza dubbio una delle tante ragioni che spinsero padre Hausherr lontano da Simeone il Nuovo

⁶ *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum. Eine Studie zu Symeon dem neuen Theologen*, Leipzig 1898.

⁷ *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, München 1897, 153-154.

⁸ "Aus der Poesie des Mystikers Symeon", in *Festgabe A. Ehrhard*, Bonn - Leipzig 1922, 328-341.

⁹ *Ekstatische Konfessionen*, Jena 1909.

¹⁰ *Das Gebet*, München 1918, 1920², 247.

¹¹ *La méthode*, 102.

¹² I. Hausherr, G. Horn, *Un grand mystique byzantin: Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949-1022) par Nicéas Stéthatos. Texte grec inédit et traduction française avec introduction, notes critiques et index*, Roma 1928 (OC, 12).

¹³ Cfr. V. Laurent, "Un nouveau monument hagiographique. La Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien", EO 28 (1929) 431-443.

¹⁴ Cfr. J. Pargoire, "Mont Saint-Auxence. Étude historique et topographique", ROC 8 (1903) 445 n. 1; Id., "Les saints-Mamas de Constantinople", *Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 9 (1904) 48. Non è un caso che l'introduzione di L. P. scritta nel 1904 venga stampata proprio nel 1928: L. Petit, "La Vie et les œuvres de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien", EO 27 (1928) 163-167. Su L. Petit v. innanzitutto G. M. Croce, "Alle origini della Congregazione Orientale e del Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Il contributo di Mons. Louis Petit", OCP 53 (1987) 257-333; *Mgr. Petit, Assomptionniste, fondateur des "Échos d'Orient", Archevêque latin d'Athènes (1868-1927)*, a c. di B. Holzer (Roma 2002, OCA 266); per l'opera scientifica degli Assunzionisti cfr. A. Failler, "Le centenaire de l'Institut Byzantin des Assomptionnistes", REB 53 (1995) 5-40 (bibl.).

Teologo, e in generale dalle ricerche «tecniche» nell'ambito bizantino, verso la spiritualità siriana, il Messalianismo, Evagrio Pontico, ecc.

Ma ritorniamo al volumetto del 1927, esaminando da vicino l'edizione del *Metodo della santa preghiera e attenzione*, il rigetto dell'attribuzione tradizionale a Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e la nuova tesi qui abbozzata (e in seguito avanzata) da I. Hausherr, e, infine, alcune reazioni provocate da queste pagine.

Fino a quel momento il testo originale del *Metodo* era inedito, dal momento che la *Filocalia* (1782) e la raccolta delle opere di Simeone (1790) lo presentavano nella stessa versione neogreca¹⁵, che, tra l'altro, ometteva alcuni dettagli del passaggio propriamente «tecnico». Soltanto questa sezione dell'originale era stata stampata da Leone Allacci (1588-1669) che da un lato utilizzava direttamente un manoscritto del *Metodo*¹⁶ e, dall'altro, riprendeva l'estratto conservato dal florilegio antipalamita composto dallo ieromonaco Nifone nel XIV secolo¹⁷. Questi passi sono ripresi dagli autori successivi, da François Combefis (1605-1679) in poi¹⁸.

Il *Metodo*, testo «resté jusqu'ici enfoui dans un assez grand nombre de manuscrits»¹⁹, è pubblicato da I. Hausherr sulla base di cinque codici della Biblioteca Vaticana (Vatic. Gr. 658, 710, 730, 735, Ottob. Gr. 459) e uno della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi (Paris. Gr. 1076), scelti evidentemente per ragioni di comodità. La base dell'edizione è perciò rappresentata da un numero limitato di testimoni (nemmeno un decimo di quelli che ci sono attualmente conosciuti), utilizzati per dare «un texte majoritaire»²⁰. Senza soffermarci sulla bontà di singole lezioni o casi simili, possiamo così osservare (ma solo un'edizione critica del *Metodo* potrà fornire tutti i chiarimenti

¹⁵ Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς λόγος μεταγλωττισθεὶς εἰς κοινωτέραν διάλεκτον, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τεθεὶς εἰς εὐκολωτέραν τῶν ἀπλουστέρων κατάληψιν: *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, Athinai 1974-76⁴, 81-89 = *Συμειῶν τοῦ Νέου Θεολόγου τὰ εὐρίσκόμενα*, Venezia 1790, 364-369 = PG 120, coll. 701-710.

¹⁶ «Namque orat. 3 de oratione, sive attentione, modum orandi suis, ut lumen Dei videant, eoque illustrentur, ita praescribit: Πρὸ πάντων – σὲ διδάξει [Hausherr, *La méthode*, 163, l. 7-165, l. 17]», *De Symeonum scriptis diatriba*, Parisiis 1644, 176.

¹⁷ Le righe «Καθίσας – ἔμπλεον» (Hausherr, *La méthode*, 164, l. 6-165, l. 6), ivi, e anche in *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis et Orientalis perpetua consensione*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1648, 829. Per il florilegio dello ieromonaco Nifone cfr. A. Rigo, «L'Epistola a Menas di Gregorio Palamas e gli effetti dell'orazione», *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 9 (1988) 59-60.

¹⁸ *Bibliothecae graecorum patrum auctarium novissimum*, II, Parisiis 1672, 129.

¹⁹ *La méthode*, 111.

²⁰ Ivi, 149.

necessari) che dal testo pubblicato sulla base di un campione così ristretto (e casuale) di codici non ci si rende conto che la tradizione manoscritta del *Metodo* si divide in due rami²¹, i cui testimoni più autorevoli sono per **a** l'Athos Xenoph. 36 (738) (a. 1313/4)²² e per **b** l'Oxford Canon. Gr. 16 (inizi del XIV secolo)²³.

I. Hausherr, pubblicando questo testo, dimostra in modo definitivo come l'attribuzione tradizionale a Simeone il Nuovo Teologo non sia sostenibile²⁴. In verità, dubbi sulla paternità del *Metodo* circolavano da molto tempo. Se già Antonio Possevino (1608) appariva incerto circa questa attribuzione²⁵, qualche decennio dopo François Combeffis (1672) citando il passo «tecnico», scriveva: così dice Simeone, se ammettiamo che il *Metodo* sia veramente suo, infatti «potuerint aemuli, quos tantos Symeon passus est, hoc illi affingere, ut est facile, unum aliquem ejusmodi tractatum, vel sermonem, vel epistolam, non tantae molis aut industriae, vel ejus infamandi causa, vel capturan-dae auctoritatis, alteri subdere. Hinc innumera illa ἐπιγραφομένων se-ges et ψευδοεπιγράφων apud Graecos pariter et Latinos»²⁶. Tra il finire del XIX e gli inizi del XX secolo lo scetticismo sull'autenticità simeoniana dell'opuscolo sull'orazione era diffuso, ma mancavano giudizi definitivi sulla questione²⁷. Karl Holl (1898) era stato molto reciso quando aveva scritto: «die Rede Περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ προσοχῆς (...) ist sicher unecht», ma faceva seguire questa affermazione da veloci considerazioni sulle differenze di idee e di stile tra le opere autentiche di Simeone e il frammento del *Metodo* pubblicato da Leone Allacci²⁸. I. Hausherr invece, sulla base dell'intero opuscolo, dimostrava in modo

²¹ I. H., conoscendo solo il Vatic. Gr. 710 (B) quale testimone del ramo **b**, risolve la questione ponendo un lungo passo in apparato (ivi, 66, l. 33 app., 67, l. 5 app.)

²² Sul codice cfr. Sp. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II, Cambridge 1900, 64-65; per la data v. P. Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique, Sur les pensées*, (= SC 438), Paris 1998, 63. Il passo in questione è a p. 564.

²³ Sul codice cfr. A. Guillaumont & C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou le moine*, I-II, (= SC 171), Paris 1971, 226-230; Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique*, 60. Il passo in questione è ai ff. 93^r-94^v.

²⁴ *La méthode*, 111-118.

²⁵ «(...) scripsisse porro dicitur Simeon hic iunior, De tribus modis orandis», *Apparatus sacer*, II, Coloniae Agrippinae 1608, 406; Johannes Pontanus, *Symeonis Iunioris opuscula*, Ingolstadt 1603 ricordava invece di non aver trovato il trattato sull'orazione «in Bavaricis codicibus».

²⁶ *Bibliothecae graecorum patrum auctarium novissimum*, 129.

²⁷ Cfr. a esempio J. Stein, *Studien über die Hesychasten des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Wien 1873, 10-11; G. Papamichail, 'Ο ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς, Alexandria 1911, 59.

²⁸ *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt*, 35, 217-218.

definitivo come l'attribuzione dell'opera a Simeone dovesse essere rigettata.

Già in questo volume, I. Hausherr formula un'ipotesi²⁹, che qualche anno dopo con l'articolo *Note sur l'inventeur de la méthode d'oraison hésychaste* (1930)³⁰ trasformerà in «certezza», secondo la quale l'autore del trattato sulla preghiera sarebbe il monaco athonita Niceforo (seconda metà del XIII secolo) e il *Metodo* la prima redazione dell'operetta sulla custodia del cuore edita dalla *Filocalia* sotto il nome di Niceforo. Questa tesi poggiava su due argomenti, l'uno d'ordine contenutistico (somiglianza del passaggio «tecnico» del *Metodo* e del trattato di Niceforo), l'altro ricavato dalle testimonianze di alcuni codici. Questa ipotesi, contestata subito (1931) dall'assunzionista Martin Jugie³¹, è stata ripresa dalla maggior parte degli studiosi fino a tempi recenti. Lo stesso I. Hausherr riproporrà in alcune opere la tesi di Niceforo «inventore» del metodo di orazione³², mentre in altre si mostrerà più incerto circa la fondatezza di questa tesi³³. Un esame degli elementi interni ai testi e, soprattutto, dei dati forniti dalla tradizione manoscritta rende questa ipotesi di fatto insostenibile³⁴.

Il volume *La méthode d'oraison* fu all'origine non solo di discussioni di tipo filologico e letterario sul testo, ma soprattutto di una lunga disputa sulla valutazione e l'importanza da accordare alle tecniche di preghiera. Al momento della pubblicazione del *Metodo*, sull'opera e l'autore pesavano ancora in qualche misura giudizi antichi. Leone Allacci, trattando dell'«eresia degli omfalopsichici e messaliani», aveva scritto:

²⁹ *La méthode*, 129-134.

³⁰ OC 20 (1930) 179-182.

³¹ «Les origines de la méthode d'oraison des hésychastes», EO 30 (1931) 179-185. Su M. Jugie cfr. V. Laurent, «L'œuvre scientifique du R. P. Martin Jugie», REB 11 (1953) 7-18; A. Failler, «Jugie Martin», LTK³ 5 (1996), col. 1071.

³² E. g. *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison*, (=OCA 178), Roma 1960, 269-276; «La krypte melete des moines», in *XII^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines — Ohrid 1961, Résumés des communications*, Beograd 1961, 47.

³³ Cfr. a es. «Les Exercices Spirituels de saint Ignace et la méthode d'oraison hésychastique», OCP 20 (1954) 17 e n. 1.

³⁴ Cfr. la discussione in A. Rigo, «Niceforo l'esicasta (XIII sec.): alcune considerazioni sulla vita e sull'opera», in *Amore del bello, studi sulla Filocalia. Atti del «Simposio Internazionale sulla Filocalia»*, Magnano 1991, 87-95.

Verumtamen similium errorum ac haeresum fons et origo fuit iste Symeon. (...) Namque orat. 3 de oratione, sive attentione, modum orandi suis, ut lumen Dei videant; eoque illustrentur, ita praescribit³⁵.

Un giudizio simile era stato espresso da François Combefis:

Quod vero sequitur plenum ineptiae est, cum pari impietate. (...) Haec sic affectata ac ridicula, ipsa se fatuae mentis deliria produnt, et quibus malus spiritus illudat, non ipse bonus Spiritus cor hominis impleat³⁶.

In tempi più vicini, l'atteggiamento di molti era ben sintetizzato dalle parole di Constantin Jireček (1876):

Verso la metà del XIV secolo si sviluppò sull'Athos un misticismo di tipo particolare. I suoi seguaci, i cosiddetti esicasti, si sprofondavano in oscure celle claustrali nella contemplazione del loro ombelico, finché immaginavano di scorgere attorno a esso una luce soprannaturale, che li riempiva di beatitudine celeste. Da questo vaneggiamento nacquero furibonde tempeste teologiche, concili, anatemi³⁷.

Rispetto a questi precedenti, i giudizi di I. Hausherr appaiono leggermente più sfumati:

En résumé, donc, deux exercices composent la méthode, la recherche du 'lieu du cœur' — qui a valu aux hésychastes le nom d'omphalopsychiques' — et la répétition ininterrompue de la 'prière de Jésus'. Moyennant quoi on arrivera à voir 'ce qu'on ne savait pas', c'est-à-dire, en termes théologiques, selon Palamas la 'lumière du Thabor'³⁸.

Se da un lato egli parla poi di «méthode rapide et scientifique»³⁹, egli usa anche, senza dubbio condizionato dallo stile personale («puerilité invraisemblable», «Eldorado mystique», ecc.)⁴⁰ e dal clima dell'epoca,

³⁵ *De Symeonum scripta*, 176.

³⁶ *Bibliothecae graecorum patrum auctarium novissimum*, 129.

³⁷ *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Praha 1876, 310-311; cfr. anche e. g. Stein, *Studien über die Hesychasten*, 10-11; J. Bois, "Les hésychastes avant le XIV^e siècle", EO 5 (1901) 1; R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Gregoras*, Paris 1926, 23-24.

³⁸ *La méthode*, 111.

³⁹ Ivi, 127; v. anche *Un grand mystique byzantin*, XII; "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale", OCP 1 (1935) 124 (des méthodes savantes, pour abréger les longueurs de la voie ascétique), ecc.

⁴⁰ *La méthode*, 101 n. 1, 125.

termini più crudi: tutti gli elementi presenti nel *Metodo* «s'en retrouvent chez les sinaïtes, mais sous forme de comparaisons; les hésychastes ont pris ces figures à la lettre et les ont matérialisées grossièrement (...). Quelles influences ont amené les hésychastes à prendre toute cette poésie pour une réalité? D'aucuns y soupçonnent une infiltration hindoue. Peut-être l'humaine bêtise suffit-elle à tout expliquer»⁴¹. Al di là di questi fuochi d'artificio verbali, rivelatori forse della sua idea di trovarsi effettivamente di fronte a un «metodo certo e scientifico», ci sembra che alcune parole pronunziate qualche anno dopo (1934) contengano meglio di tante altre la sua valutazione definitiva delle tecniche per l'orazione:

Pour étrangers que paraissent ces procédés — appelés par leurs adeptes même physiques et scientifiques — ils ne sont pas en tout la propriété exclusive des orientaux [allusione evidente agli esercizi ignaziani!], et sans doute le théologien averti ne niera pas à priori leur légitimité; il exigera seulement de ne pas leur attribuer une efficacité infaillible, au point surtout d'espérer atteindre par eux la contemplation divine sans passer par tous les renoncements et toutes les purifications ascétiques. Les initiateurs du mouvement hésychaste étaient trop au fait de la tradition pour tomber dans cette erreur⁴².

Il giudizio qui espresso, ovvero la legittimità dal punto di vista teologico dei metodi di preghiera, distingue nettamente la posizione di I. Hausherr da quella dei suoi insigni predecessori e anche da quella assunta allora da Martin Jugie. Quest'ultimo, dopo aver parlato del «bizarre procédé physique employé par les hésychastes», concludeva con considerazioni molto severe:

La fausse mystique a commencé à pénétrer dans le monachisme byzantin à l'époque où le schisme était virtuellement accompli, c'est-à-dire pendant la période qui va de Photius à Michel Cérulaire. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'erreur ait été générale, mais elle existait à l'état endémique parmi cette catégories de moines qu'on appelait les hésychastes⁴³.

Questi giudizi sui metodi di preghiera suscitarono una reazione da parte ortodossa, in particolare perché si ritenne che la loro importanza per la vita spirituale era stata troppo enfatizzata. Il primo a intervenire nel 1936 fu il monaco athonita Vassilij (Krivocheine) di Ha-

⁴¹ Ivi, 146.

⁴² "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale", 133.

⁴³ "Les origines de la méthode d'oraison des hésychastes", 184-185.

ghiou Panteleimonos, futuro arcivescovo ed editore di Simeone il Nuovo Teologo⁴⁴. Al di là di alcune osservazioni di carattere più generale⁴⁵, egli fissava l'attenzione sul metodo d'orazione. Sbaglia chi, come I. Hausherr e M. Jugie, vedono «in the mental prayer of the hesychasts an attempt to find an easy way to salvation, a desire to evade the labours of a life of virtue and, so to speak, to reach 'cheaply and mechanically' a state of mystical 'enthusiasm'»⁴⁶. E ancora Hausherr commette un errore perché

he often identifies the essence of mental prayer with its auxiliary methods (...). The attainment of higher spiritual states appears to Hausherr (in his interpretation of 'hesychastic prayer') as a necessary result ('on finira par trouver') of a stubborn persistence in methods of prayer, and not as the fruit of interior union of man with God and the free action of divine grace, as was in reality taught by all those who practised mental prayer. (...) Jugie, Hausherr and others arrive at the conclusion that the hesychasts wished to replace the hard way of keeping the commandments by an 'easy, mechanical' performance of prayer⁴⁷.

La replica di I. Hausherr dell'anno successivo (1937), con la quale intendeva «convaincre le P. Basile qu'il a eu tort de voir en nous des ennemis des méthodes comme telles» e si dichiarava in sostanza d'accordo con le osservazioni sul metodo del monaco aghiorita⁴⁸, non pose fine alla *querelle*, che vide di lì a poco (1944) il duro intervento del teologo russo della diaspora parigina, Vladimir Lossky († 1958)⁴⁹. Nel suo, oggi celebre, studio sulla teologia mistica della Chiesa d'Oriente scriveva infatti:

L'Esicismo è conosciuto in Occidente principalmente grazie alle opere dei Padri Jugie e Hausherr, autori molto eruditi, ma che purtroppo danno prova di uno strano zelo nel denigrare l'oggetto dei loro studi. Ferman-dosi soprattutto sulla tecnica esteriore dell'orazione spirituale, questi cri-

⁴⁴ "Asketičeskoe i bogoslovskoe učenje sv. Gregorija Palamy", *Seminarium Kondakiovianum* 8 (1936) 99-154, trad. ingl., "The ascetic and the theological teaching of Gregory Palamas", *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* 3 (1938) rist. London 1954 (per ragioni di comodità utilizziamo questa edizione). Su V. K. cfr. in primo luogo E. Voordeckers, "In memoriam Basile Krivochéine", *Byz* 56 (1986) 5-15.

⁴⁵ V. così la discussione sulla spiritualità cenobitica ed eremitica (ivi, n. 2).

⁴⁶ Ivi, 8 e n. 41.

⁴⁷ Ivi, nn. 52-53.

⁴⁸ "À propos de spiritualité hésychaste: controverses sans contradictoire", *OCP* 3 (1937) 260-272.

⁴⁹ Sul quale cfr. T. Špidlík, "Lossky Vladimir", *LTK*³, t. 6 (1997), col. 1061.

tici moderni s'applicano nei loro scritti a ridicolizzare una pratica di vita spirituale che è loro estranea. Essi rappresentano gli esicasti come monaci ignoranti e grossolanamente materialisti, i quali pensano che l'anima risieda nell'ombelico e che la nostra respirazione contenga lo Spirito di Dio; si dovrebbe quindi trattenere il fiato e fissare lo sguardo sull'ombelico, ripetendo senza posa le stesse parole, per cadere nello stato estatico. Sarebbe, insomma, un procedimento puramente meccanico per provocare un certo stato spirituale⁵⁰.

L'accusa a I. Hausherr di ridicolizzare i metodi d'orazione e, soprattutto, quella di confondere una tecnica esteriore con la stessa preghiera interiore sarà ripresa negli stessi circoli parigini (come quello di «Dieu vivant»), e poi da diversi autori ortodossi in particolar modo nel corso degli anni '50⁵¹. Tra tutti menzioniamo Lev Gillet⁵², autore sotto lo pseudonimo «Un monaco della Chiesa d'Oriente» di un fortunato libriccino sulla Preghiera di Gesù (1951). Egli raccomandava che

il importe de dissocier nettement la prière de Jésus de toute technique psycho-physiologique. L'invocation du nom de Jésus se suffit à elle-même (...). Ces choses sembleraient aller de soi. Cependant ceux-là même des théologiens latins qui ont lu le plus de textes relatifs à la prière de Jésus commettent à son égard d'étranges méprises⁵³.

A partire dagli anni '60, le discussioni si sono via via affievolite, o hanno mutato radicalmente di prospettiva, sia per un consenso di massima raggiunto dalle parti, sia per il mutamento dei tempi legato alla stagione conciliare⁵⁴. A questo cambiamento contribuì anche l'interesse dimostrato, nell'immediato dopoguerra, dagli storici delle religioni per gli aspetti più tecnici dei metodi, in comparazione con pra-

⁵⁰ *Théologie mystique de l'Église d'Orient*, Paris 1944, 207; cfr. anche "La théologie de la lumière chez saint Grégoire de Thessalonique", *Dieu vivant* 1 (1945) 97 e n. 2.

⁵¹ Cfr. E. Behr-Sigel, "La prière à Jésus ou le mystère de la spiritualité monastique orthodoxe", *Dieu vivant* 8 (1947) 70, 81.

⁵² Sul quale cfr. E. Behr-Sigel, *Lev Gillet, "un moine de l'Église d'Orient"*, Paris 1993.

⁵³ Un moine de l'Église d'Orient, *La prière de Jésus*, Chevetogne 1951, 72-73. Su questo contributo e altre pubblicazioni contemporanee interviene di lì a poco I. Hausherr, "Variations récentes dans les jugements sur la méthode d'oraison des hésychastes", *OCP* 19 (1953) 424-428.

⁵⁴ Ma già anni prima J. Gouillard, *Petite philocalie de la prière du cœur*, (= Documents spirituels 5), Paris 1953, 23 poteva scrivere che «les temps ont changé».

tiche analoghe conosciute in altri ambienti religiosi⁵⁵. Negli ultimi decenni è molto raro, anche se non impossibile⁵⁶, imbattersi in nuovi tentativi di riutilizzare i vecchi argomenti polemici.

2. DALLA SCUOLA SINAITICA ALLE GRANDI CORRENTI DELLA SPIRITUALITÀ ORIENTALE

Ritorniamo ora al punto di partenza, il libro *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste* del 1927, per trattare alcuni problemi più generali che interessano l'intera spiritualità bizantina. I. Hausherr vi proponeva infatti il primo di tanti termini destinati a diventare di uso comune negli studi sulla storia della letteratura ascetico-spirituale bizantina, l'espressione «scuola sinaitica», o «spiritualità sinaitica». Egli mostrava che il *Metodo* dipendeva da alcuni autori legati al Monte Sinai, Giovanni Climaco, Esichio e Filoteo Sinaita, e che nelle loro opere si ritrovano una dottrina e un vocabolario simili. Questo fatto lo condusse a parlare di una vera e propria corrente, «la spiritualité sinaïte», rappresentata appunto dai tre autori appena menzionati⁵⁷.

In seguito, altri studiosi hanno utilizzato il termine «scuola sinaitica», coniato in quell'occasione da padre Hausherr. Così si è visto in questa scuola un momento preciso dell'evoluzione storica della spiritualità bizantina, indicata grosso modo in tre tappe successive: periodo antico (Egitto, Palestina) — Sinai — Athos. In questo senso scrive, a esempio, Pierre Adnès in una schematica definizione di Esicasmò:

⁵⁵ Per limitarci al periodo che qui ci interessa cfr. M. Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga*, Paris 1948, 252-254; Id., *Le Yoga. Immortalité et liberté*, Paris 1954, 75-78; L. Gardet (= Frère André), "La mention du Nom divin dans la mystique musulmane", *Revue Thomiste* 52 (1972) 642-679; 53 (1953) 197-216 ripreso in G. C. Anawati, L. Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, Paris 1961, 1976², 77-258; A. Bloom, "Contemplation et ascèse. Contribution orthodoxe", in *Technique et contemplation* (= Études carmélitaines 28/3), Paris 1949, 54-56; Id., "L'hésychasme: Yoga chrétien", in *Yoga, science de l'homme intégral*, a c. di P. Masui, Paris 1953, 177-195; v. anche Gouillard, *Petite philocalie*; in generale, per un primo orientamento nella bibliografia di quel decennio, A. Zigmund-Cerbu, "Lumières nouvelles sur le Yoga et l'hésychasme", *Acta philosophica et theologica* 2 (1964) 503-524. Sugli ambienti «tradizionalisti» v. le indicazioni sparse in E. Montanari, "Esicasmò e Sufismo", *Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 68 (2002) 71-162. [Ora anche in *La fatica del cuore. Saggio sull'ascesi esicasta*, Milano 2003, 81-179].

⁵⁶ Così D. Balfour, *Saint Gregory the Sinaïte: Discourse on the Transfiguration*, Athinaï 1982, 141 parlando del *Metodo* scrive: «Not that there is really anything in it that could rightly shock Varlaam in the 14th century or Hausherr in the 20th».

⁵⁷ *La méthode*, 134-148.

Système particulier de spiritualité si ancien qu'il coïncide avec les origines mêmes du monachisme oriental, jusqu'il se trouve déjà nettement attesté dans les *Apophtegmes* et les vies des Pères du désert, qu'il est recommandé par de nombreux auteurs spirituels de l'époque patristique, et qu'il a atteint sa description la plus complète dans l'école dite sinaïtique des 6^e et 7^e siècles, avec Jean Climaque et Hésychius de Batos⁵⁸.

Altri studiosi si sono mossi invece in una prospettiva diversa, priva di preoccupazioni d'ordine cronologico e geografico. Il già citato monaco della Chiesa d'Oriente (Lev Gillet) scriveva che

Quand nous parlons de spiritualité sinaïte, il ne faut pas concevoir celle-ci comme étroitement localisée; il s'agit de la spiritualité dont le monachisme du Sinai sera le foyer et l'exemple, il s'agit d'un courant de pensée et d'une tendance commune, mais sans lien géographique nécessaire avec la péninsule.

A partire da queste parole, egli comprendeva nella scuola sinaïta Diadoco di Fotice, Barsanufio di Gaza e Giovanni il Profeta, Giovanni Climaco («un Sinaïte au sens géographique du mot»), Esichio il Sinaïta, Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e Niceta Stethatos⁵⁹. In questa stessa posizione, agli inizi degli anni '60, si collocava E. J. Ryan. Dal momento che, a suo avviso, «the Sinaïte spirituality must not be identified with the region itself, it is distinguished rather by a certain emphasis and ethos than by affiliation with any locality», egli presentava una panoramica che inizia con Diadoco di Fotice (seconda metà del V secolo) e giunge sino a Gregorio il Sinaïta († 1347 ca.)⁶⁰. Questa scuola spirituale sinaïtica, l'Esicasmo del Sinai, avrebbe poi, secondo Fairy von Lilienfeld, influenzato profondamente gli ambienti religiosi greci (con Nilo Damilas) e russi (con Nil Sorskij) tra la fine del XIV e il XV secolo, traducendosi in un «Rückkehr zur Lebensweise der 'Väter der Wüste'», nella ripresa dei classici della spiritualità monastica, gli autori monastici del V-VIII secolo, Doroteo, Giovanni Climaco, Massimo, Isacco il Siro, ecc.⁶¹.

⁵⁸ "Hésychasme", DSp 7 (1968), col. 382.

⁵⁹ *La prière de Jésus*, 20. Già Hausherr, *La méthode*, 135 n. 1 annoverava tra i sinaïti Diadoco di Fotice.

⁶⁰ "The Invocation of the Divine Name in Sinaïte Spirituality", *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* 14 (1961-2) 241-249; 291-299.

⁶¹ "Der athonitische Hesychasmus des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts im Lichte der zeitgenössischen russischen Quellen", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 6 (1958) 444-445; "Das Typikon des Neilos Damilas. Ein Zeugnis des gemässigten «sinaïtischen Hesychasmus»", in *Byzantinische Beiträge*, hrsg. von J. Irmscher, Berlin 1964, 359-372.

Bisogna confessare che da questo veloce sguardo sulla fortuna del termine introdotto da I. Hausherr negli studi sulla spiritualità bizantina emergono non poche perplessità sul suo uso così massiccio, ma allo stesso tempo così disinvolto. Nell'espressione «scuola sinaitica» si sono sovrapposti differenti significati. Il termine indica troppe realtà allo stesso momento: geografiche, storico-cronologiche e contenutistiche. Non si può ammettere un suo allargamento indebito a un corpo di autori che viene ad abbracciare la maggior parte della letteratura monastica bizantina (dagli Apoftegmi, in pratica, a Gregorio il Sinaita), con opere e figure delle più svariate tendenze. Ma le difficoltà non finiscono qui. L'uso cronologico del termine per un periodo che va dalla metà del VII secolo (Giovanni Climaco) all'XI secolo (*terminus ante* di Filoteo il Sinaita) non ci sembra di particolare utilità perché copre un periodo troppo ampio, durante il quale furono scritte molte opere ascetico-spirituali di diverso genere (Anastasio il Sinaita, Massimo il Confessore, Talassio, Giovanni di Karpathos, Elia Ekdikos, Basilio Maleinos, Simeone di Euchaita, Simeone Studita, Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, e tante narrazioni edificanti, prima fra tutte quella dell'abba Filemone, ecc.) e altre, importantissime (Pseudo-Macario, Isacco il Siro), vennero diffuse o tradotte.

Appare opportuno ritornare alla triade originaria di padre Hausherr, Giovanni Climaco, Esichio di Batos, Filoteo il Sinaita, evitando di caricarla con significati particolari⁶². In altre parole, questi autori sono sinaiti perché condussero la loro vita monastica sul Sinai e un rapporto diretto tra i loro testi è indubitabile, ed è altresì rispecchiato dal vocabolario, dallo stile, ecc. Considerazioni di stile, di accento o di tono non possono però servire da discriminante. Ritenere che una particolare carica affettiva sia tipicamente «sinaita» fa dimenticare intere pagine della letteratura spirituale bizantina, delle quali il *Canone al dolcissimo Gesù* di Teoctisto lo Studita è l'esempio più significativo. Infatti, l'uso di questi criteri conduce spesso a esiti contraddittori: così, è stato scritto che l'insistenza sulla *nepsis* di Esichio di Batos è un tratto caratteristico della scuola sinaita, e allo stesso tempo si è detto che questo elemento fa di Esichio un autore per molti versi «athonita», ecc... Non dobbiamo dimenticare che i testi dei tre autori «sinaiti» presentano anche delle grandi differenze: mentre Climaco con la sua *Scala* scrive un'opera destinata non solo agli eremiti, ma anche a chi vive nell'ubbidienza nei grandi monasteri, toccando diversi temi e momenti della vita spirituale (cosa che spiega il grande

⁶² In questo senso I. H. l'utilizzerà ancora quando vedrà nei sinaiti dei semplici «transmetteurs» della spiritualità evagriana, *Noms du Christ et votes d'oraison*, 248.

successo di Climaco tra i secolari), le centurie di Esichio e di Filoteo sono principalmente rivolte al monaco che vive nella solitudine.

Possiamo aggiungere che l'ambiguità della nozione «scuola sinaitica» era probabilmente congenita, dal momento che I. Hausherr, sempre nel suo libro del 1927, utilizzava il termine sia in un senso letterale, per indicare gli autori appena ricordati, sia in un senso metaforico per illustrare una tendenza più ampia della spiritualità bizantina. Egli scriveva infatti:

le mot de 'spiritualité sinaïte' vient naturellement à l'esprit par comparaison surtout avec la tendance qu'on pourrait appeler basilienne ou studite. Celle-ci plus volontaire, plus attachée au βίος πρακτικός, celle-là pénétrée surtout de l'impuissance humaine par rapport à la perfection, et par suite concentrant tous ses efforts sur l'oraison, en vue de laquelle s'organise toute la vie spirituelle. (...) Quand je parle ici de partisans de la 'spiritualité sinaïte', je ne prétends point exclusivement désigner les mystiques qui ont vécu au Sinaï, mais plutôt ceux qui ont prôné de façon particulière le θεωρητικὸς βίος et dont les principaux sont des sinaïtes⁶³.

La conferma che I. Hausherr impiegasse nel 1927 il termine «scuola sinaitica» per indicare quanto in seguito indicherà come spiritualità intellettualistica o evagriana ci deriva dalle righe di qualche pagina dopo, quando diceva che gli scritti *Sui pensieri* e *Sull'orazione* di Nilo/Evagrio, «appartiennent certainement par leur tendance à la famille spirituelle que l'on peut appeler sinaïte»⁶⁴.

Questa suddivisione in due correnti, l'una legata all'ascesi, all'ubbidienza, alla *praxis*, la «scuola basiliano-studita», l'altra caratterizzata dalla contemplazione, dalla preghiera, dalla *theoria*, la «scuola sinaita», semplice riproposta della canonica differenza tra ascetica e mistica, è il primo tentativo nell'opera di I. Hausherr di individuare i filoni principali della spiritualità bizantina.

Partendo da questa bipartizione egli elaborerà di lì a qualche anno uno schema più articolato che si concretizzerà nella conferenza tenuta al Pontificio Istituto Orientale nel marzo 1934 (poi pubblicata l'anno successivo), intitolata *Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale*⁶⁵. L'analisi dei filoni e «scuole» di spiritualità seguiva, a suo

⁶³ *La méthode*, 135 e n. 1; cfr. anche quando, per Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, parla dell'«heurt de deux spiritualités, le conflit entre l'école ascétique basilienne et studite et les doctrines mystiques prises en partie aux sinaïtes, en partie tirées de ses propres lumières par l'higoumène de Saint-Mamas» (ivi, 125).

⁶⁴ Ivi, 143 n. 1.

⁶⁵ Cfr. supra n. 39.

dire, dei criteri d'ordine interno: il fine della vita spirituale secondo i diversi autori e i mezzi da loro indicati. Nonostante questo assunto preliminare, egli introduceva però nella sua panoramica alcune suddivisioni d'ordine cronologico e storico, quando poneva, all'inizio e alla fine, la spiritualità degli «anciens» e quella degli esicasti del Medio Evo bizantino. Egli distingueva cinque grandi correnti:

- I. «Spiritualité primitive»⁶⁶, che andava dall'età apostolica a Efrem. «Pour tous ces anciens, l'homme est avant tout une volonté libre, capable d'aimer et de se sacrifier pour son amour. Dans la charité donc et dans l'abnégation qui la prouve, consistera pour eux toute la perfection humaine».
- II. «Spiritualité intellectualiste»⁶⁷, d'origine alessandrina (Clemente, Origene) che prende il posto occupato in precedenza dalla «scuola sinaitica». I suoi rappresentanti principali sono Evagrio, Massimo il Confessore, Giovanni Climaco, Esichio di Batos, Filoteo il Sinaita, Niceta Stethatos, Gregorio il Sinaita «et ses héritiers les hésychastes». Egli osserva al riguardo: «il y aura des variations au cours des siècles (...); une chose ne variera jamais: la persuasion que la perfection coïncide avec la contemplation. En dernière analyse nous retrouvons toujours l'intellectualisme hellénique: l'homme est une intelligence. (...) L'aspiration à la vie contemplative produira toujours une invincible hantise d'anachorétisme».
- III. «École du sentiment ou du surnaturel conscient»⁶⁸, sostenitrice, a differenza della spiritualità intellettualistica, della «possibilité d'apparitions et en général d'une perception expérimentale du surnaturel». I suoi rappresentanti più significativi sono lo Pseudo-Macario, Diadoco di Fotice, Simeone il Nuovo Teologo. «À l'état pur cette doctrine ne se trouve que chez les messaliens, mais beaucoup d'auteurs, dont certains tout à fait orthodoxes comme Diadoque, en tiennent à des degrés divers».
- IV. «Μαρτύριον τῆς ὑποταγῆς»⁶⁹, o «scuola basiliano-studita», secondo la nomenclatura precedente, che tende alla salvezza «par les vertus pratiques», consiste sull'«abnégation de soi, surtout par l'obéissance et par la charité fraternelle». Appartengono a questo filone

⁶⁶ "Les grands courants", 116-121.

⁶⁷ Ivi, 121-124.

⁶⁸ Ivi, 126-128.

⁶⁹ Ivi, 129-132.

Basilio di Cesarea, Barsanufio e Doroteo di Gaza, Teodoro Studita.

- V. «Spiritualité hésychaste»⁷⁰, per la quale I. Hausherr fa l'esempio di Gregorio il Sinaita. Questo filone insiste sulla preghiera, spesso accompagnata da tecniche psicofisiche, che diventa «le centre de tout». Nella spiritualità esicasta si riconoscono ascendenze diverse, in primo luogo quella della scuola intellettualistica integrata con la mistica del cuore, propria della «scuola del sentimento»⁷¹.

Il quadro che emerge da questa panoramica appare abbastanza chiaro. Lasciando da parte la spiritualità primitiva, che rimane al di fuori del nostro orizzonte, vediamo infatti che qui continua a valere la bipartizione generale tra spiritualità di tipo contemplativo e quella di tipo ascetico, ognuna con caratteristiche proprie e ben differenti da quelle dell'altra⁷². All'interno della tendenza più contemplativa, I. Hausherr fa intervenire un'ulteriore suddivisione in due filoni, spiritualità intellettualistica evagriana e scuola del sentimento (Pseudo-Macario e i suoi eredi). L'Esicasmo tardo-bizantino, infine, rappresenterebbe l'incontro tra questi due ultimi filoni.

Questa lettura dell'intera spiritualità bizantina ha avuto una grande fortuna. Il quadro generale della spiritualità monastica bizantina sino a oggi comunemente accettato, e sempre riproposto, riposa in ultima analisi su queste conclusioni della conferenza di I. Hausherr, come vennero riprese e riformulate qualche decennio dopo da un secondo studioso. Il nuovo schema, oggi applicato alle diverse epoche, tendenze e scuole di spiritualità, è stato suggerito da John Meyendorff († 1992)⁷³. In numerosi contributi quest'ultimo ha sempre rappresentato una lettura bipolare della spiritualità bizantina: da una parte, lo «spiritualismo neoplatonico», la «mistica intellettualistica», basate su un'antropologia platonica, proprie di Evagrio Pontico, e, dall'altra, il «polo opposto», il «correttivo», rappresentato da un'antropologia «semitica» e biblica sostenuta dallo Pseudo-Macario. Alla luce di que-

⁷⁰ Ivi, 132-137.

⁷¹ Egli aggiunge poi: «mais surtout l'hésychasme se rattache, comme l'indique le titre même de la *Philocalie*, aux Pères 'neptiques'» (134). Sul concetto di Padri «neptici» e alcuni problemi connessi ci ripromettiamo di ritornare altrove.

⁷² Come I. H. ribadiva di lì a qualche anno, «À propos de spiritualité hésychaste: controverses sans contradicteur», 262-263.

⁷³ Sul quale cfr. E. Farrugia, «Meyendorff John», LTK³ 7 (1998), col. 223; J. H. Erickson, «John Meyendorff (1976-1992)», in *Pioneers of Byzantine Studies in America*, ed. by J. W. Barker = *Byzantinische Forschungen* 27 (2002) 197-206.

sto schema egli leggeva l'intero sviluppo della spiritualità dal V al XV secolo: «Ces deux anthropologies sont latentes dans l'histoire de l'hésychasme et les auteurs peuvent être classés *grosso modo* en disciples d'Evagre et disciples de Macaire». E ancora: «Evagre et Macaire ont défini tous les éléments essentiels de la tradition spirituelle ultérieure des moines orientaux»⁷⁴. Quale terzo momento unificante compariva poi, nel quadro offerto da Meyendorff, l'integrazione in senso teologico e liturgico della spiritualità bizantina con l'opera di Gregorio Palamas.

Un riesame della legittimità o meno dello schema bipolare Evagrio/Pseudo-Macario quale chiave interpretativa complessiva della vicenda millenaria della spiritualità orientale e delle sue testimonianze letterarie deve partire, come abbiamo già osservato⁷⁵, dalla verifica del quadro generale proposto da I. Hausherr nella sua conferenza del 1934.

Iniziamo da una questione in apparenza marginale, ma non priva di peso. Nelle pagine di I. Hausherr c'era un grande assente, lo Pseudo-Dionigi l'Areopagita. Scelta voluta, e non semplice dimenticanza. Egli infatti accennava a questo autore, facendo alcune considerazioni che risulteranno decisive per il seguito delle ricerche:

Je n'ai point nommé Denys dans tout cela (...). Si étonnant que cela vous doive paraître, Denys a eu en Orient une influence bien moindre qu'en Occident. Pour tout dire: il n'y a guère fait école, moins encore chez les Grecs que chez les Syriens (...). Denys est venu trop tard, à une époque où déjà la doctrine mystique orientale avait reçu sa forme classique; à une époque aussi où il ne se trouvait plus personne qui fût capable de vulgariser ses théories abstruses exposées en un style trop obscur (...). Denys est resté un auteur mystique, inconnu ou incompris de la plupart; son authenticité même a été contestée plus longtemps que chez nous; jamais il n'est devenu le docteur mystique, comme en Occident⁷⁶.

Siamo convinti che queste parole non convincessero fino in fondo lo stesso padre I. Hausherr, attento anche ad altre questioni connesse

⁷⁴ *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, (= Patristica Sorbonensia 3), Paris 1959, 195-200; cfr. anche e.g. *Saint Grégoire Palamas et la mystique orthodoxe*, Paris 1959, 18-24, 29; *Byzantine Theology*, New York 1979², tr. it. (= Dabar, 9), Casale Monferrato 1984, 83-86.

⁷⁵ "La spiritualità monastica bizantina e lo Pseudo-Dionigi l'Areopagita", in *Classic Texts and Themes of the Christian Monastic Tradition*. Pontifical Athenaeum of St. Anselm, The Monastic Institute. Fiftieth Anniversary Symposium 28 May - 1 June 2002, a c. di M. Sheridan & M. Bielawski, Roma c. s.

⁷⁶ "Les grands courants", 124-126.

(di qui la sua nota del 1936 su alcuni testi bizantini che esprimevano dubbi circa la paternità dionisiana di questi scritti⁷⁷ e i suoi contributi degli anni '50 sull'identità dell'autore del *corpus* areopagitico)⁷⁸. Egli si riprometteva infatti di ritornare sulla questione con una comunicazione prevista per il Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini del 1939, incontro che poi non ebbe luogo a causa della situazione politica internazionale. Le vicende del periodo bellico, la lontananza da Roma, dalle biblioteche e dalle sue note, gli impedirono di ritornare sulla questione. Così all'inizio del decennio successivo, I. Hausherr propose ancora una volta quanto aveva già detto:

Denys est venu trop tard pour exercer une influence prépondérante sur la théologie spirituelle byzantine, directement ou par l'intermédiaire de saint Maxime. (...) Pour la spiritualité vécue ou destinée immédiatement à la vie, on aimerait à apprendre quels sont les ascètes ou les mystiques orientales qui se soient aidés, ou embarrassés, beaucoup des enseignements spécifiquement dionysiens⁷⁹.

Questo giudizio sulla scarsa, se non inesistente, influenza dello Pseudo-Dionigi sulla spiritualità orientale è stato fatto proprio dagli studiosi successivi, che hanno ripetuto *ad libitum* l'adagio di padre I. Hausherr: Dionigi è comparso troppo tardi, quando le coordinate principali della spiritualità erano già state tracciate...⁸⁰.

Uno studio sulle opere di alcuni autori tra XI e XIV secolo mostra invece il potente influsso dell'opera dello Pseudo-Dionigi nella spiritualità bizantina⁸¹. Il *corpus* dionisiano irrompe nel mondo spirituale con Niceta Stethatos (seconda metà dell'XI secolo), e rimane poi una presenza costante negli scritti ascetico-spirituali del XIV secolo (Gre-

⁷⁷ "Doutes au sujet du «Divin Denys», OCP 2 (1936) 484-490.

⁷⁸ "Le Pseudo-Denys est-il Pierre l'Ibérien?", OCP 19 (1953) 247-260; "Note sur l'auteur du Corpus Dionysianum", OCP 23 (1956) 384-385.

⁷⁹ "La contemplation chez les Grecs et les autres Orientaux chrétiens", *Revue d'Ascétique et Mystique* 26 (1950) 130 = J. Lemaître (I. Hausherr), "Contemplation chez les Grecs et autres Orientaux chrétiens", DSp 2 (1953), coll. 1791-1792;

⁸⁰ E.g. A. Rayez, "Denys l'Areopagite, 4. Influence du pseudo-Denys en Orient", DSp 3 (1964), col. 288; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, (= Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII/2.1), München 1959, 348. Lo Pseudo-Dionigi era guardato anche con un certo sospetto da J. Meyendorff, *Introduction*, 193-194, 282; *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, Washington D.C. 1969, 75-84; Id., *Byzantine Theology*, tr. it. cit., 37-39; P. Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius. A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction of Their Influence*, Oxford 1993, 227 n. 11.

⁸¹ Cfr. le nostre osservazioni in "La spiritualità monastica bizantina e lo Pseudo-Dionigi l'Areopagita", (cit. nt. 75) che qui in parte riassumiamo.

gorio il Sinaita, Gregorio Palamas, Callisto Angelicude, ecc.). Prima di Niceta il suo influsso è indiretto (tramite Massimo il Confessore) o del tutto assente (basti pensare a Giovanni Climaco o a Esichio di Batos e Filoteo il Sinaita). La comparsa effettiva dell'Areopagita nella spiritualità è senz'altro legata al nuovo interesse per il *corpus* che caratterizza l'epoca, ma se ampliamo la prospettiva, osserviamo che quel periodo è un momento che vede la comparsa (o la ricomparsa...) di altre due opere decisive per l'evoluzione successiva, gli scritti di Isacco il Siro e il *corpus* posto sotto il nome di Macario l'Egiziano. In quel momento, vera e propria epoca-cerniera nella storia della spiritualità bizantina, oltre a essere di fatto costituito un nuovo «canone» della letteratura ascetico-spirituale, vengono assunte e recepite nuove tendenze, tematiche e sensibilità. Non è perciò un caso che lo Pseudo-Dionigi inizi proprio allora ad avere un ruolo di un certo rilievo nelle dottrine di tipo spirituale.

Partendo da questo esempio crediamo sia necessario riconsiderare il quadro d'insieme della spiritualità bizantina. Riteniamo infatti che sia necessario indagare sulla fortuna e sull'influsso di altri grandi autori (Isacco il Siro, Pseudo-Macario, lo stesso Giovanni Climaco) e, poi, delineare i filoni e le «scuole» di spiritualità non restando ancorati alla fissità di uno schema interpretativo tutto sommato astorico.

Non crediamo infatti che una lettura di tipo bipolare (Evagrio/Pseudo-Macario) sia di qualche utilità, né, tantomeno, una lettura che veda in un solo autore (Evagrio) l'unica chiave interpretativa e negli autori posteriori soltanto dei «trasmettitori» o degli epigoni. Senz'altro non c'è nulla di più ripetitivo della letteratura ascetico-spirituale bizantina, nella quale è possibile trovare, come ci ricordava Paul Géhin, un Evagrio al secondo, al terzo, quarto, quinto grado di rielaborazione⁸², ma proprio i diversi tipi e momenti di uso, di interpretazione, di amplificazione di uno stesso testo rispecchiano, da un lato, l'evoluzione storica e il succedersi delle diverse epoche e, dall'altro, devono essere l'oggetto dello sforzo ermeneutico dello studioso moderno. L'analisi dei filoni e delle «scuole» non deve tradursi in una visione astorica valida per il V come per il XV secolo, ma deve basarsi su una distinzione tra le diverse fasi e le successive epoche e su una chiara consapevolezza di quali siano i momenti decisivi nello sviluppo storico della spiritualità bizantina.

⁸² «Le filocalie che hanno preceduto la «Filocalia»», in *Nicodemo l'Aghiorita e la Filocalia*. Atti dell'VIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa – Sessione bizantina, a c. di A. Rigo, Magnano 2001, 87.

Il merito di I. Hausherr è stato senza alcun dubbio quello di porre il problema delle «scuole» e dei filoni, di fronte a una tendenza, purtroppo ancora oggi molto presente, che assume in un'unica categoria (Esicismo)⁸³ l'intero sviluppo storico della spiritualità bizantina dai Padri della Chiesa alla *Filocalia*. Il modello proposto, alla luce delle difficoltà appena segnalate, si rivela inadeguato, forse anche perché di tipo genealogico. Meglio sarebbe forse adottare un'altra prospettiva, per la quale utilizziamo immagini ricavate dalla geologia, prospettiva che tiene conto della storia, della trasmissione e della circolazione dei testi, dei molteplici influssi in diverse (e spesso opposte) direzioni. Lo studio dei filoni e delle «scuole» della spiritualità bizantina dovrebbe perciò individuare le successive sedimentazioni su uno stesso substrato, le linee di frattura, i conglomerati, l'affiorare di strati più antichi...

Un approccio di tal genere consentirebbe anche di riesaminare la suddivisione più generale tra vita nell'ubbidienza, l'ascesi, la *praxis*, e la vita contemplativa, di preghiera, la *theoria*. Questa riconsiderazione dovrebbe fondarsi innanzitutto su uno studio degli insegnamenti spirituali nei monasteri cenobiti, realtà che oggi conosciamo bene anche grazie alle recenti ricerche sui *typikà*, e in particolar modo delle catechesi monastiche (da Teodoro Studita, ad Antonio, allo stesso Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, a Paolo dell'Everghetis, a Luca Adialeptos e, giù giù, sino a Teolepto di Filadelfia e oltre), delle corrispondenze e le opere di direzione spirituali per le donne (ancora Teolepto, ma anche Isaia⁸⁴ e altri direttori poco conosciuti)⁸⁵, degli scritti di spiritualità più «popolare» (come Teognosto, ma anche Filippo il Solitario e Melezio il Galesiota). Uno studio di tal genere, oltre a far affiorare i tratti specifici di queste tendenze, che non possono essere semplicemente lette alla luce dei «padri neptici» (per parlare con le parole di Nicodemo l'Aghiorita), mostrerà diversità di accenti e di temi, contemporaneamente alla presenza di elementi comuni, e illu-

⁸³ Sui problemi derivati dall'uso di questo termine (che meriterebbe una riconsiderazione), v., in particolare per il XIV secolo, J. Meyendorff, "L'hésychasme, problèmes de sémantique", in *Mélanges H. Ch. Puech*, Paris 1973, 543-547; Id., "Is «Hesychasm» the Right Word? Remarks on Religious Ideology in the Fourteenth Century", in *OKEANOS. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko in his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, ed. by C. Mango & O. Pritsak = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 447-456.

⁸⁴ Sul quale abbiamo un contributo di I. H., "Le Métérion de l'abbé Isaïe", OCP 12 (1946) 286-301.

⁸⁵ Abbiamo intenzione di ritornare in un'altra sede su queste opere di direzione spirituale.

strerà anche come non sia mai esistita un'opposizione radicale tra l'eremo e il cenobio.

È sempre lo stesso Barsanufio a figurare tra i maestri spirituali di Teodoro Studita e tra i regolatori del regime da seguire nella *skiti* secondo Gregorio il Sinaita. Giovanni Climaco era letto comunitariamente nei grandi monasteri, al medesimo tempo era l'ispiratore di una spiritualità fondata sulla compunzione ed era per gli esicasti il supremo interprete della preghiera e della *hesychia*. E, per ritornare alle figure ricordate all'inizio, dalle quali le ricerche di Irénée Hausherr presero il via, non bisogna mai dimenticare che in fin dei conti Simeone il Nuovo Teologo è sempre stato un monaco studita.

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Antonio Rigo

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The Evolution of Funerals for Monks in the Byzantine Realm: From the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century*

INTRODUCTION

For those familiar with the history of Byzantine worship, the evolution of funeral rites for Byzantine monks constitutes a generally predictable case study.¹ Nonetheless, the present paper is apparently the first of its kind, at least in its scope.² To help the reader negotiate the schemata provided below, allow me to state three conclusions in advance.

1) The history of funeral services for monks demonstrates again the “greater monasticization of ecclesial and liturgical life”³ that occurred during the middle-Byzantine period. A single fact illustrates this succinctly: Whereas Pseudo-Dionysius’ *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* witnesses to burial rites for monks being regulated by the “secular clergy” (the monks being *one* of the categories of Christians for whom a *generic* rite is performed),⁴ by the tenth century it is the monks who

* Abbreviations:

Arranz, *Kak molilis’ Bogu* = Михаил Арранц, *Как молились Богу древние византийцы* (Ленинград 1979).

Christodoulou, Dissertation II = Themistoklis Christodoulou, *L’ufficio funebre nei manoscritti greci dei secoli X-XII* – Tomus 2, Dissertatio ad Doctoratum, 1996.

Christodoulou, Excerpta = Themistoklis Christodoulou, *L’Ufficio Funebre nei manoscritti greci dei secoli X-XII*, Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum, Rome 1996.

Dmitrievskij II = Алексей Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей хранящихся в библиотеках православного востока*, томъ II (Кіевъ 1901).

Velkovska = Elena Velkovska, “Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources,” DOP 55 (2001) 21-51.

¹ This paper was presented in an earlier form at the Conference on Byzantine Monasticisms, Faculty of Theology, Saint Michael’s College in the University of Toronto, March, 2001.

² Velkovska’s superb article focusses on the eleventh and twelfth centuries as regards monastic funerals. Christodoulou’s *L’Ufficio Funebre nei manoscritti greci dei secoli X-XII*, as the title indicates, also provides material for only the first two centuries under consideration. The work is invaluable and, as will be obvious, has been tapped here for material relating to these centuries. My thanks to Prof. Robert Taft, SJ, for providing me with a copy of Christodoulou’s excerpta.

³ Robert Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, MN 1992) 52.

⁴ Günter Heil, Adolf M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum II: De Coelesti Hierarchia, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, De Mystica Theologia, Epistulae*, Patristische Texte und Studien 36 (Berlin – New York 1991) 122-23.

are creating a generic rite with which everyone else — including bishops and children, are to be buried. In fact, our first extant Byzantine funeral office, strictly defined, dates from the tenth century and is found in the monastic manuscript *Cryptoferrata graeca* Γ.β.X. critically analysed by Themistoklis Christodoulou in 1996.⁵

2) This history also testifies to the significant liturgical diversity that reigned not only in the different parts of the Empire, and not only across a span of several centuries from the appearance of the rite found in *Cryptoferrata graeca* Γ.β.X. to the printed Venetian editions of the 16th century,⁶ but also *within* definable regions during the *same* century. In fact, as we shall see, even the same monastic euchology could include two different rites for the burial of a monk.

3) As a result of the above-mentioned diversity, except for the pre-sixth century prayer 'Ο Θεός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός,⁷ there is not a single element that remains constant in the manuscript tradition. Yes, Psalm 118 occurs frequently, and yes, a canon is often included in the service, not to mention other elements, but we find funeral rites for monks that contain neither. Even the 15th-century St. Sabas Monastery *Exodiatikon* (analysed below), which prescribes a marathon of sixteen sets of readings enveloped by massive amounts of hymnography, does not include that quintessential Byzantine monastic composition, the canon. Thus, as I will demonstrate, the present-day funeral for a monk in the Byzantine tradition constitutes the codification of an *ordo* that started crystallizing less than 200 years before the publication of the Venetian euchology of 1526.

Before moving to the schemata, which really tell the story of these processes, several delineatory notes are in order: 1) My approach will be structural — tracing the evolution and interplay of liturgical units. Thus, the theological, cultural, and political questions evoked by these processes will be bracketed. 2) The same holds for the taxonomy of the manuscripts under consideration. However, for approximately three-quarters of the codices studied here, it would seem that their places of deposit coincide with their region of use. 3) I will not be able to treat the rites for the burial of nuns. These deserve a study of their own.⁸ 4) While discrete information regarding monastic fu-

⁵ Christodoulou, *Excerpta* 54-70.

⁶ On the Venetian editions see Alphonse Raes "Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* 3, part 2 (Vatican 1964) 209-22.

⁷ The prayer and its dating is discussed in Vitaliano Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino* (Jerusalem 1972) 146-58.

⁸ An outline of one such rite can be found in Dmitrievskij II, 355-56.

nerals can be gleaned from *vitae*,⁹ and archeological finds,¹⁰ my focus will be the liturgical manuscripts. 5) Finally, I will confine myself to the Greek manuscripts, though a study of Slavonic codices would yield some interesting, though hardly crucial, results.

FROM THE TENTH TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Our first schema derives from the above-mentioned Grottaferrata manuscript. (I will be referring to schemata as much as manuscripts because, as might be expected, each manuscript frequently reflects a whole family of codices, whose texts share the affinities of a common stem.)

This first Rite of Burial, typifies the first generation Studite liturgical synthesis.¹¹ Basically, Palestinian orthros has been joined to a cathedral three-antiphon rite with the ancient final kiss and anointing. As noted above, this was a generic rite, intended for clergy, monastics and laity alike. One can only surmise that Psalm 90 (an element common to Compline¹² and cathedral pannychis¹³), would have been prescribed for monastics, because the hexapsalmos would have already been recited by the monks previously that day during their orthros (though granted the Praises are still repeated).

The presence of the three-antiphon unit provides a crucial clue as to what a funeral service may have looked like before the creation of this 10th-century rite. In view of the absence of a funeral service in the 8th-century Codex Barberini 336,¹⁴ not to mention several other similar euchologies,¹⁵ which nonetheless contain discrete prayers for burials, Christodoulou, following Arranz, has suggested that before the 10th century, but after the Eucharist had lost its centrality in

⁹ E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 19-22; 135; 234.

¹⁰ See Yizhar Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven and London 1992) 130-43.

¹¹ On this synthesis see Robert Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *DOP* 42 (1988) 182-87.

¹² See Alphonse Raes, "Les Complines dans les Rites orientaux," *OCP* 17 (1951) 133-40.

¹³ For a partial listing of manuscripts containing cathedral pannychis with outlines of the service see Arranz, *Kak molilis' Bogu*, 194-99.

¹⁴ Seven prayers for various categories of the deceased are provided without, however, any liturgical framework. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds., *L'eucologio Barberini gr. 336 (ff. 1-263)* (Rome 1995) 291-96.

¹⁵ See James Duncan, *Coislin 213, Euchologe de la Grande Église*, *Dissertatio ad Lauream* (Rome 1983) 136-40.

Christian funerals, the Byzantines appended a three-antiphon rite to different cathedral hours,¹⁶ be that orthros, trithektê or pannychis, though pannychis may have been the favourite.¹⁷

However, Elena Velkovska, expanding on the research of Bruni, has pointed out that the three-antiphon structure seen here imitates hagiopolite, rather than Constantinopolitan, structures. Thus, she is very reluctant to follow Arranz's lead in considering the three-antiphon units found here as the probable core of the "proto-Byzantine" funeral.¹⁸ She also stresses that since our earliest complete text of a pannychis dates from the eleventh century, it is probably dangerous to hypothesize that it was the original "matrix," as it were, for the Constantinopolitan funeral.¹⁹

In either case, it is Magna Graecia, which, in keeping with the liturgical "law" that hinterlands preserve older usages, probably provides us with hints as to the form of the earliest Byzantine funeral service, one that includes Psalms 22 and 23, already referred to as funeral chants by Chrysostom.²⁰

Not only will we see significant diversity from one manuscript to another, but diversity also canonized within the same general ordo — as illustrated here: the kontakia and canon are only indicated as to their position in the service, but without their contents being provided. In other words, monks were free to choose from a repertory of such compositions found in separate collections (kontakaria and canonaria).

Finally, note that in all of the schemata provided below, material that has made its way into the present-day funeral for a monk has been highlighted with bold print.

SCHEMA 1

Manuscript Crypt. gr. Γ.β.X. (10th c.)

Christodoulou, Excerpta, pp. 55-70

RITE (OF BURIAL) FOR THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN ASLEEP

In Church

The Entrance ("Blessed is the Kingdom")

Hexapsalmos (Ps 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142), or Psalm 90 for monks

¹⁶ Christodoulou, Excerpta, 25.

¹⁷ See Arranz, *Kak molilis' Bogu*, 203-205.

¹⁸ Velkovska, 34-35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁰ *Enarratio in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, Homilia 4, 5 PG 63, 43.

Synapte – Prayer (2 petitions not extant) and “God of spirits”

Alleluia (no verses)

Troparia (different from today’s)

Psalm 118 (without any refrains)

Sessional Hymn

Canon (chosen from a repertory of canons)

Odes 1-3

Synapte B Prayer (the prayer of inclination in Barberini 336)

Full Kontakion (chosen from a repertory of kontakia)

Odes 4-6

Synapte – Prayer (not extant)

Full Kontakion (chosen from a repertory of kontakia)

Odes 7-9

Synapte – Prayer (also in Barberini 336)

Photogogikon (Hymn of Light) (same as today’s for *priests*)

The Praises (Psalms 148-150) (without stichera)

Three Antiphons

1st antiphon: Psalm 22 with triple alleluia

Troparia

Synapte – Prayer (non extant)

Sessional Hymn (“Remember, Lord, as the good One”)

Epistle (Romans 5:12; 6:11)

2nd antiphon: Psalm 23 with triple alleluia

Troparia

Synapte – Prayer (non extant)

Sessional Hymn (“With a depth of wisdom”)

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:1-22)

3rd antiphon: Psalm 83 with triple alleluia

Troparia

Synapte – (“God of spirits”)

Sessional Hymn

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:29-50)

Prokeimenon (“Blessed is the way”)

Epistle (1 Thessalonians 4:13-18)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John 5:24-30)

Ektene

Troparion

Final Kiss and Troparia (Stichera)

Prayer over the oil (the same as that used to bless the oil of gladness at Baptism), and anointing with oil

To the Grave

Troparion, “Open to me the gates of righteousness”

At the Grave

Prayer (of inclination in Barberini 336, “Lord, O Lord: consolation of the grieving”)

Then, a second prayer, with different texts for the following categories:

- 1) hegoumen
- 2) those who have fallen asleep (apparently laity, though curiously the text makes reference to ministry at the altar)
- 3) hierarchs
- 4) hieromonks and hierodeacons
- 5) deacons (secular)
- 6) children

Dismissal

Schema 2 takes us to the opposite end of the Byzantine world, Palestine, where we now see a funeral rite which bears the title "Order for the burial of a monk" (though this can be misleading as even lay persons would be buried according to a rite whose structure was the same, though with customized prayers, stichera, canons, etc.). Miguel Arranz states that Sevastianov gr. 474 is of Palestinian provenance, though with Constantinopolitan elements, a phenomenon typical of this period and its first wave of Byzantine importations into Palestine.²¹ Certainly among these is the anabathmoi, though note that here the hymnography is still farcing a psalm, as was the case when *apparently* Theodore of Stoudios first composed the Byzantine Graduals.²² However, the Constantinopolitan lectionary's influence is not yet evident, as Matthew 11:27-30, found here, is not among the lections listed in the Typicon of the Great Church.²³ This schema also witnesses to the appearance of *idiomela* attributed to John Damascene. However, when these first enter the funeral service, they are still being farced by psalm verses.

Finally, note that it is this codex that first indicates the chanting of the Beatitudes at a funeral, an element that along with Psalm 118 will perdure. (Incidentally, the following schema, and all of those up to Schema 8, are at times more vague in their description of the material than Schema 1 and Schemata 9 to 18 because Christodoulou's outlines do not always specify which "stichera" or "troparion" are being referred to.)

²¹ M. Arranz, "Les Sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain," OCP 48 (1982) 303-305.

²² On the question of attribution to Theodore, as well as the original manner of performance, see Oliver Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Oktoechos," in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York 1977) 165-70. Velkovska, however, believes that far more research is required to substantiate this attribution. Velkovska, 39.

²³ Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, vol. 2 (Rome 1963) 194-97.

SCHEMA 2

Manuscript Mosqu. Bibl. Publ. Sevastianov gr. 474 (10th – 11th centuries)
 Christodoulou, *Excerpta*, pp. 40-41; Christodoulou, *Dissertation II*, pp. 38-49

THE ORDER OF BURIAL FOR A MONK

In Church

(Entrance)

Psalm 118

Troparion (First stanza of present-day Evlogitaria)

Synapte

The Anabathmoi

– First Antiphon, Psalm 119 (Eight verses)

Troparion

– Second Antiphon, Psalm 120 (Eight verses)

Troparion

– Third Antiphon, Psalm 121 (Eight verses)

Beatitudes (with two different sets of troparia)

Prokeimenon (“His soul shall dwell amidst good things”)

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:20-28)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (Matthew 11:27-30)

Stichera (Eight sets by “John the Monk” farced by psalm verses, and followed by another set without verses)

The Final Kiss (with two sets of stichera)

On the Way to the Place of Burial

Troparion (“Lord of powers be with us” — chant of present-day lenten compline — farced by Ps. 148-50)

At the Grave

Anointing with oil

Prayer

Dismissal

The next two schemata take us back to Southern Italy. Cryptoferata greek Γ.β.XLIII. (Schema 3) like its cousin (described in Schema 1) not only contains the ancient Hagiopolite cathedral three-antiphon unit, but also employs another of the funeral psalms (114) mentioned by Chrysostom.²⁴ Note also the presence of an Old Testament lection at the interment (the “dry bones” narrative from Ezekial, still proclaimed at Holy Saturday orthros). Today no Old Testament lections are read at any of the Byzantine funeral services, and yet, as we shall see, such readings were frequently proclaimed during the middle-

²⁴ *In Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, Homilia 4, 5 PG 63, 43.

Byzantine period. Schema 3 also witnesses to the retention of psalm verses to farce the *idiomela* attributed to John Damascene.

A comparison of Schemata 1 and 3 helps illustrate how certain liturgical units were originally independent and how they tended to travel as cohesive segments, for while both have three antiphons, these have been inserted at different points in the two *akolouthiai*.

Finally, were it not for the presence of "Blessed is the Kingdom" (an indication, of course, of Constantinopolitan, rather than Palestinian, provenance) as well as orations, one might be tempted to interpret the absence of a gospel reading as proof that this rite was intended for use when hieromonks, or other priests, were not available to preside.

SCHEMA 3

Manuscript Crypt. gr. Γ.β.XLIII (11th c.)

Christodoulou, *Excerpta*, pp. 41-42; Christodoulou, *Dissertation II*, pp. 113-179

THE TAXIS AND ORDER USED WHEN A MONK HAS DIED

In the Cell

The Usual Order

In the Church

The entrance ("Blessed is the Kingdom")

Synapte – Prayer ("God of spirits")

Psalm 118 without Alleluia

1st stasis (vv. 1-72)

Troparion (has fallen out of use)

Synapte – Prayer ("You who have heaven as a dwelling place")

2nd stasis (vv. 73-131)

Troparion (has fallen out of use)

Synapte – Prayer (has fallen out of use)

3rd stasis (vv. 132-176)

Troparion (has fallen out of use)

Synapte – Prayer (has fallen out of use)

Three antiphons

1st antiphon – Psalm 22 (entire Psalm with one Alleluia)

Troparion

2nd antiphon – Psalm 83 (entire Psalm with one Alleluia)

Troparion

3rd antiphon – Psalm 114 (with one Alleluia)

Troparion

Kontakion (optional), and Beatitudes

Canon Odes 1-3 (Canon is chosen from several provided in the manuscript after the entire taxis)

Sessional Hymn

Odes 4-6

Kontakion (Another one)

Odes 7-9

Eight sets of stichera for the deceased arranged as antiphons

Beatitudes with troparia farcing *additional* selected Psalm verses

Prokeimenon

Epistle (Romans 14:7-9)

Synapte – Prayer (“God of spirits”)

Anointing with oil (Rubric states that if myron [*sic*] is not available, oil should be used.)

The final kiss, and stichera similar to those of *textus receptus*

On the Way to the Place of Burial
“Holy God”

At the Grave

Four stichera with Psalm verses – Troparia

Synapte – Prayer (has fallen out of use)

Troparion

Reading (Ezekiel 37:1-14)

Prayer (has fallen out of use)

Prayer of Inclination (“Lord, O Lord: consolation of the grieving”)

Prayer for hieromonk (“We give You thanks, O Lord God”)

Schema 4 presents us with what might be considered the most primitive of Byzantine funeral rites. Were it not for the canon, the beatitudes, and the stichera for the repose inserted into the antiphons, one could hypothesize that this service was the kind of unit appended to various cathedral hours, as mentioned above.

SCHEMA 4

Manuscript Messin. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvatore gr. 153 (11th century)

Christodoulou, Excerpta, pp. 42-43; Christodoulou, Dissertation II, pp. 180-199

THE ORDER OF WAKE FOR A MONK WHO HAS FALLEN ASLEEP

In the Church

Entrance (“Blessed is the Kingdom”)

Three antiphons

1st antiphon: Psalm 22 (with triple alleluia)

Stichera for the repose

Synapte – Prayer (has fallen out of use)

Sessional hymn

Prokeimenon ("Blessed is the one whom You have chosen")

Epistle (Romans 5:12-21; 6:1-11)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (**John 5:17-24**)

2nd antiphon: Psalm 23 (with double alleluia)

Stichera for the repose

Synapte – Prayer (has fallen out of use)

Sessional hymn

Prokeimenon ("Your hands have created and fashioned me")

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:1-23)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (**John 5:24-30**)

3rd antiphon: Psalm 83 (with triple alleluia)

Stichera for the repose

Synapte – Prayer ("God of spirits")

Sessional Hymn

Prokeimenon

Epistle (1 Cor. 15:29-57)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (John 6:35-39)

Canon (Rubric states: "Whichever one is desired")

Odes 1-3

Sessional Hymn

Odes 4-6

Kontakion

Odes 7-9

Photogogicon ("Now I am at rest..." same as today's for priests)

Beatitudes with 10 troparia

Prokeimenon ("Blessed is the way")

Epistle (1 Thessalonians 4:13-17)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (John 6:35-39)

Troparia ("Seeing me speechless")

Final kiss, and stichera of final kiss which are farced by verses from Beatitudes

At the Grave

Troparion

Prayer

Manuscript Sinai Greek 963 (Schema 5) is significant for its evidence regarding the appearance of the full Evlogitaria. Indeed, before the twelfth century, this composition, with its citation of Jobius the

Monk's sixth century work on the Incarnation,²⁵ is nowhere to be found, though as noted in Schema 2, the first stanza is evidently earlier. It is also significant because it testifies to the gradual waning of the cathedral three-antiphon unit. Sinai with its preference for monastic usages would be a natural place to expect such a process, though note that the full kontakion is still being sung.

SCHEMA 5

Manuscript Sinait. gr. 963 (12th c.)

Christodoulou, *Excerpta*, pp. 43-44; Christodoulou, *Dissertation II*, pp. 216-260

THE STRUCTURE AND ORDER THAT TAKES PLACE WHEN A MONK HAS FALLEN ASLEEP

In the Cell

The usual order

In the Church

Entrance

Psalm 118 (stichologia); **Psalm 90** (for hieromonks)

Alleluia

Evlogitaria – seven troparia

Synapte – Prayer (“God of spirits” – with inclination of heads)

Psalm 50

Canon

Odes 1-3

Synapte – Prayer

Sessional Hymn

Odes 4-6

Synapte – Prayer

Full Kontakion

Odes 7-9

Synapte – Prayer

Eight sets of prosomoia

Beatitudes farced by eleven troparia and concluded by Theotokion

Prokeimenon (“Their souls shall dwell amidst good things”)

²⁵ The phrase is τὸ ἀρχαῖον κάλλος ἀναμορφώσασθαι found in the second troparion, Εὐχολόγιον τοῦ μέγα (Αθήναι 1992) 407. Jobius the Monk's work on the Incarnation is reproduced only in Photius's ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ, René Henry, ed., *Photius Bibliothèque*, tome III (Paris 1959) 152-227. The quotation is on p. 173, lines 31 and 32. I mention this only to give a sense of the treasures hidden in the funeral hymnography and the opportunities for uncovering them with the help of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. For more on this see my forthcoming study, “Patristic Quotations in the Byzantine Funeral Service,” to be published in *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 44.

Epistle (Romans 14:6-9)

Alleluia with verse ("Blessed is the one whom you have chosen")

Gospel (John 5:24-30)

On the Way to the Place of Burial

"Remember, O Lord, the soul of your servant . . ."

"Holy God"

Troparia

At the Grave

Final kiss; Stichera of the final kiss farced by Psalm verses

Prayer

Dismissal

Moving back to Southern Italy for Schemata 6, 7, and 8, we encounter variations on now familiar themes. But the Evlogitaria have now crossed the Mediterranean, and for the first time we have a reference to the chanting of the Trisagion on the way to church, though the thrice-holy hymn is such a primitive processional chant that the lack of references to its use at funerals should remind us that texts are texts but liturgies are liturgies. Thus, it would be appropriate to hypothesize that common practices like this did not always find their way into the manuscripts, though in the absence of other evidence, this must remain a hypothesis. Incidentally, the Trisagion has not remained part of the procession to church for Byzantine monks.

Schema 7 evidences the retention of an orthros structure, analogous to Schema 1 with its stichera of the praises, doxology, and "It is good to give thanks to the Lord," while its preceding three-antiphon unit is in one sense more primitive than others seen thus far owing to the appointment of an Old Testament lection for each antiphon. This manuscript may also provide clues as to how funerals were conducted in earlier periods or in other regions when it was impossible to bring the body to church: the rite at the grave constitutes a relatively complete funeral service in itself.

SCHEMA 6

Manuscript Messin. Bibl. Univ. S.
Salvatore gr. 172 (1179 AD)

Christodoulou, Excerpta, pp. 44-45

THE STRUCTURE AND ORDER OF
SERVICE THAT TAKES PLACE WHEN A
MONK HAS FINISHED HIS LIFE

SCHEMA 7

Manuscript Vat. gr. 1836 (11th –
12th c.)

Christodoulou, Excerpta, pp. 46-47

WITH GOD (*syn theô*) THE ORDER OF
SERVICE FOR MONKS WHO HAVE
FALLEN ASLEEP

In the Cell

The usual order
The blessing of the exit
("Blessed is our God")

On the Way to the Church

"Holy God"

In the Church

Entrance
("Blessed is the Kingdom")
Synapte
"Peace to all"

Alleluia

Troparion ("With a depth of wisdom")

Ps 118 in two stases

1st stasis
without alleluia
Synapte – Prayer ("God of spirits")
"Peace to all"

2nd stasis without alleluia, except
for triple alleluia at conclusion

Evlogitaria

Synapte – Prayer ("Master, Lord
our God, who alone possess
immortality")

The Anabathmoi

1st antiphon:

Ps 119

(with one alleluia)

Troparion (has fallen out of use)

Synapte – Prayer ("Lord our God,
who fashioned man according to
your image")

2nd antiphon:

Ps 120

(with one alleluia)

Troparion (has fallen out of use)

Synapte – Prayer ("God of spirits"
[again])

Beatitudes

Canon

Odes 1-3 (including Ode 2)

Synapte – Prayer

Sessional hymn

In the Church

Entrance
("Blessed is the Kingdom")

Ps 90

Synapte

"Peace to all"

Alleluia with verses

Troparia (have fallen out of use)

Three antiphons

1st antiphon: Ps 22

(with double alleluia)

Troparia (have fallen out of use)

Synapte – Prayer ("Lord, O Lord,
consolation of the grieving")

Sessional hymns

O.T. Reading

(Ez 49:33; 50:1-26)

Prokeimenon ("Blessed is the one
whom You have chosen")

Epistle

(Rom 5:12-21; 6:1-11)

Alleluia with verse ("Blessed is the
one")

Gospel (**Jn 5:24-30**)

2nd antiphon: Ps 23

(with double alleluia)

Troparia

Synapte – Prayer (has fallen out of
use)

Sessional hymns ("Grant rest,
O our Saviour")

O.T. Reading

(Ez 34:11-16)

Prokeimenon ("Your hands have
created and fashioned me")

Epistle

(1 Cor 15:1-28)

Alleluia with verse (fallen out of
use)

Gospel (Jn 6:35-39)

3rd antiphon: Ps 83

(with triple alleluia)

Odes 4-6

Synapte – Prayer

Kontakion (by Romanos, “Tois tou biou terpnois” – has fallen out of use, but here the full text is provided)

Odes 7-9

Prokeimenon (“Blessed is the way”)

Epistle

(1 Thess 4:13-17)

Alleluia with verse (“Blessed is the one whom You have chosen”)

Gospel (Jn 5:24-30)

Synapte – Prayer (“Lord, O Lord, consolation of the grieving”)

Final kiss (but no reference to hymnography)

On the Way to Place of Burial

Troparia (All of these are used today as propers at Liturgy for the deceased)

At the Graveside

Troparia (Similar to those of present day Lyté [Trisagion] for the deceased except that troparia are farced with Psalm verses)

The usual order

Prayer; anointing

with oil

Burial and troparia

Trisagion

Troparia

Ektene

Dismissal

Troparia

Synapte – Prayer (“Lord, O Lord, consolation of the grieving”)

Sessional hymns (have fallen out of use)

O.T. Reading

(Is 33:14-22)

Prokeimenon (fallen out of use)

Epistle

(1 Cor 15:29-57)

Alleluia with verse (“Blessed is the one whom You have chosen”)

Gospel (Jn 5:17-24)

Canon

Odes 1-3 (including Ode 2)

Synapte – Prayer

Full Kontakion (by Theodore of Stoudios – Ton metastanta)

Odes 4-6

Synapte – Prayer (has fallen out of use)

Full Kontakion (“Tois tou biou terpnois”)

Ps 50

Beatitudes with twelve troparia, some of which are in *textus*

receptus

Odes 7-9

Synapte – Prayer

Photogogica (“Now I am at rest”)

Stichera of the Praises (Four stichera and Theotokon)

Doxology

Eight sets of stichera

“It is good to give thanks to the Lord”

Trisagion

At the Grave

“Peace to all”

Prokeimenon

Epistle

(1 Thess 4:13-17)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (Jn 5:17-24)

Troparion

**Final kiss;
stichera-troparia
of the final kiss**

Troparion

Prayer –
Anointing with oil

Prayer
Ektene
Dismissal

Schema 8 is insignificant except for the presence (as in nos. 1 and 7) of two full kontakia.

SCHEMA 8

Manuscript Vat. gr. 1969 (12th c.)
Christodoulou, Excerpta, p. 48

In the Cell

The usual order

In the Church

Entrance

("Blessed is our God")

Ps 118 in two stases

1st stasis (without alleluia)

Synapte – Prayer

2nd stasis (without alleluia)

Synapte – Prayer

The Anabathmoi

1st antiphon:

Ps 119

Troparia

Synapte – Prayer

2nd antiphon:

Ps 120

Troparia

Synapte – Prayer

Beatitudes

Canon

Odes 1 -3

Synapte – Prayer

Full Kontakion

Odes 4-6
 Synapte – Prayer
 Full Kontakion
 Odes 7-9

Prokeimenon
Epistle (1 Thess 4:13-17)
Alleluia with verses
Gospel (Jn 5:25-30)
 Synapte – Prayer

Final kiss

On the Way to the Place of Burial
 Troparia

At the Grave
 Troparia
 Trisagion
Ektene
Dismissal

FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Turning to Schema 9 we are now not only back in Palestine, but we are also analysing outlines which I have compiled myself, based on a review of Dmitrievskij's *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, vol. 2.

Interestingly enough, even though Schema 9 pushes us at least a century beyond Schema 8, and reflects usage on the other side of the former empire, the only significant differences are the absence of a canon and the somewhat idiosyncratic chanting of two gospels. (The appearance of Psalm 50 at the interment is not a significant detail, though below we shall see an interesting variation on this practice.)

What is significant, however, is that one and the same manuscript euchology contains two distinct funeral rites for monks, the one (Schema 10) following immediately after the other (Schema 9). Also, Schema 9 brings us closer to our present-day rite because it is the first to include the anabathmoi of all eight tones along with the prosomoia of Theophanes Graptos, the ninth-century Palestinian monk who may have ended his days in Constantinople.²⁶ Theophanes's Palestinian connection may explain why this now standard part of the funeral for monks first appears in a Sinaitic codex.

²⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3, 2062.

Note, incidentally, that the collation of two distinct rites for the same category of Christians, one after the other, was not simply a case of a scrupulous scribe copying both services for the sake of posterity: the last rubric of Schema 10 demonstrates that those using this codex would have known both formularies, and apparently would have chosen one or the other *ad libitum*.

SCHEMA 9

Manuscript Euchology
Mt. Sinai 964 (13th – 14th c.)
Dmitrievskij II, pp. 246-247

FUNERAL OF A MONK

In the Cell

[Pages missing]

In the Church

[Entrance, blessing and most of the first stasis of **Ps 118** missing]

2nd stasis of Psalm 118

3rd stasis of Psalm 118

Synapte

Evlogitaria of the deceased

**Sessional hymn, "Give rest,
O our Saviour"**

followed by Theotokion,

"Foreign to the world

is the mystery of

the Virgin"

Stichera of John Damascene

(without ascription)

Following pattern repeated
eight times:

a. Present sticheron*

b. [Glory?] a second sticheron

c. [Both now?] Theotokion

[*However, in the case of the
1st plagal tone, the present-day
first sticheron is in the "b" position.]

Troparion

**Kontakion "With the saints" and
Oikos "You alone are immortal"**

SCHEMA 10

In the same MS Euchology — another
rite

Dmitrievskij II, pp. 247-249

ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF MONKS

Blessing

Trisagion prayers

Synapte

Ps 118

Evlogitaria (the ms. refers
the user to the text provided
in the previous rite)

Synapte

Sessional hymn, "Give rest,"

Theotokion, "Foreign to the world"

Ps 50

Stichera of John Damascene

(without ascription) according to
the following pattern:

One or two stichera, followed by

Two to five prosomoia of the dead,
always concluded by a theotokion

**Anabathmoi of all eight tones
followed (after each tone)**

by four prosomoia of Theophanes

Synapte

Kontakion attributed

to Romanos the Melodist

(different from the one above)

Beatitudes with troparia

Prokeimenon "Blessed is the way"

Epistle (1 Cor 15:47-57)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (Jn 5:17-24)

followed by 23 other oikoi with refrain "alleluia"
(see Goar, pp. 457-459)

Troparia

Beatitudes with troparia

Prokeimenon "His soul shall dwell
In a blessed place" with verse

Epistle – 1 Thess 4:13-18

Gospel 1 – Jn 5:24-30

Gospel 2 – Jn 6:35-39

Ektene and "God of spirits"

At the Grave

Signing of the grave

Ps 50 (thrice)

Synapte -- Prayer

Dismissal

[Note that curiously this text
makes no reference to the final kiss.]

Final kiss with three additional
stichera preceding the "usual" ones
(though here the usual ones are
farced with psalm verses)

Before the doxastich, an additional
stichera is inserted for hegoumens.

Ektene

Dismissal (reference to Lazarus)

Interment "as written above"

(sic in the ms.)

With Schema 11 we have finally moved to Mount Athos and its Vatopedi manuscript euchology no. 133.²⁷ Why does Dmitrievskij not include any Athonite euchologies pre-dating the 14th century in his *Opisanie*? The only element of an answer would seem to be Arranz's statement that a large number of the earlier euchologies were taken to Muscovy during the Nikonian reform and have remained in Russian archival depositories ever since.²⁸ Dmitrievskij, of course, had set out to collect manuscripts from monasteries and libraries of the eastern Mediterranean basin, and so did not include these earlier documents.²⁹

In either case, from at least the 14th century if not earlier, the Athonites are consistently singing all eight anabathmoi and are now

²⁷ Note that Mt. Athos Vatopedi 133 is listed with a different number in the following two catalogues: In S. Eustradiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies 11 (Cambridge 1924) 178-79, it is listed as "Athos Vatopedi 984." In Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin 1994) it is designated as "no. 1142." My thanks to Alexander Rentel for drawing my attention to this.

²⁸ Cited in Christodoulou, Excerpta 24.

²⁹ Dmitrievskij II, iii-iv.

abbreviating the kontakion to the lone koukoulion (prooimeon) and oikos. This, of course, conforms to Anton Baumstark's "law"³⁰ that newer liturgical units frequently displace older ones after a period of co-existence, with the latter remaining evident in attenuated vestiges that Robert Taft has dubbed "liturgical débris."³¹

Schema 11 also gives us a sense of the continuity that could obtain in particular monasteries: a 16th-century Vatopedi manuscript euchology³² almost two hundred years older than no. 133 provides a taxis almost identical to its 14th-century ancestor. A comparison with Schema 12 also shows that in the same period different Athonite monasteries could have similar funeral rites. Note that in both cases, the idiomela attributed to Damascene, or some configuration thereof, are being sung at the grave or on the way to it. The latter is the custom of today's *textus receptus*.³³ Finally, the Athonites are apparently the source of the practice, prescribed to the present day, of making prostrations at graveside "on behalf of the deceased."³⁴

SCHEMA 11

Manuscript Euchology
Vatopedi (Athos) no. 133 (744)
(14th c., from before 1368 AD),
Dmitrievskij II, pp. 282-285

THE ORDER OF BURIAL OF MONKS

In the Cell

Blessing, Trisagion prayers.
Troparia

*To Church (Narthex) or Cemetery***Ektene**

"God of spirits" ("mystikôs")

When All Have Gathered

Blessing

Psalm 118 (without Alleluia) in
three stases

SCHEMA 12

Manuscript Euchology
Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery,
no. 450 (1408 AD)
Dmitrievskij II, pp. 389-390

THE ORDER OF BURIAL (OF MONKS)

In the Cell

Same as Vatopedi
Euchology ms. no. 133 (see above)

To the Church (Narthex)

"Holy God"

In Church

Blessed is our God
Trisagion prayers
including Lord, have mercy (12)
and "Come, let us worship"

³⁰ *Comparative Liturgy* (Westminster, MD 1958) 23.

³¹ "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology," in *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Rome 2001) 198.

³² Vatopedi manuscript euchology — no. 134 (Dmitrievskij II, 770-771) copied in 1538, contains a similar office, though "Eternal memory" has been added to the end.

³³ Εὐχολόγιον το μέγα (Αθήναι 1992) 436.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 437.

Synapte – “God of spirits”
Sessional hymn (“**Give rest,**
O our Saviour” and “**From the**
Virgin you shone forth”)

Anabathmoi of all eight tones,
followed (after each tone) by
four prosomoia of Theophanes

Synapte

Kontakion and 1 Oikos

Beatitudes

Prokeimenon – “**Blessed is**
the way”

Epistle (1 Thessalonians 4:13-18)

Gospel (John 5:24-30)

Final kiss (“usual” stichera)

(To the Cemetery)
 “Holy God”

At the Grave

Synapte, and Twenty-eight Stichera,
 among which are scattered without
 any pattern nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8
 of the **stichera usually ascribed to**
Damascene.

Priest signs remains with oil and
 water, singing “Alleluia” thrice
“The earth is the Lord’s”

Trisagion prayers

“With the spirits of the just”

Ektene – “**God of spirits**”

Dismissal

(12 prostrations, for the de-
ceased)

Psalm 50

Psalm 118 (divided into three stases
 with refrains. Synapte after each
 stasis.)

Evlogitaria

Synapte

“**Give rest, O our Saviour,**” –
 “**From the Virgin You shone forth**”

Anabathmoi of all eight tones,
followed (after each tone) by three
(not four)

Prosomoia of Theophanes

Beatitudes with troparia

Prokeimenon

“**Blessed is the way**”

Epistle (1 Thessalonians 4:13-18)

Alleluia

Gospel (John 5:24-30)

Ektene – “**God of spirits**”

Final kiss with (“usual”) **stichera**

Trisagion prayers

Troparia (“With the spirits of the
 just”)

Ektene

Dismissal

To the Grave

Holy God

Procession around cemetery thrice

Synapte

“Stichera of the Dead”

and Sessional hymns

(Ten compositions are listed)

At the Graveside

“O earth, opening, receive”

Pouring of oil and **“The earth is the**
Lord’s”

and one troparion

Four idiomela

“With the spirits of the just”

Ektene

12 prostrations

Dismissal

“Eternal memory”

The manuscript euchology of the Holy Sepulchre Metochion of Constantinople gives a sense of how different a contemporaneous monastic funeral rite could be just across the Aegean Sea (if Constantinople is in fact where this euchology was used — though I have no grounds for doubting the latter). Here the full set of anabathmoi are not yet being sung and we still see remnants of the ancient three-antiphon unit. The latter fact may be a solid clue that it was not only used in Constantinople, but actually originated there.

Schema 14 proves the fluidity of the process of the disappearance of older liturgical units: Here the full kontakion is still prescribed, though by this time the kontakaria are remaining on the shelf more often (or their options are being exploited less frequently), as the kontakion is provided in full within the euchology itself.

SCHEMA 13

Manuscript Euchology no. 8 (182)
of Holy Sepulchre Metokhion
Library, Constantinople (15th c.)
Dmitrievskij II, pp. 478-481.

THE ORDER THAT TAKES PLACE
WHEN A MONK HAS DIED

In the Cell

Usual preparation

In the Church (Narthex)

Blessing (priest is instructed
to put on purple stole)

Trisagion

Troparia ("Remember, O Lord," –
"Your mother")

Psalm 90

Alleluia with three verses
("Blessed are they whom You have
chosen")

Troparia ("With a depth
of wisdom")

Psalm 118

1st stasis and two troparia

Synapte

2nd stasis and two troparia
[Several pages of ms. missing]

Evlogitaria

Great Litany (*Eirênika*
with several non-extant petitions)

SCHEMA 14

Manuscript Euchology no. 73 (274)
of the Patriarchal Library
of Jerusalem (15th c.)
Dmitrievskij II, pp. 516-524

THE ORDER OF BURIAL OF A MONK

In the Cell

Various preparatory actions
concluded by **blessing by priest**

Trisagion prayers

"With the spirits of the just"

Ektene

Dismissal

In the Church (in Narthex)

Trisagion prayers (again) including
Lord, have mercy (12), etc.

Psalm 50

Psalm 118

1st stasis

**concluded with triple repetition
of last verse**

Synapte

2nd stasis (margins include text
of several refrains inserted later);
this stasis also concludes as first

Evlogitaria

Synapte

"Stichera" (attributed here to

Psalm 119 "In my distress"
 with Alleluia (once)
 Three stichera
 Psalm 120 "I lift up my eyes"
 with Alleluia (twice)
 Three stichera
 Psalm 121 "I rejoiced when
 they said"
 with Alleluia (twice)
 Three stichera
 Great Litany (again)
 and non-extant prayer
 Anabathmoi of Tone 6

[Several pages of ms. missing]

Several troparia
Beatitudes with troparia

Prokeimenon
 ("Blessed are those who dwell")
 Epistle (Romans 14:6-9)
 Gospel (John 6:40-44)
 Ektene
 Prayer (See Goar, p. 452)

Final kiss (with "usual" stichera
 and at least one additional one that
 specifically refers to monastic
 state)
 Trisagion prayers
 Great Litany (*Eirênika*) (again)
 Prayer (non-extant) –
 "for monks and priests"

To the Grave
 "Holy God"

At the Grave
 Signing of grave
 (with ashes from censer)
 Five troparia (among them
 "With the spirits of the just")
 but farced with psalm verses
 Interment
 Five Stichera (farced with verses)
Ektene and "God of spirits"
 Another prayer (*euchê epitaphios*)
 Troparia, "Remember, O Lord,"
 "You are a rampart"

Damascene)
"Give rest, O our Saviour," –
"From the Virgin You
shone forth"
Anabathmoi of 1st tone
 (cited as the work of Theodore
 of Stoudios);
 Stichera of the deceased tone 1
 (listed as the work of Damascene)
 followed by two more stichera;
followed by acrostich Prosomoia
of Theophanes
 (seven in all)

The pattern described above
 (anabathmoi; stichera of
 the deceased [of Damascene];
 and acrostich prosomoia
 of Theophanes is repeated another
 seven times, though as happens
 elsewhere, the tone 2 sticheron
 of the deceased of Damascene is
 a different text from today's).
 The only interruption of this pattern
 is the insertion of a synapte after

the tone 4 series of texts.
 Kontakion attributed to Romanos
 the Melodist beginning with
"With the saints," and **"You alone**
are immortal" followed by another
 23 oikoi and their Alleluia

Beatitudes with troparia

Epistle (1 Thessalonians 4:13-18)
Alleluia
Gospel (John 5:24-30)
Ektene and "God of spirits"
 Another prayer (no longer extant)
 (see Goar, p. 430)

Final kiss

If Monastery Does Not Have Cemetery
or if the Grave is Not Yet Ready
 Trisagion prayers
 "With the spirits"
 Ektene and "O God of spirits"
 Dismissal

Lord have mercy (100)
 15 **prostrations**
 Dismissal

Signing of remains and "Eternal
 Memory"

*When Cemetery is within the Monastery
 and the Grave is Ready, on the Way to
 the Grave*

"Holy God"

"Give rest, O our Saviour,"

"From the Virgin You shone forth"

At the Grave

"O earth, opening, receive"

Signing with oil and Triple Alleluia

"The earth is the Lord's"

A series of six sets of stichera farced
 by psalm verses
 (total number of stichera – 15,
 several of which are repeated after
 the psalm verses)

Trisagion prayers

"Remember, O Lord, as the good
 One, Your servants"

Theotokion

Ektene and "God of spirits" read
 by all the priests

Final prayer by hegoumen

With Schema 15 we move to an *akolouthia* that deserves several doctoral dissertations of its own. The rite found in the fifteenth-century manuscript no. 373 of the St. Sabas Library is so ample that it required a separate codex with a distinctive title, *Exodiasstikon*. The schema alone takes up several columns. Here we can only highlight some of its features.

To begin with, ordinary monks have been assimilated to the clerical state: they receive a funeral identical to that for bishops and priests in a period when separate rites for lay persons had already been established. The only difference is that in the case of non-ordained monks the Eucharist is not celebrated.

Second, the *Exodiasstikon's* attempt to include almost every text and unit seen thus far in our study — and then some — generates a sumptuous rite that, when served with the Eucharist, could have lasted a whole day. The word "sumptuous" is also apropos because it is this *Exodiasstikon* that includes rubrics (not indicated in my schema) for the seating of the priest's remains on a throne and the transfer thereof from the narthex into the nave and back during dif-

ferent parts of the service.³⁵ (This, presumably would have included hieromonks.) Nonetheless, in spite of this amplitude, the service which begins like orthros, with the latter's hexapsalmos, does not include a canon (though at the cemetery the heirmoi of the Great Canon are appointed.)

Third, a fascinating dimension is the *Exodiatstikon*'s use of sixteen sets of readings along with a corresponding set of now defunct prayers (thirty-two in all), transcribed by Dmitrievskij in full, which consistently distinguish between monks and hieromonks. The apparent lack of any symbolism in this number (unless one considers the "16" to be the eschatological number "8" multiplied by two!) would seem to indicate a more haphazard development with discrete elements being inserted into the service with each passing century.

Earlier I mentioned the use of Psalm 50 at the grave. Here the psalm has taken on a quasi-cathedral form with the insertion of refrains. Nonetheless, the practice is only reminiscent of cathedral usage, as each of the seventeen refrains is a different text.

Note that the columns for Schema 15 are arranged in winding, "newspaper," form, rather than the parallel form used for all of the previous columns.

SCHEMA 15

Manuscript Exodiatstikon no. 373
(291) of the Library of St. Sabas
Monastery – later incorporated into
the Jerusalem Patriarchal Library
(15th century)
Dmitrievskij II, pp. 527-557

[The rite described below is intended
for "bishops, presbyters, deacons and
all those listed among the clergy."
However, as is obvious from what
follows, the clergy includes not only
hieromonks, but non-ordained
monks as well.]

In the Home/Cell

[Reference to face being covered
with aer]

Various practices

To Church

Four prosomoia

In Church (Narthex)

Blessing by priest

Trisagion prayers

"With the spirits of the just"

farced with psalm verses

Ektene and "O God of spirits"

Another prayer – two different
formulae: for monks; for hiero-
monks

In Nave

"Holy God" during move to nave

Three troparia

Then, at gates of nave, presider
sings Troparion "Open to me the
gates of righteousness"
(Gates are opened)

Another troparion with verse

(Body placed in middle of nave)

³⁵ Dmitrievskij II, 528, 553.

Blessing by priest

Trisagion prayers including Lord,
have mercy (12)

and immediately

"Glory to the holy, consubstantial,
life-creating and undivided Trinity"
Hexapsalm (Ps 3, 37, 62, 87, 102,
142)

Synapte with several distinctive pe-
titions for hieromonks and bishops

Alleluia and two verses

A (non-extant) troparion and theo-
tokion

Prokeimenon "His soul shall dwell"

Epistle (Romans 14:6-9)

Alleluia

Gospel (Matthew ending at 19:30)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

A (non-extant) troparion and the-
otokion

Psalm 118

1st stasis, with Alleluia

Synapte (if funeral of non-monas-
tic)

Prokeimenon "Precious in the sight
of the Lord"

Epistle (Hebrews 4:14-5:6)

Alleluia with two verses

Gospel (Mark 8:34-9:1)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

2nd stasis (of Ps 118) with Alleluia

Synapte (if funeral of non-monas-
tics)

Prokeimenon "His soul shall dwell"

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:47-57)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John 6:35-39)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

3rd stasis of (Ps 118), with Alleluia

Three troparia

Evlogitaria with an additional
stanza (re: hieromonks and monks)
inserted into this unit

Prokeimenon "The Lord is my
shepherd"

Epistle (2 Corinthians)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John ending at 8:59)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

3 stichera (among them **"Give rest,
O our Saviour,"**

**and "From the Virgin You shone
forth")**

Psalm 50

3 troparia

3 prosomoia

Psalm 119 with Alleluia (once)

4 Prosomoia

Anabathmoi, tone 1

Prokeimenon, "The earth is the
Lord's"

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:20-28)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John 6:40-44)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

Sessional hymn ("Today I have de-
parted from my relatives")

Tone 1 Stichera of Damascene
(attributed to him)

(6 in all) according to acrostich

Tone 1 Prosomoia of Theo- phanes (6 in all)

Then, 3 stichera

Psalm 120 with Alleluia (twice)

3 troparia

Anabathmoi, tone 2

Prokeimenon, "Blessed is the one

whom You have chosen”

Epistle (Romans 5:10-21)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John 3:13-17)

Ektene and two different prayers:
one for monks; one for hieromonks

Troparion

Tone 2 stichera of Damascene
(8 in all) according to acrostich

Tone 2 prosomoia of Theophanes (5 in all)

Then, 4 other prosomoia

Psalm 121 with Alleluia (thrice)

Then, 3 stichera

Anabathmoi, tone 3

Prokeimenon, (non-extant text),

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:12-21)

Alleluia

Gospel (John 5:17-24)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

Sessional hymns (3 in all)

Tone 3 stichera of Damascene
(9 in all) according to acrostich

Tone 3 prosomoia of Theophanes (5 in all)

Then, 3 other idiomela ascribed
here to Damascene

Anabathmoi, tone 4

Prokeimenon, “His soul shall
dwell”

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:29-45)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John ending at 11:26)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

One troparion

Tone 4 stichera of Damascene
(6 in all)

Tone 4 prosomoia of Theophanes (4 in all)

Kontakion “You alone are immortal”

4 stichera

Another kontakion (14 oikoi in all)

Beatitudes with troparia

Psalm 22 with Alleluia (twice)

Anabathmoi, tone 5

Prokeimenon, “Let all the earth
worship You”

Epistle (Romans 6:3-11)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John 6:27-33)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

1 sessional hymn

Tone 5 stichera of Damascene
(in two sets, but only first has
acrostich)

(9 stichera in all)

(second set is farced with psalm
verses)

Tone 5 prosomoia of Theophanes (3 in all)

Then, 6 other prosomoia

Psalm 23 with Alleluia (twice)

Anabathmoi, tone 6

Prokeimenon, “His soul shall
dwell”

Epistle (1 Thessalonians 4:13-18)

Alleluia with verse

Gospel (John ending at 6:54)

Ektene and two different prayers:
for monks; for hieromonks

3 troparia

Tone 6 stichera of Damascene
(in two sets; second set has acros-
tich; 11 in all)

Tone 6 prosomoia of Theophanes (4 in all)

Then, 4 other prosomoia

Psalm 83 with Alleluia (twice)

Anabathmoi, tone 7

Prokeimenon, "His soul shall dwell"

Epistle (2 Corinthians 1:8-11)

Alleluia

Gospel (John ending at 6:56)

Ektene and two different prayers: for monks; for hieromonks

3 troparia

Tone 7 stichera of Damascene according to acrostich (8 in all)

Tone 7 prosomoia of Theophanes (4 in all)

Then, 6 other prosomoia

Anabathmoi, tone 8

Prokeimenon, "Sing to our God, sing"

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:1-11)

Alleluia

Gospel (John 11:1-45)

Ektene and two different prayers: for monks; for hieromonks

3 troparia

Tone 8 stichera of Damascene in two sets (both have acrostich) (12 in all)

Tone 8 prosomoia of Theophanes (5 in all)

Prokeimenon "Precious in the sight of the Lord"

Epistle (Hebrews 13:7-16)

Alleluia with two verses

Gospel (John 3:16-21)

Ektene and two different prayers: for monks; for hieromonks

Kontakion (begins with koukoulion "**With the saints**")

of Romanos the Melodist

(22 oikoi in all with an additional one for hegoumens)

Beatitudes with troparia

Prokeimemon, "My mouth shall speak wisdom"

Epistle (Hebrews 7:26-8:2)

Alleluia with two verses

Gospel (John 5:24-30)

Ektene with two different prayers: for monks; for hieromonks

Here the text states that if the funeral is for one of the ordained, the Eucharist is now celebrated.

The body is taken back into the narthex, until the dismissal of the catchumens, when it is again brought into the nave.

After the postambo prayer

Last kiss with "usual" stichera, except that for hegoumens an additional sticheron is sung

Prokeimenon, "Precious in the sight of the Lord"

Epistle (Hebrews 8:1-6)

Alleluia with two verses

Gospel (Matthew 16:13-19)

Ektene with two different prayers: for monks; for hieromonks

To Grave

"Holy God"

Troparion farced with 2 psalm verses

Another troparion

Once in the Cemetery

Troparion "**O earth, opening receive**"

Signing with oil

Another troparion and signing with earth while priest says **"The earth is the Lord's"**

Another troparion

Nine heirmoi of Great Canon followed by triadikon and theotokion

Then follow 17 troparia sung as refrains to Psalm 50, followed by a triadikon and theotokion

Trisagion prayers
"With the spirits of the just"

Prokeimenon, "Precious in the sight of the Lord"

Epistle (Corinthians 9:6-11)

Alleluia with two verses

Gospel (Luke 24:1-12)
Ektene and "God of spirits"

Another prayer
Then, the Ektene (again!)
with "Lord have mercy" 3, 40, and 50 times **"Glory to You, Christ God, our hope"**

Dismissal with commemoration of Lazarus

"Eternal memory" with presbyteral formula inserted

12 prostrations "for the deceased"

"Give rest, O Lord, to the soul of Your servant"

Return of monks to their cells

Schema 16 outlines a service which is just as important for the title of the manuscript containing it as for its contents. Dmitrievskij only states that the ascription to "Theodore the Confessor, Hegoumen of Stoudios" is "very interesting," without offering any other comment.³⁶ I would posit that the rite prescribed there is not distinctive enough to warrant a manipulation of Theodore's name for the purpose of promoting an innovation. Is it possible, then, that this is simply a way of indicating a link with the alleged author of the eight anabathmoi found there? (Incidentally, the title "Schematologion" refers to a new kind of service book, containing rites intended exclusively for monastic use, in particular, the giving of the schema.)

SCHEMA 16

Manuscript Schematologion "of Theodore the Confessor, Hegoumen of Stoudios," no. 604 of the Mt. Athos St. Panteleimon Monastery (15th c.), Dmitrievskij II, pp. 564-565

(THE ORDER OF BURIAL) FOR MONKS

"Blessed are You, O Lord" and Psalm 118

(no reference to divisions into stases)

Evlogitaria

Synapte and "God of spirits"

3 Troparia

Anabathmoi of all eight tones, followed (after each tone) by three (not four) **Prosomoia of Theophanes** (see Goar 439-444)

³⁶ *Ibid.*, v.

Prokeimenon "Blessed is the way"

Epistle (1 Corinthians 15:20-28)

Alleluia with one verse

Gospel (John 5:24-30)**Last kiss ("usual" stichera)**

"Give rest, O our Saviour"

5 troparia

"With the spirits of the just"

At this point Dmitrievskij's transcription is confusing because it refers to Goar and the concluding interment rites of today's funeral, but then immediately after the dismissal adds the following elements:

Dismissal

Ektene and "O God of spirits"

Canon (ms. states that it is for monks)

For lay persons the singing of "other stichera" is prescribed, followed by "Give rest, O our Saviour" and the eight idiomela usually ascribed to John Damascene.

It is unclear whether these idiomela were intended only for funerals of lay persons

Prokeimenon, "Blessed is the way"

Epistle

Alleluia

Gospel

Idiomelon "Seeing me voiceless"

Then, the ms. indicates that for lay persons, another canon is to be sung.

Schema 17 finally brings us to a rite that is very close to the *textus receptus*, though note how what Taft would refer to as a liturgical soft point,³⁷ that is the conclusion of the rite (at the grave), continues to show fluidity.

SCHEMA 17

Manuscript Euchology no. 615 (757) of the Holy Sepulchre Metochion Library of Constantinople (1522 AD.)

Dmitrievskij II, pp. 726-728

THE ORDER OF FUNERALS FOR MONKS*In the Cell*

Preparations in the cell (with some unique practices)

³⁷ "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units," 161.

*In the Narthex***Blessing by priest**

Trisagion prayers including "Come, let us worship"

Psalms 50**Psalms 118**

(divided into stases, but without synapte)

Evlogitaria and synapte

"Give rest, O our Saviour," "From the Virgin You shone forth"

Anabathmoi of all eight tones with prosomoia of Theophanes (though with individual stanzas of the "usual" prosomoia occasionally missing)

Beatitudes with troparia**Prokeimenon "Blessed is the way"**

Epistle (Romans 14:6-9)

Alleluia with verse**Gospel (John 5:24-30)****Ektene – "God of spirits"****Last kiss with many of the "usual" stichera,**

and two additional ones not usually listed

"With the spirits of the just"

Ektene – "God of spirits"

Dismissal

To the Grave

"Holy God"

At the Grave

Ektene – "God of spirits"

Followed by a set of seven "troparia"

(one in tone 2; another in tone 3 [Damascene's "All is vanity"]; and five in tone 8)

Epistle and Gospel (again) same as above

Final kiss with stichera (again)

Followed by a set of eight "troparia"

(two in tone 4; three in tone 8;

three in tone 7)

Trisagion prayers

Followed by a set of three troparia

(one in tone 6; and two in tone 8 [among them Damascene's "I weep and lament"])

Placing of body in grave

"O earth, opening, receive" with "The earth is the Lord's"

used as a stich, followed by another troparion

Trisagion prayers

"With the spirits of the just" (with minor difference)

Ektene – "God of spirits"

Dismissal

12 prostrations "for the deceased"

The last akolouthia in Dmitrievskij's *Opisanie* which I will be referring to is not listed here because of its near identity with Schema 18, the present-day rite. This akalouthia, however, provides part of the answer to Jacques Goar's question, posed more than 350 years ago when he was compiling his *Euchologion*. There he expressed surprise that so many of the offices printed in the Venetian euchologies, from which he was tapping his material, did not correspond to those found in the manuscripts.³⁸ The formulation of the question indicates that Goar had not had access to, or did not feel compelled to consult, manuscripts that had been produced just decades before the publication of the first printed euchologies in the early and middle part of the 16th century. If he had, his surprise would have dissipated. Thanks to Dmitrievskij (working 250 years after Goar) we have a transcript of manuscript euchology no. 68 of the Holy Sepulchre Metochion library of Constantinople,³⁹ which, as I have hinted, contains a rite for the burial of monks that is virtually identical to the one found in Goar, and thus in our *textus receptus*.

SCHEMA 18

Goar, pp. 438-447 (Essentially the same rite as that of today's *Euchologion to mega*)

THE ORDER OF BURIAL OF MONKS

In the Cell

The usual order, entrance
Trisagion, Troparia
Synapte – Prayer, Dismissal

On the Way to the Church

"Holy God"

In Church

Entrance, Psalm 90
Alleluia with verses
Troparia
"With a depth of wisdom"
Glory: Repeat the same
Both now: "A rampart and haven..."

Psalm 118 in two stases

1st stasis: After each verse,

³⁸ J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, the fourth page of the unnumbered "Interpretis ad lectorem prooemium."

³⁹ Dmitrievskij II, 817.

"Blessed are You, O Lord."

Synapte – Ekphonesis (Prayer is silent)

2nd stasis: After each verse, –

"I am Yours, save me."

Evlogitaria of the deceased

Synapte – Prayer

Sessional hymn, –

"Give rest, O Our Saviour..."

Glory: Repeat the same

Both now: "From a Virgin You shone forth."

Psalm 50

Antiphon, tone 1

Prosomoia Stichera of Theophanes,

with the acrostich

"O Living Christ, Inscribe Your Servants
in the Book of Life"

2nd antiphon, tone 2

Prosomoia stichera

3rd antiphon, tone 3

Prosomoia stichera

4th antiphon, tone 4

Prosomoia stichera

5th antiphon, Plagal tone 1

Prosomoia stichera

6th antiphon, Plagal tone 2

Prosomoia stichera

7th antiphon, Grave tone

Prosomoia stichera

8th antiphon, Plagal tone 4

Prosomoia stichera

Synapte – Prayer

Kontakion – "With the saints"

"You alone are immortal"

Beatitudes with the eight troparia

Prokeimenon

Epistle (1 Thessalonians 4:13-17)

Alleluia with verses

Gospel (John 5:24-30)

Ektene – Prayer

Twelve troparia for the aposticha
of the final kiss, "Come, brothers,
let us give a final kiss"

Troparia, "With the spirits of the just"

Synapte – Prayer, Dismissal

On the Way to the Place of Burial
Idiomela (of John Damascene)

In conclusion, the present study, in its own small way, should help challenge the liturgical fundamentalism (not to mention other forms thereof) that plague parts of Eastern Christendom, especially some of its monastic centres. Those obsessed with ossifying an Orthodox *lex orandi* need to realize the extent to which the latter is a codification wrought by post-Byzantine diaspora printers, whose further evolution has been halted only by the invention of printing and the absence of viable authorities and structures to effect change after the Empire's collapse.

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Foto 1.

La scultura bizantina nel museo archeologico di Antiochia di Pisidia (Yalvaç)

Rapporto preliminare: parte I*

Il primo scavo archeologico che ha interessato Antiochia di Pisidia risale al 1° maggio 1924, quando David M. Robinson, Enoch E. Peterson, Feizy Bey e William M. Ramsay, lasciando Costantinopoli arrivarono a Smyrna incamminandosi verso est fino a raggiungere l'8 maggio, alle ore 4 del pomeriggio, il paese di Yalvaç, il villaggio che s'adagia sulle falde delle colline di Antiochia (foto 1). Da quanto riportato dal diario, il 17 giugno inizia lo scavo della chiesa sotto la *plateia* di Tiberio, e il 23 dello stesso mese nella cosiddetta *Basilica Church* (in seguito questa diverrà la *Basilica di S. Paolo*). Bisogna attendere gli anni 80 del XX secolo per rivedere l'attenzione volta alla città: con i surveys di St. Mitchell, si hanno anche gli scavi condotti sulla *Basilica Church* da parte di un team del museo archeologico locale condotto da Mehmet Taşhalan¹. Due, se non vado errato, sono stati gli scavi effettivamente condotti sulle costruzioni ecclesiastiche — da dire che in questi ultimi due anni il nuovo direttore del museo, Dr Ü. Demirer,

* Ci preme, in questa sede, riconoscere la gentilezza della Direzione delle Antichità turche nell'accordarci il permesso richiesto. Il Dr Ünal Demirer, direttore del Museo di Yalvaç, è stato di una attenzione squisita e di un aiuto impagabile nel risolvere problemi logistici relativi al materiale tenuto in deposito dal 1924. Devo, inoltre, alla sua capacità informatica anche il testo del diario relativo alla spedizione del 1924 (*Diary of 1924. Michigan Expedition in Pisidian Antioch*). L'équipe al lavoro nel settembre 2003 comprendeva il Dr M. Turillo, la Prof. K. Douramani, la Dr.ssa M. M. Ionaşcu e M. di Rodi. Ringrazio, infine la dr.ssa A. Acconci per la sua competenza e gentilezza versate nella lettura di queste pagine.

¹ M. Taşhalan, "Excavations at the Church of St. Paul", in *Actes du 1^{er} Congrès International sur Antioche de Pisidie*, textes réunis par Th. Drew-Bear, M. Taşhalan et Ch. M. Thomas, Lyon – Paris 2002, 9-32; dello Stesso si può vedere in *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 8 (1998) 323-356 con bibl. relativa agli scavi precedenti; St. Mitchell and M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch. The Site and its Monuments*, with contributions by J. Burdy, M. Byrne, J. Öztürk and M. Taşhalan, London 1998, spec. 201-218. Per la città, cf. TIB 7, 185-188; St. Mitchell, "The Settlement of Pisidia in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period: Methodological Problems", in *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraums*, hrs. von K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Koder und P. Soustal, Wien 2000, 139-152.

condurre uno scavo-restauro del pavimento musivo della grande *Basilica Church* — ed in nessuno di essi si fa menzione del materiale scultoreo d'epoca medievale rinvenuto².

L'intento della campagna del 2003 era quello di catalogare il materiale tardo-antico e bizantino del museo archeologico, ed il nostro primario intento è stato quello di aprire il deposito del 1924. Lo stato del vano che conservava i frammenti (grandi e piccoli), angusto e buio, rendeva difficile un'ispezione accurata; ancora, la ristrettezza degli ambienti sotterranei impediva di rimuovere i pezzi accatastati da decenni e portarli in un salubre e luminoso ambiente di lavoro. Ciò che si presenta, dunque, è soltanto una parte di quanto il deposito antico conserva, potendo rimuovere soltanto i pezzi più a vista³.

Da questi iniziali accenni risulta che non possiamo dire con certezza da dove esattamente venga il materiale che studiamo. Certamente restano le due chiese come i più plausibili luoghi di provenienza, ma né il diario di scavo, né i brevi rapporti presentati da Robinson⁴ danno un chiaro riferimento per il rinvenimento dei pezzi. Allo stato attuale delle cose possiamo solo ragionevolmente ipotizzare che l'arredo architettonico in esame possa essere quello relativo alle due chiese della città. Ma non solo! Anzitutto è da dire che la città è solo

² Si ritiene che il materiale marmoreo esposto nel giardino del museo sia da riferirsi allo scavo recente o, come accertato dal riscontro sui registri del museo, provenienti dai quartieri di Yalvaç. Questo materiale, in larga parte, non trova soddisfacente indicazioni (da dove viene, a quale altezza e sezione della chiesa sia stato rinvenuto, etc.) all'interno delle pubblicazioni seguite negli anni. Solo qualche accenno ad un paio di pezzi è stato fatto da: A. B. Yalçın, "Un'inedita scultura mediobizantina dell'Anatolia", in *Actes du 1^{er} Congrès International sur Antioche de Pisidie*, 436, pl. 5 e 6; O. Feld, "Mittelbyzantinische Sarkophage", *Röm. Quartalschrift* 65 (1971) 171, T. 9b; per C. Barsanti, vedi scheda del catalogo.

³ Sarà compito futuro quello di muovere tutto il deposito e controllare anche gli alti ammassi che si appoggiano alle pareti. Quanto resta strano a chi scrive è che qualche pezzo presente nel "deposito del 1924" (convenzionalmente così chiamata la stanza che dovrebbe raccogliere i reperti degli scavi di quell'anno) porta un numero di catalogo che, tuttavia, non trova riscontro nelle registrazioni d'arrivo conservate nel museo. La seconda parte di questo rapporto, invece, interesserà i pezzi scultorei presenti nel giardino del museo. Il museo archeologico di Yalvaç nasce dalla collezione iniziata nel 1948; nel 1960 i reperti vengono esposti in una sala del Belediye locale; nel 1963 si iniziò la costruzione del museo, completata nel 1965. Cf M. Önder, *The Museums of Turkey and Examples of the Masterpieces in the Museums*, Ankara 1983, 81.

⁴ Cf il suo: "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pisidian Antioch and at Sizma", *AJA* 28 (1924) spec. 443; E. Kitzinger, "A Fourth Century Mosaic Floor in Pisidian Antioch", in *Mansel'e Armağan: Mélanges Mansel (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları Dizi VII.)*, Ankara 1974, spec. 299-301 fa notare la diversificazione di fasi nella stesura planimetrica della chiesa; Mitchell and Wealkens 207 e ss. riscontrano difficoltà e incongruenze nei dati offerti dal diario di scavo.

in minima parte scavata e conosciuta — ed anche le due chiese restano per molti versi un vero “enigma archeologico” dovuto alla inadeguata (o nulla) documentazione relativa agli scavi passati — per cui non si può a-priori misconoscere la presenza di altre costruzioni ecclesiastiche urbane o extraurbane⁵. Quanto appare evidente è la non chiara collocazione urbana delle due documentate chiese. Lo sviluppo edilizio cristiano, nel caso specifico quello ideologico della chiesa antiochena, s'è avvalso di qualche principio per scegliere il luogo esatto delle sue costruzioni?⁶ Quale delle due chiese è la chiesa cattedrale? Quella sotto la *plateia* di Tiberio assume, a nostro parere, un significato ideologico-urbano di gran lunga più importante, senza nulla dire della evidente variazione planimetrica, tale da far pensare, ipoteticamente, ad una continuità medievale⁷.

La quasi totalità del materiale rinvenuto appartiene alla età medievale (X-XI secolo), e d'essa la percentuale più cospicua riguarda epistili di *templon*, arredo divenuto classico in quel periodo. Amara è

⁵ Molti pezzi vengono dai quartieri del paese moderno, segno evidente che la città antica serviva come deposito lapideo per le nuove costruzioni che si succedevano a Yalvaç. Questo “furto” dall'area archeologica venne accusato anche da Robinson nel diario, durante la stessa campagna di scavo del 1924. Qualche pezzo, inoltre, come si vedrà, proviene da qualche nuovo villaggio vicino: sono da ritenere questi frammenti come “pietre erranti”?

⁶ Cf su questo argomento le buone osservazioni di G. Cantino Wataghin, “... *ut haec aedes Christo Domino in ecclesiam consecratur*. Il riuso cristiano di edifici antichi tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo”, in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto Medioevo*, (46 Settimana di Studi, Spoleto), Spoleto 1999, II, 722 e ss.

⁷ Si vedano le speculazioni emesse da W. M. Ramsay, “Anatolica quaedam, III”, JHS 48 (1928) 52-53 a proposito d'un sigillo in ferro rinvenuto in questa chiesa. Strano che lo Studioso non abbia preso visione del buon commentario di G. Mendel sul reliquiario di S. Trofimo, proveniente da Synnada: “Catalogue des monuments grecs, romains et byzantins du Musée Impérial Ottoman de Brousse”, BCH 33 (1909) 342-347 (rivisitato da H. Buschhausen, *Die spätromischen Metallschreine und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*. I: *Katalog* (Wiener Byz. Studien 9), Wien 1971, sezione C, pp. 309-311). Trofimo è originario di Antiochia di Pisidia, ma subì il martirio a Synnada, sotto Probo (*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, ed. I. B. De Rossi et L. Duchesne [Acta SS. Nov. II/1], Bruxellis 1894: XIII kal. Oct. in sinada, frigie, natal. Trophi, p. 123); la data del 19 Settembre è ripresa dal *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* [*Propylaeum ad Acta SS. Nov.*], ed. H. Delehaye, Bruxellis 1902, 57, 17 e ss.; nella versione greca del martirio [Acta SS. Sept. VI, 20 = BHG 1853] la data è anticipata al 18 di Sett.; la versione del *Vat. gr.* 1853 [G. Mercati, in ST 5, Roma 1901, 223-226 = BHG 1855] del X sec. [P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1745-1962*, t. I, Città del Vaticano 1970, 345-6] è mutila, carente di date e diversa da BHG 1853). Gli altri antichi martiri relativi alla città (a parte Giorgio, vescovo, sotto gli iconoclasti), sono: il 28 Sett., Alfio (Alessandro), Zosimo, Nikon, Eliodoro, Marco, sotto Diocleziano, *Syn. Eccl. Const.* 86, 27 - 87,2; il 22 Nov., Marco e Stefano, sotto Diocleziano, *ib.* 246, 18 e ss.; il 20 Giugno, Zosimo, sotto Traiano, *ib.* 757, 12 e ss.; il 17 luglio, Marina, *ib.* 825, 14 e ss.

la constatazione che pur essendoci stato lo scavo, non si possa porre in contesto, con la giusta successione dei pezzi, la costituzione del *templon*. Si è cercato invano nel diario di scavo qualche accenno al rinvenimento dei pezzi o all'andamento dei muri, come essi apparivano nel processo di scavo. I casi peculiari del *templon* di Xanthos⁸, la cui ricostruzione si basa sui dati di scavo, come quanto fu trovato a Selçikler (Sebaste, in Frigia)⁹, restano casi isolati in Asia Minore; il rilevante materiale medio-bizantino, sparso nei musei e spesso non catalogato o pubblicato, trova difficoltà a collocarsi nel suo ambito culturale.

Il *templon*, questa barriera marmorea, ancora aperta e capace così di lasciar correre la vista da est ad ovest, e viceversa, diventa uno dei luoghi più significanti per la mentalità religiosa medievale. Su questa struttura di decoro architettonico si concentra il massimo sforzo della plastica scultorea bizantina, rendendola in questo modo un "luogo" ove chi guarda da ovest¹⁰ riceve segni carichi di valenze spirituali vissute ed interpretate da chi agisce nello spazio retrostante ad est. Molto è stato scritto su questo decoro e sulla tecnica impiegata¹¹, po-

⁸ J.-P. Sodini, "Une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos", *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris 1980, 119 e ss.

⁹ N. Firatlı, "Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sebaste de Phrygie. Rapport préliminaire", *Cah. Arch.* 19 (1969) 151-166; Id., "Uşak-Selçikler kazısı ve çevre araştırmaları 1966-1970", *Türk Ark. Dergisi* 19/2 (1970) 109-160; Id., "Excavation at Selçikler (Sebaste) in Phrygia", *Yayla* 1979, 18-21.

¹⁰ La lettura frontale, prospettica, è quella che dovrebbe significare di più all'interno di questa religiosità e aspettativa nell'avvicinarsi, separandosi, al santuario; il piano d'appoggio richiede un altro tipo di lettera, quasi obliqua, "sussidiaria", resa con moduli e registri percentualmente superiori e più spaziosi rispetto a quelli che sovrastano in alto.

¹¹ Si vedano inizialmente: A. W. Epstein, "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?", *Journal of the British Arch. Association* 134 (1981) 1-28 con bibliografia sui casi "provinciali"; L. Nees, "The iconographic Program of Decorated Chancel Barrier in the pre-Iconoclastic Period", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 1983, 15-26; attinente e ricco in bibliografia è C. Barsanti, "Scultura anatolica di epoca medio-bizantina", *Milieu. Studi e Ricerche d'Arte Bizantina*, Roma 1988, 275-295; J.-P. Sodini, "La sculpture médio-byzantine: le marbre en ersatz et tel qu'en lui-même", in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. by C. Mango and G. Dagron, Aldershot 1995, spec. 292 e ss. Per la capitale, N. Firatlı, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée Archeologique d'Istanbul*, catalogue revu et présenté par C. Metzger, A. Pralong et J.-P. Sodini, Paris 1990; ancora utili i testi di A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Age, II, (X^e-XIV^e siècle)*, Paris 1976, e sulla capitale *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV^e-X^e siècle)*, Paris 1963. Per la *facies* italiana: *Alle sorgenti del Romanico. Puglia XI secolo*, a cura di P. Belli d'Elia, Bari 1975 (aggiornamento bibl. 1986); G. Bertelli, "Linee e tendenze artistiche della scultura paleocristiana e altomedievale in Capitanata", in G. Bertelli e M. Pasculli Ferrara, *Contributi per la Storia dell'Arte in Capitanata tra Medioevo e Età Moderna*, 1. *La scultura*, a cura di M. S. Calò Mariani, Galati-

co s'è pensato su cosa probabilmente questa galleria iconico-geometrica volesse dire¹². Ritengo che la sua lettura debba cercarsi anzitutto e soprattutto nel mondo liturgico; meglio detto, nel mondo della liturgia eucaristica, nell'anafora, ove la separazione spaziale è la causa per chiedere — ed attuare — l'unificazione (σὺν) delle schiere angeliche con quelle umane nel servizio (λειτουργία) e nella glorificazione (δοξολογία). Lo si chiami pure come i testi, nello loro molteplicità, lo designano¹³, ma la "barriera" è una chiave di lettura che non tocca

na 1989, 1-51: ottime le schede di M. Milella Lovecchio, "La scultura bizantina dell'XI secolo nel musco di S. Nicola di Bari", *MEFRMA* 93 (1981/1), 7-87 con buona bibliografia sui depositi italiani; recente è A. Campese Simone, "Un'iconostasi bizantina dai frammenti impiegati nella cattedrale di Trani", *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 71 (1998-1999 [2000]) 211-240; P. Pensabene, "Capitelli bizantini e bizantineggianti della cripta del duomo di Trani", in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Ferdinanda de' Maffei*, Roma 1996, 375-403. Fondamentale per i capitelli medio-bizantini resta M. Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle. Studien zur Typologie und Chronologie* [Asia Minor Studien, B. 25], Bonn 1997. Recenti sono i capitelli e frammenti di epistili a Keramos, in Caria: A. Acconci, "La decorazione scultorea: catalogo", in V. Ruggieri et Alii, *Il golfo di Keramos: dal tardo antico al medioevo bizantino*, Soveria Manelli 2003, nn. 60-61, 67-69, 70-71, pp. 299-317. Inediti alcuni pezzi a Mylas, Muğla, Stratonikeia.

¹² H. Buchwald, "Chancel Barrier Lintels Decorated with Caved Arcades", *JÖB* 45 (1995) spec. 237-241 è riduttivo nella lettura ritenendo la serie degli archetti come "the Gats to the Heavenly Jerusalem as described in Revelation 21:12".

¹³ Ancora utile è L. Clugnet, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église Grecque*, Paris 1895, 148-9 (τέμβλον et alia). All'evidenza costantinopolitana (C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrium of St. Artemios at Constantinople", *Zograf* 10 [1981] 40-43; A.-M. Talbot, "The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine", *AB* 112 [1994] 99-1000 dove "painted" suona in modo equivoco come traduzione di ἱσοπομένῃ, che, credo, per il contesto meglio si pensi a "represented"), si aggiunga: C. Pasini, *Vita di San Filippo d'Agira attribuita al monaco Eusebio*, (OCA 214), Roma 1981, 136, 115. Come "idea costruttiva", piuttosto che come arredo liturgico-architettonico — e ci si avvicina forse al senso simbolico ritenuto e richiesto dall'immaginario teologico medievale — sono utili: N. Asutay-Fleissig, *Templonanlagen in den Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens*, Frankfurt a. M. 1996; F. Dell'Aquila – A. Messina, "Il *Templon* nelle chiese rupestri dell'Italia Meridionale", *Byz* 59 (1989) 20-47. Si noti, infine, l'ambiguità del termine, non liturgico, in G. Dagron et D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, avec A. Hermay, J. Richard et J.-P. Sodini, Paris 1987, n° 24. Interessante è il passaggio seguente: "il cosmetis (κοσμήτης) [N. Firatli, *Découverte* 162] è in relazione con il biblico e il santo ornamento che designa il sigillo del Cristo di Dio crocifisso adornato per mezzo della croce [potremmo verosimilmente pensare ad un pluteo con croce lemniscata?]. I cancelli (κάγκελλα: G. Traina, "Iscrizioni bizantine da Bargyia (Caria)", *OCP* 56 [1990] nn° 1-2, p. 190-191; altrimenti detto τὰ διάστυλα τοῦ βήματος: A. C. Bandy, *The Greek Inscriptions of Crete*, Athens 1970, n° 48, p. 78-9) sono quelli che designano il luogo della preghiera, nel quale si indica l'ingresso del popolo dall'esterno, mentre l'ingresso dall'interno riguarda il Santo dei Santi ed è accessibile ai soli sacerdoti." Cf N. Borgia, *Il Commentario liturgico di S. Germano, patriarca costantinopolitano e la versione latina di Anastasio Bibliotecario*, Grottaferrata 1912, 13.

solo lo sviluppo artistico di una cultura, né solo l'evoluzione liturgica di un rito, ma ancora e soprattutto l'avvenuta creazione di una mentalità, di un immaginario religioso iniziato storicamente e culturalmente, a mio avviso, già nell'ottavo secolo¹⁴.

Ritornando ad Antiochia di Pisidia, due sono le evidenze più immediate: la fioritura della città nel X-XI secolo e la produzione di suppellettile marmorea. Ambedue convergono nel segnalare una continuità della vita urbana ed un mecenatismo — al momento di natura ecclesiastica — volti alla produzione del decoro architettonico in marmo¹⁵. Sembra prematura, almeno per quanto si comincia a conoscere del deposito archeologico ad Antiochia, avanzare dati certi sulla qualità del marmo e la tecnica impiegata per lavorarlo. In genere si è constatata la presenza di marmo le cui qualità richiamano quelle del docimeno (docimite, o synnadico), sia nel tipo di bianco rosato e luminoso che in quello di bianco, e, in qualche caso, forse proconnesio (?), pur se lo stato in cui questi frammenti sono stati trovati lascia l'identificazione ancora dubbiosa¹⁶. Ritornare nuovamente in questa sede sulla spesso citata lettera di Leone, metropolita di Synnada, a proposito dei πρίσται¹⁷ per asserire con certezza non solo la funzione ancora produttiva della cave, ma anche la scuola dei locali marmorari itineranti mi sembra, a dir poco, prematuro. In effetti bisogna riconoscere che le fonti sono mute sulla continuità produttiva delle ca-

¹⁴ Ne esprimevo l'inizio in *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582-867): its History and Structural Elements*, (OCA 237), Roma 1991, 182 e ss. Spero in altra sede di dilungarmi sulla genesi alto-medievale di questa visione del mondo che, spesso si misconosce, sembra unire le due sfere (orientale ed occidentale) d'un primitivo unico impero. Si veda l'evoluzione a Roma dal 772 all'824 in: Aa. Vv., "Seminario sulla tecnica e il linguaggio della scultura a Roma tra VIII e IX secolo", in *Roma e l'età carolingia*. Atti delle giornate di studio (3-8 maggio 1976), a cura dell'Istituto Naz. di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Roma 1976, 267-288 (per quanto possibile, in questo rapporto, si terrà come base della nostra scheda l'esempio dato in queste pagine).

¹⁵ Intendo qui non solo la città, ma anche il suo immediato territorio: il villaggio di Sağır Köyü, di Eleği, di Hüyük Köyü. Alla fine del XIX secolo, a Yalvaç appartenevano giuridicamente 33 villaggi, ed il metropolita di Antiochia risiedeva ad Isparta: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie. Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie Mineure*, I, Paris 1890, 806 e 846-852.

¹⁶ Per il docimeno, cf. D. Monna - P. Pensabene, *Marmi dell'Asia Minore*, Roma 1977, 27-77; R. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, Roma 1986², 169-171; Barsanti, *Scultura anatolica* 284-5.

¹⁷ *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synnada and Syncellus*, ed. by P. Pollard Vinson (CFHB 23), Washington 1995, 72,15, con il commentario a pp. 128-129 sulla lettura data da L. Robert ("Les Kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-sciés. Sur le letters d'un métropolitte de Phrygie au X^e siècle. Philologie et réalités", *Journal des savants* 1962, spec. 37-43 [ora anche in *Opera Minora Selecta*, VII, Amsterdam 1990, 103-109]).

ve in questo periodo; al contrario, e a riguardo con ragione si esprime Sodini, si nota un reimpiego di marmo antico con formule medioevali¹⁸, reimpiego riscontrato anche nel nostro territorio. Anni or sono, C. Mango espresse questo stato di *impasse* analizzando la chiesa di Costantino Lips a Costantinopoli, uno status applicabile e valido in gran parte nelle regioni anatoliche: "Si, au contraire, les carrières n'étaient plus exploitées, il s'ensuivrait que toute la sculpture byzantine médiévale était faite avec des pièces de remploi, ce que projetterait une lumière inattendue non seulement sur cette sculpture, mais aussi sur le niveau de la technologie byzantine"¹⁹.

Si arriva così a toccare la tecnica espressa nei pezzi che seguono, una tecnica decisamente povera nella sua strumentazione. Da qualche frammento possiamo con certezza affermare che essi venivano certamente rifiniti, e probabilmente anche tagliati *in loco*. La punta, ridotta in dimensioni, è evidente sul retro di un epistilio per schizzare il motivo base, di natura fitomorfa, che non è stato poi sviluppato; ancora si vede il lavoro della punta sui listelli tondi dei piccoli registri. Lo scalpello a lama piatta ha levigato i piani di fondo e ammorbidito i contorni dei motivi; quello, invece, a pettine, è stato più diffusamente impiegato nella spaziatura dei registri a più ampio respiro. Per un capitello del VI secolo, e per i pomelli dei pezzi medievali si è intervenuti con il trapano²⁰.

Resta da fare un'ultima considerazione relativa al repertorio figurativo. Lo stato in cui versavano i pezzi — quelli che qui presentiamo e quelli che seguiranno —, la mancata documentazione di provenienza e di contesto architettonico lasciano profonde lacune non solo per una "ricomposizione" dell'arredo, ma anche per la comprensione di una possibile procedura del lavoro di una bottega. La mancanza di una particolare impaginatura iconografica su un qualsiasi frammento che possa dare una chiave di ricomposizione di un *templon*, ci lascia, al momento, optare nelle pagine che seguono per un repertorio standard di temi decorativi. Per questo, allora, le asimmetrie, le irregolarità nella ripetizione seriale d'un motivo o qualche scompenso nella composizione di un registro possono facilmente ripetersi, come di fatto accade nel nostro repertorio. Il fine di questo rapporto intro-

¹⁸ Sodini, "La sculpture médio-byzantine", 289; d'altra opinione è Barsanti, "Scultura anatolica" 284.

¹⁹ C. Mango, "Seminario 1°", in *La civiltà bizantina dal IX all'XI secolo. Aspetti e problemi*, Bari 1978 (Corso di Studi II), 262.

²⁰ Utile è G. Macchiarella, "Note sulla scultura in marmo a Roma tra VIII e IX secolo", in *Roma e l'età carolingia* 289-299; cf. anche H. Leclercq, s.v. "Lapicides", DACL VIII, 1928, spec. 1326-1330 e figg. 2-7.

duttivo è la presentazione d'un materiale d'arredo architettonico finora sconosciuto che se da una parte fa rivivere la città di Antiochia di Pisidia, incrementa, arricchendolo considerevolmente, il patrimonio scultorio medio-bizantino.

[I pezzi e i frammenti che presentiamo in questa prima parte riguardano, dunque, ciò che formalmente si trova nel deposito del 1924, chiamato il deposito degli scavi americani, benché vari pezzi vengono non da Yalvaç, né dal sito antico. Si è dunque pensato di dare tutte le informazioni relative ai pezzi quando queste sono rinvenibili all'interno del registro d'inventario del museo. Spesso i pezzi non recano nessun numero di catalogo, o, come avviene, arrecano la sigla "A" davanti al numero. Questo numero, senza la sigla, può rispondere ad un pezzo che non è lo stesso: è stata "A" la iniziale sigla d'una catalogazione americana? Molte informazioni sulle caratteristiche scultoree non sono al momento offerte perché spesso non si poteva muovere il pezzo o frammento dalla sua posizione nell'accatastamento caotico della stanzetta; v'era bisogno di tempo e spazio, ancora, per rimuovere strati di calce o quant'altro aveva da anni ricoperto i registri decorati. Le dimensioni che seguono sono date in centimetri; alt. (= altezza); lungh. (= lunghezza); sp. (spessore). Quando presenti nel registro d'inventario, si danno anche le informazioni da esso desunte.]

CATALOGO

N° 1 – Frammento di epistilio (foto 2-2a).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 39; lungh. 60; sp. 18,5; n° catalogo nel Museo A721); *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* per la faccia di appoggio il registro misura 32,5 per 40 per la faccia prospettica 19 per 49.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana fine; la superficie è stata fortemente attaccata da macchie circolari di muffa.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: il retro è troppo rovinato e porta tracce di calce posteriore: nulla è rilevabile.

Destinazione originaria: frammento di epistilio relativo al supporto superiore di un *templon*.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: grande frattura sulla faccia prospettica che ha annullato metà della decorazione; scheggiature

di media entità coprono ambo le facciate, dovute esclusivamente al trasporto del pezzo.

Cornice: sulla faccia di posa due listelli piatti larghi 3; su quella prospettica si conserva il listello alto 2,5.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: negli spazi ridotti e nei solchi si è intervenuti forse con la punta; rifinitura con scalpello piatto e a pettine (quest'ultimo in facciata).

Profondità del solco: 8-10 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: non individuabile (vedi scheda seguente).

Strumenti impiegati: punta, scalpello piatto e a pettine; trapano nei pomelli.

Grado della pulitura: restano segni della punta sulla faccia prospettica; liscio il piano di appoggio.

Esecuzione: buona sulla facciata di appoggio; incerta e non ben rifinita su quella prospettica (su questa faccia si è avuto il danno maggiore nella conservazione del pezzo).

Motivo tipologico: la faccia prospettica conserva a destra l'inizio della decorazione ad archetti sostenuti da colonne tortili con basi semicircolari (probabilmente, come il frammento che segue, il capitello era stilizzato con campiture triangolari lisce). L'interno dell'arco campisce un motivo floreale (stelo gigliato?) i cui pomelli finali mostrano la lavorazione a trapano. Il registro di sinistra, forse anch'esso sovrastato da un archetto, ma più largo rispetto alla serie che s'apre a destra²¹, presentava una croce a bracci espansi terminanti con pomelli (vedi scheda seguente). Dalla posizione nel registro, viene da supporre che la croce fosse sostenuta da un perno poligonale attaccato all'asta verticale. La facciata di appoggio ben impaginata presenta un registro rettangolare riempito da losanga con un *soleil* (rosetta rotante) centrale. Il gioco della fettuccia a doppio solco lascia negli spazi angolari di risulta cerchi vuoti. La lavorazione della fettuccia e il suo intrecciarsi nei nodi angolari, benché mostri un buon effetto plastico, non stacca propriamente il motivo dal piano di fondo.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: da quanto resta l'effetto plastico risalta maggiormente nel gioco delle incisioni della rosetta rotante.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

²¹ Questo registro sovrastava il piano di appoggio lasciato intatto nella decorazione sottostante. Quasi certamente questo frammento era affiancato da quello che segue nella costituzione dell'architrave.

N° 2 – Frammento di epistilio (foto 3).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 39; lungh. 57; sp. 18,5; n° catalogo del Museo, nessuno; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* per il piano d'appoggio ca. 32,5 per 37; per la faccia prospettica si hanno 25 per 30 ca.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: come scheda precedente.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: il retro è perfettamente squadrato, con superficie lisciata con scalpello.

Destinazione originaria: frammento di epistilio relativo alla stesso cancello del frammento precedente. Assommando i dati di questo con precedente frammento, potrebbe ipoteticamente pensare a sezioni di architrave sui 90 cm in lunghezza.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: una frattura obliqua ha tagliato quasi al centro del registro di appoggio il blocco dell'epistilio; scheggiature sulla faccia a vista e frattura sull'angolo superiore della stessa faccia.

Cornice: i listelli piatti rispondono alle misure date per il frammento precedente.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: come il precedente, ma con una maggiore attenzione, come si dirà, nel trattamento della fettuccia e dei girali floreali.

Profondità del solco: 8-10 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: lisciato, pur se non totalmente rifinito.

Strumenti impiegati: come il precedente.

Grado della pulitura: in genere discreta; segni del pettine sul piano d'appoggio non decorato e sui listelli.

Esecuzione: in base allo stato relativamente buono (rispetto al precedente), l'intervento sembra aver prodotto un'opera abbastanza ben rifinita, con rilievo ben staccato dal piano di fondo.

Motivo tipologico: il frammento, pur riproponendo una tipologia perfettamente identica al pezzo precedente, si discosta per la maggior cura dell'incisione, per la doppia fettuccia meglio rifinita e staccata dal piano di fondo che si annoda alla fine degli assi della losanga. La campitura centrale, ancora un *soleil*, viene questa volta ristretta da un ulteriore gioco di nodi nei punti di tangenza del cerchio con la losanga. I cerchietti di risulta sono molto ben marcati e lisciati. La faccia prospettica richiama anch'essa quanto visto in precedenza; non solo la stessa croce con peduncolo è perfettamente discernibile sulla destra, ma l'archetto e il motivo gigliato si stagliano con un'incisione liscia e netta. La colonna è liscia, ma il capitello mostra le sfaccettature triangolari da cui parte l'imposta ar-

cata. Il motivo che si flette a sinistra riprende la foglia con pomello che chiude in basso il giglio fiorito del campo centrale. Tutto lascia pensare che abbiamo due sezioni dello stesso decoro e dello stesso *templon*. Le variazioni riscontrate su ambo i registri sembrano intenzionali, forse per variare lo stesso ritmo decorativo apportato sull'architrave; se così fosse, avremmo una modalità tecnica singolare.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: l'attenzione riservata al disegno ha acuito il gioco d'ombra generato dai girali e dai nodi della fettuccia, rendendo dosata e morbida la ricorrenza del motivo.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 3 – Pilastrino (?) (foto 4-4a).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 16,5; lung. 95; sp. 27.5; n° catalogo del Museo: illeggibile; *dimensioni dei registri decorati*: un solo registro, quello a faccia, presenta esattamente al centro un quadrato in negativo di 10 per 10; a destra e sinistra per 33,5 parte la decorazione in senso longitudinale; resta alta 11.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco con grana grossa.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: due fori sono posti simmetricamente su una facciata; il retro è rozzamente liscio, mentre la faccia opposta a quella coi fori porta un motivo floreale fatto con una punta molto fine. Forse il pezzo stava in piedi con la base avente il listello di 4 cm incassato al pavimento. Si nota, infatti, da questa parte, una carenza di lisciatura (attenta invece sul lato in alto) che s'attacca direttamente al motivo decorativo.

Destinazione originaria: probabilmente si tratta di un pilastrino (del *templon*?).

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: parte di un angolo è parzialmente rovinato alla base; smussature su tutti gli altri angoli e fratture su due dei lati. Il listello piatto di sinistra, esclusa la parte centrale, è quasi del tutto scomparso.

Cornice: listelli piatti su ambo i fronti lunghi; uno misura 2,5, mentre l'altro 4; sui fronti alti, uno misura 6, l'altro 4.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: si tratta di due piani sommariamente regolarizzati, mentre un altro, laterale al piano decorato, lasciato grezzo.

Profondità del solco: 4-6 mm

Lavorazione del retro: sulla adiacente, decorata facciata sinistra, si notano schizzati con punta, due disegni di motivi floreali, uno con rametti e fiori polilobati, l'altro con foglie d'edera e bulbi. L'altezza dei motivi raggiunge 25-26. Parte di questo retro, comunque, ha subito fratture lasciando però intatto lo schizzo.

Strumenti impiegati: scalpello a punta e a pettine.

Grado della pulitura: in genere si conserva netto il disegno del piano decorato, lasciando pulito il gioco dei motivi.

Esecuzione: buono l'uso dello scalpello nelle incisioni dei disegni, anche quando lo spazio diveniva estremamente stretto (sono piccole le variazioni riscontrabili nella ripetitività del motivo); lo scalpello a pettine ha lasciato tracce sul listello corto superiore.

Motivo tipologico: di natura prettamente musiva (il motivo ricorre nel pavimento musivo della cosiddetta chiesa di S. Paolo), la serie di piccoli cerchi campiti da rombi forma un tappeto d'insieme delicato quanto neutro. Un listello tondo su ambo i lati brevi definisce il registro alle estremità, ed accenna per metà al motivo decorativo prima dell'attacco del listello piatto della cornice superiore.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: il gioco di chiaroscuro si presenta continuo e uniforme con la scansione dei piani fino al fondo della piccola losanga centrale di risulta.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 4 – Pilastrino (foto 5-5a).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 23; lung. 80; sp. 18; n° catalogo del Musco 31: posto di ritrovamento "Kaş Cami Mahallesi avlusunda", comprato dal museo ove entrò nel 1953; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* 75 per 18 su ambo le facciate.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco con riflessi rosati.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: incasso di 6 per 3 nella parte posteriore.

Destinazione originaria: pilastrino d'angolo del cancello.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: gli angoli sono smussati da fratture avute nel passato; scheggiature lungo i bordi lunghi ed abrasioni sui registri decorati. Il pezzo mostra tracce evidenti di calce sulla sua superficie e sul bordo inferiore.

Cornice: due listelli piatti di 3,5 e 2,5 corrono lungo il registro a cerchi; un listello piatto di 3,5 ed un altro arrotondato di 1,5 sul registro contiguo; i bordi del registro a cerchi non presenta una corni-

ce, mentre l'altro presenta un listello piatto di 3,5; l'altro lato è illeggibile.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: non discernibile a causa della calce in superficie.

Profondità del solco: 6-8 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: con l'ausilio dello scalpello a punta si è regolarizzata la faccia lasciata libera; ancora con lo scalpello si è lavorato per creare l'incasso nel manufatto.

Strumenti impiegati: certamente la punta e lo scalpello a punta; impossibile stabile la presenza di quello a pettine.

Grado della pulitura: alquanto buona sia per i piani di fondo che per le parti emergenti del disegno.

Esecuzione: spedita nell'esecuzione del registro a cerchi; lenta ed impacciata nell'esecuzione dei due motivi floreali che accompagnano la rosetta polilobata.

Motivo tipologico: il ritmo dei cinque cerchi annodati con la doppia fettuccia arrotondata corre elegante e snella. Le campiture dei cerchi propongono il motivo a foglie lanceolate e a cuore; quest'ultime sono disegnate come caulicoli per una croce resa con foglie lanceolate molto stilizzate. Il cerchio centrale, di difficile lettura per la sua campitura centrale abrasa, sembra presentare un disegno che si affida ad una fettuccia semplice e tonda tesa a formare un motivo a croce (?). L'altro registro propone un soggetto molto conosciuto. Nel campo centrale un cerchio reso con la fettuccia a doppio tralcio racchiude il motivo floreale a otto petali raccordati al centro da un pomello (?). I lati presentano una fantasiosa, ma standardizzata, composizione floreale terminante con tre lunghe foglie tondeggianti.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: il buon grado di pulitura sopperisce alla mancanza di una forte incisione facilitando un gioco di luce morbida sui piani campiti.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 5 – Frammento di pluteo (foto 6).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 35; lung. 70; sp. 13 ; n° catalogo del Museo: non rinvenibile; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* come i precedenti.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco con venature grigie a grana fine.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: impossibile stabilirli.

Destinazione originaria: frammento di pluteo.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: pessimo. Il frammento si trova ancora incassato nel cumulo dei pezzi marmorei del deposito, per cui è stato impossibile dedurre dati.

Cornice: la modanatura presenta gola, fascia e toro (spessori 7, 10, 2,5).

Trattamento del piano di fondo: lo stato deplorabile in cui versa il frammento ci esime dal dare informazione sul piano di fondo, sulla profondità del solco e sulla lavorazione del retro.

Strumenti impiegati: punta e scalpello.

Grado della pulitura: buona sui piani modanati, sommaria sul restante del registro centrale.

Esecuzione: molto buona sulle cornici, sommaria per quanto resta del motivo centrale.

Motivo tipologico: si potrebbe pensare ad una croce, con estremità fortemente allungate (in altezza conservata per 23 cm) e terminanti con pomelli, alla cui basi si innestano due cipressi quasi a creare una composizione lemniscata. Quanto ci è pervenuto, tuttavia, forma il registro sinistro del pluteo che affiancava il registro centrale intravisto soltanto sulla destra. La tipologia potrebbe richiamare una croce più grande come campitura centrale.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 6 – Lastra, frammento (foto 7).

Dimensioni generali (approssimative): alt. 26; lung. 39; sp. 14; n° catalogo del Museo 1398; *dimensioni dei registri decorati*: cf. le dimensioni generali. Il pezzo viene dal villaggio di Çamharman, (10 km a nord di Yalvaç) e fu acquistato dal museo il 14 Nov. 1968.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana media

Destinazione originaria: frammento di lastra (pluteo? sarcofago?)

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: pessimi. Il frammento giace nell'ammasso disordinato del deposito.

Cornice: nessuna.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: dove esaminabile, pulito con lo scalpello.

Profondità del solco: ca. 5 mm

Lavorazione del retro: regolarizzata con scalpello, pur se non perfettamente rifinita.

Strumenti impiegati: certamente lo scalpello a lama piatta, trapano.

Grado della pulitura: buona, non si vedono segni lasciati dagli strumenti.

Esecuzione: discreta

Motivo tipologico: un listello piatto divide due registri decorati, lasciando intendere che il motivo continuava su ambo le direzioni. Una croce, con bracci espansi terminanti con pomelli traforati al centro, in linea con la chiusura dell'asta, e poggianti sul listello. L'altro motivo prevedeva una fantasiosa composizione floreale di cui si conserva solo una sezione ad onda. Le minute dimensioni del pezzo non consentono di accertare la sua natura: può essere tanto parte di un pluteo, quanto una lastra di sarcofago.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: impossibile da stabile.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 7 – Frammento di epistilio (foto 8-8a).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 33; lungh. 49; sp. 23; n° catalogo del Museo 1575, proveniente dallo stesso villaggio del pezzo precedente, e presumibilmente nello stesso giorno; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* il registro prospettico misura 49 per 20, quello di appoggio 18 per 23.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana media.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: impossibile stabilirli.

Destinazione originaria: sezione di un epistilio di *templon*.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: una frattura ha tagliato il pezzo quasi a metà. La faccia prospettica si conserva abbastanza bene, mentre quella di appoggio ha subito frattura negli angoli e scheggiature sul disegno.

Cornice: il piano d'appoggio prevedeva una sezione piatta di 18 con modanatura longitudinale di 6 su ambo i versanti; il piano frontale mostra un modanatura piatta di 2 su ambo i versanti.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: i segni della sbazzatura preliminare eseguita con la punta permangono sul registro frontale come anche sui fondi piatti del piano di appoggio. La rifinitura con lo scalpello ha annullato in gran parte queste irregolarità.

Profondità del solco: 5-9 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: non rilevabile.

Strumenti impiegati: punta, trapano e lo scalpello a punta; non si nota nulla dell'impegno di quello a pettine, forse impiegato sul piano d'appoggio.

Grado della pulitura: come detto sopra, l'uso seguente dello scalpello ha solo parzialmente regolarizzato i piani dove la punta è stata impiegata: questo soprattutto sulla faccia prospettica.

Esecuzione: la corsa degli archetti con le decorazione risulta ben fatta, senza ripensamenti; il piano d'appoggio, per quello che resta, presenta la stessa esecuzione.

Motivo tipologico: sulla faccia prospettica si conserva la fuga di tre archetti, e si intravede sulla sinistra l'inizio di un altro: classico motivo su un architrave di *templon*. Le colonne sono lisce, su plinto semicircolare ben staccato con una gola dalla base anch'essa semicircolare. I capitelli, già visti, mostrano i profili triangolari ben incisi e con una buona resa di chiaroscuro. Una doppia fettuccia tonda disegna l'arco, mentre al centro s'alza un fiore a due petali ovali. I campi degli archi ospitano una croce a bracci espansi convesse attaccata al listello di base da un perno a triangolo, e grandi foglie d'edera con punta cigliata flessa verso sinistra (questo forse lascia intendere che il motivo correva verso sinistra?). Una fettuccia doppia creava il registro decorato; dagli angoli ripartiva il tralcio doppio a creare una serie di losanghe; l'annodamento delle losanghe formava il centro di un cerchio che campiva un disegno a croce, reso con foglie ed elementi viminei arricciati alla fine.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: l'effetto prodotto era morbido e netto al tempo stesso, dovuto sia al gioco di chiaroscuro (sulla faccia prospettica) che alla purezza delle linee degli archi, ben distanziati ed equilibrati nell'intero registro.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 8 – Frammento di lastra (?) (foto 9).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 28; lungh. 50; sp. 16,5; n° catalogo del Museo A1438; viene dalla casa di Mehmet Aytaç, Safular mahallesi, ed entra nel museo il 29 Gen. 1969; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* le stesse dimensioni di sopra.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco con venature grigie.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: per il posto del suo rinvenimento nel deposito, è stato impossibile ispezionare il retro. In seguito il pezzo è stato riutilizzato per l'uso in qualche fontana: visibili sono i fori praticati fra i petali.

Destinazione originaria: deve probabilmente trattarsi di una lastra (pluteo?).

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: il frammento versa in pessime condizioni e la sua conservazione fino ad oggi è dovuta al suo reimpiego.

Cornice: un cordone tondo apre la serie di modanature: piatta (5 cm), gole e tori (7 cm), guilloche (8,5 cm), banda con tralcio d'edera [8 cm]) prima d'introdurre lo svolgimento orizzontale (?) del motivo decorativo; nella parte superiore un listello piatto (1 cm) divide il motivo circolare da un registro a specchiatura geometrica.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: impossibile stabilirlo.

Profondità del solco: tocca 10-12 mm nel motivo circolare, non rilevabile esattamente altrove.

Lavorazione del retro: la superficie è stata regolarizzata con lo scalpello a punta, ma non rifinita.

Strumenti impiegati: punta e scalpello.

Grado della pulitura: da quanto è possibile discernere, la pulitura è stata ben effettuata con lo scalpello sulle foglie e sulle cornici.

Esecuzione: spedita e ben ordinata sulle modanature i cui disegni sono stati sempre ben rispettati per tutto il corso nel momento della messa in opera.

Motivo tipologico: La ricchezza decorativa delle cornici, la loro ritmata scansione fanno pensare ad una lastra di recinzione la cui campitura centrale sfortunatamente non si lascia intravedere. L'apertura del registro centrale è dovuto ad una fettuccia circolare che raccoglie una composizione floreale (si conserva per 21 cm, ma il suo diametro originale era di 36) con sei lunghi petali. Il ricordo del motivo con la cornice rettangolare del registro si risolve con un caulicolo triangolare. Vorrei ritenere il nostro pezzo come una sezione angolare dell'intera lastra (la specchiatura geometrica sembra immergersi nel campo del tralcio d'edera, quasi a continuare, forse in senso longitudinale, la cornice al decoro interno della lastra), e pensare, per simmetria, a soluzioni analoghe anche negli altri angoli.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: il modellato creato dalle cornici resta elegante, così come lo sbalzo dell'incisione dei lunghi petali crea un forte elemento chiaroscurale.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 9 – Frammento di cornice (foto 10).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 25; lung. 53; sp. superiore 17, inferiore 10,5; n° catalogo del Museo A322 [registrazione sull'inventario come 322]. Arriva al museo l'8 sett. 1964, portato dal Sig. Abdullah Çini-

ci dal quartiere urbano di Kızılna; *dimensioni dei registri decorati*: 18 per 33,5.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: granito grigio.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: profilatura alla base e sezione obliqua sul retro.

Destinazione originaria: probabilmente si tratta di un frammento di cornice architettonica.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: pessima è la conservazione con frattura sul lato destro. La superficie è erosa, forse attaccata dagli agenti atmosferici.

Cornice: un leggera modanatura a sbalzo introduce un listello piatto, di 6 cm sul bordo superiore del frammento; questo, a sua volta, introduce a sbalzo il piano di fondo. Difficile stabilire se sul lato sinistro, dove presumibilmente iniziava la decorazione, v'era ancora uno listello a scalare con sezione trapezoidale.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: impossibile stabilirlo.

Profondità del solco: lo stato non consente se non un'approssimazione media di ca. 8 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: sbizzato con punta nella creazione della sezione obliqua atta all'incasso architettonico.

Strumenti impiegati: la punta, scalpello a pettine (evidente sul *kantharos*), a punta piatta e forse anche il trapano (per gli occhi dei pavoni).

Grado della pulitura: impossibile stabilirlo.

Esecuzione: discreta. La resa dei due pavoni che si abbeverano al *kantharos* è diversa: ad elementi naturali (il volgersi del pavone a destra) si oppone una forte schematizzazione del collo e delle zampe. S'è cercato con la punta di armonizzare il flusso del piumaggio, ma lo stato del pezzo ne impedisce una giusta valutazione. Discreto resta anche il disegno con relativa esecuzione del *kantharos* la cui profilatura è ben marcata, e ben definita è anche la proporzione della sua bocca.

Motivo tipologico: il motivo, anch'esso presente nelle decorazioni musive, è estremamente comune. In sé la scena è mutila (se la identificazione come cornice è giusta), in quanto manca il movimento che forse il pavone di destra tenta di accennare.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: lo sbalzo originale del vaso, come quello degli uccelli e del loro piumaggio doveva offrire un bel gioco chiaroscurale.

Datazione proposta: VI secolo.

N° 10 – Sezione di epistilio (foto 11-11a).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 15; lungh. 66; sp. 21; n° catalogo del Museo 204²², senz'altra indicazione; *dimensioni dei registri decorati*: per il piano prospettico alt. 12, lungh. 52; per il piano d'appoggio alt. 18, lungh. 66.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana media.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: nessun segno visibile.

Destinazione originaria: epistilio di *templon*.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: il pezzo risulta fratturato su ambo i lati; i listelli sui bordi orizzontali hanno subito scalfitture.

Cornice: listelli piatti di 1,5 corrono su ambo i registri.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: la punta è stata impiegata in modo preponderante, data la ristrettezza dei campi; lo scalpello a punta liscia sembra sia stato impiegato sul registro vuoto del piano d'appoggio

Profondità del solco: 12-13 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: non stabilita.

Strumenti impiegati: punta, scalpello a punta liscia, trapano.

Grado della pulitura: molto buono.

Esecuzione: abbastanza sicura nella definizione del disegno. Le imperfezioni sono riscontrabili nella impaginazione del programma della pagina prospettica. L'incertezza si riscontra nella non perfetta simmetria del motivo circolare, di quello a losanga ed infine nella doppia fettuccia divisoria che introduce gli archetti sulla sinistra, marcando così un diverso momento di disegno. Infatti, gli altri registri a disegno geometrico sono divisi solamente da un semplice solco.

Motivo tipologico: la faccia prospettica rientra nella tipologia della fuga degli archetti, questa volta creati con una fettuccia a tre capi e nella risulta s'erge uno stelo gigliato. Ritorna la stessa tipologia di capitello stilizzato su colonne lisce posate su plinti triangolari (il primo accenna ad una forma scalare). Palme stilizzate campiscono i registri dei tre archi (si intravede un quarto sulla sinistra). Dopo la fettuccia divisoria, un cerchio racchiude un fiore con foglie lanceolate raccolte al centro da un pomello traforato. Segue

²² Il frammento di epistilio che presentiamo è stato già in precedenza visitato da C. Barsanti, "La scultura", 283 e tav. IV, 3. Dalla foto si deduce che il pezzo, nel 1985-6 stava fuori (nel giardino?), e che poi è stato rimesso nel deposito, forse al tempo della ristrutturazione del giardino stesso.

una losanga a nastro vimineo il cui campo è occupato da quattro orbicoli a forte sbalzo. Dagli angoli verticali della losanga parte un altro capo vimineo che riempie i caulicoli con cerchietti a doppia fettuccia. Una forma stellare, con fettuccia doppia e disegno bizzarro, riempie infine l'ultimo registro parzialmente conservatosi a destra. Il piano d'appoggio ha riquadri decorati divisi da banda a fettuccia doppia. Sulla destra si presenta una rosetta pluripetala, con bottone centrale rilevata e raccolta da un cerchio a doppio tralcio. Dopo la sezione di appoggio sulla colonnina, ancora una losanga con il disegno simile alla precedente, ma avente nella partitura centrale un fiore (croce?) tetrapetalo. La forma dei petali, e questo denota una certa cura, segue l'andamento schiacciato della forma romboidale, creando una variazione nei petali da permettere la lettura della croce. Segue una composizione ad ampio respiro, la cui elegante composizione propone una palma stilizzata da tralcio vimineo a due capi. La partitura centrale del disegno, fortemente allungata, racchiude una pigna lanceolata (questo motivo si trova, ma con tre foglie, in un frammento del museo archeologico di Bordur, credo inedito). La sezione conservata dell'ultimo riquadro a sinistra propone anch'essa una rosetta polilobata, forse raccordata al centro da un bottone in rilievo.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: molto equilibrati grazie alla costante profondità del solco. L'effetto chiaroscurale è forse molto più accentuato dalle ariose campiture del piano d'appoggio.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 11 – Sezione di epistilio (foto 12-12a).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 25; lungh. 27; sp. 18; n° catalogo del Museo: nessuno; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* superiore, 20 per 27; inferiore, 24 per 27.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana media.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: nessuno.

Destinazione originaria: epistilio di *templon*.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: la sezione di epistilio è frantumata su ambo i lati; inoltre, una grande frattura ha interessato la faccia prospettica

Cornice: il bordo inferiore della faccia prospettica è un listello piatto di 1,5 (quello superiore non si conserva); il piano d'appoggio conserva un listello piatto di 3, ed un altro di 2,5.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: si intravedono i segni della punta nelle campiture degli archetti; lo scalpello a lama liscia ha cercato di ammorbidire i piani.

Profondità del solco: 8-9 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: non stabilita.

Strumenti impiegati: punta, scalpello liscio e trapano.

Grado della pulitura: discreto.

Esecuzione: più attenta sul piano di appoggio dove le partiture geometriche ristrette sono state lavorate con attenzione e costanza; meno spedita ed incerta, invece, l'esecuzione sul piano prospettico, dove si intravede la perdita delle simmetrie e l'incertezza nell'incisione del disegno base.

Motivo tipologico: la ridotta dimensione del frammento mostra solamente sulla faccia a vista la serie degli archetti. Le colonne lisce posano su basi semicircolari e sostengono i capitelli a specchiatura geometrica, già vista; una fettuccia a doppio capo forma la curvatura dell'arco. Le partiture così create si susseguono dalla sinistra con quest'ordine: una foglia d'edera su base triangolare (registro frantumato) i cui contorni sono dati dalla fettuccia; elemento floreale con sei bracci a spirale terminanti con pomelli traforati (una forma fortemente stilizzata di giglio?); ancora su base triangolare, un albero di cipresso. Quest'ultimo, sia esso un cipresso o foglia, mostra le nervature a forte sbalzo con pomelli inferiori. Del piano di appoggio resta ben conservato il registro con specchiature geometriche, il cui intreccio fatto con tralci viminei offre un forte effetto plastico. L'effetto plastico, inoltre, è maggiormente marcato nella continuazione d'un capo della fettuccia che, in un diverso registro e impaginazione, apre una nuova decorazione. Si intravede bene a destra la creazione del nuovo registro, chiuso da un listello tondo, e unito alla fettuccia della specchiatura crea il campo circolare con dentro una croce a bracci leggermente espansi. La stessa formalità nella costituzione del pannello di sinistra che però non ha conservato il disegno.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: Molto più accentuato sul versante d'appoggio, dove il susseguirsi circolare della fettuccia crea un modulato e pacato effetto chiaroscurale. La rifinitura dell'intreccio, pur folta, lascia spazio al gioco di ombra. Forse il disegno meno rifinito, le campiture meno fitte, ma la faccia anteriore riceve un effetto d'ombra solo nelle soluzioni finali dove l'intervento del trapano acuisce la profondità dell'incisione.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.



Foto 2.



Foto 2a.

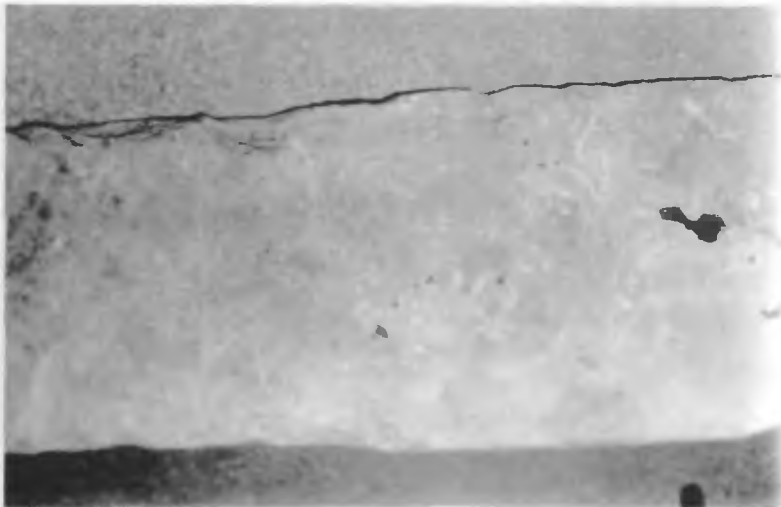
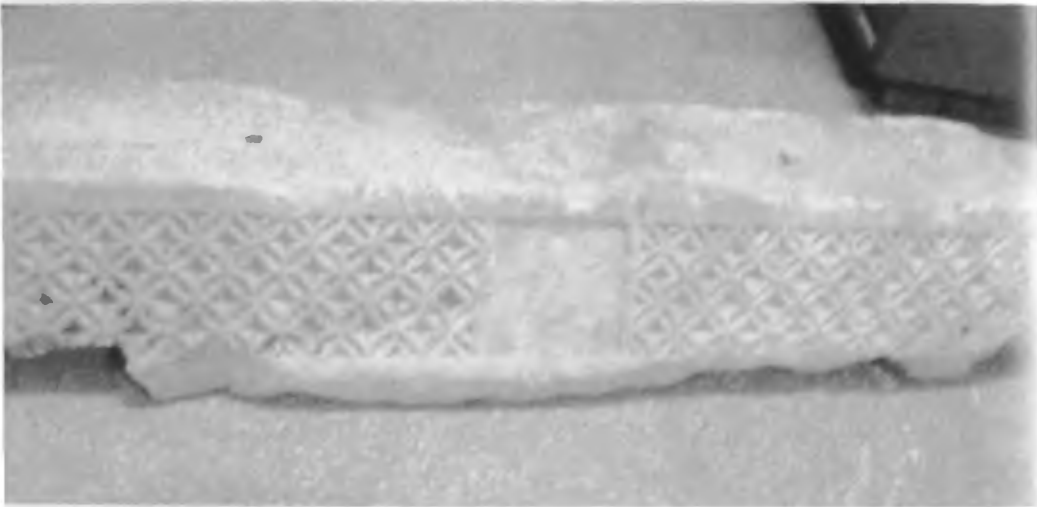


Foto 4a.



Foto 5.



Foto 5a.

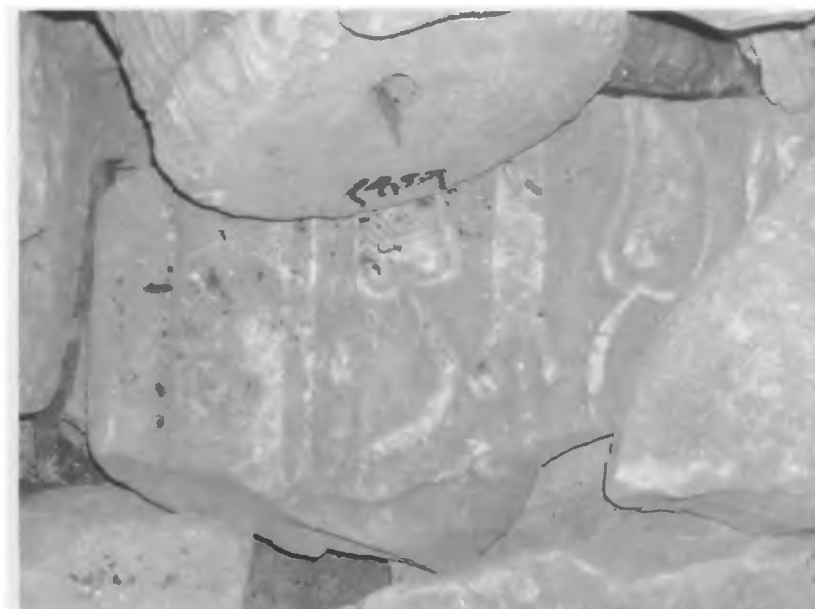


Foto 6.



Foto 7.



Foto 8.



Foto 8a.



Foto 9.



Foto 10.



Foto 11.





Foto 12a.



Foto 13.



Foto 14a.



Foto 15.



Foto 16.



Foto 16b.



Foto 16c.



Foto 16d.



Foto 17a.



Foto 17b.



Foto 17c.



Foto 20.

N° 12 – Frammento di epistilio (foto 13).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 33,5; lungh. 64; sp. 13,5 ; n° catalogo del Museo 211; proveniente da Bahtıyar köyü, 13 km a sud di Yalvaç, nessuna data di ingresso al museo; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* il piano prospettico misura 12 per 64; quello di appoggio 24,5 per 58.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana fine.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: nessun segno visibile.

Destinazione originaria: frammento di epistilio di *templon*.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: sfortunatamente questo bel pezzo di epistilio è stato rotto nella sua sezione di sinistra. Quello che resta si conserva bene, a parte il cemento moderno che ha coperto l'angolo superiore del piano prospettico.

Cornice: il piano d'appoggio conserva bene, su ambo i bordi, il listello piatto di 3. La faccia prospettica presenta in alto un bel listello (1 cm) a forte sbalzo; il bordo inferiore mostra segni di incertezza esecutiva lasciando la stretta modanatura piatta a ca. 1 cm.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: evidente l'uso del pettine sul piano d'appoggio e sulla rifinitura dei listelli; segni della punta nelle risulta fra i motivi a cerchi e sullo sbalzo del listello nella faccia prospettica.

Profondità del solco: 5-9 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: sbizzato con la punta e sommariamente regolarizzato.

Strumenti impiegati: punta, trapano, e scalpello, liscio e a punta.

Grado della pulitura: molto buono nella rifinitura del decoro.

Esecuzione: lineare e spedita per il piano d'appoggio dove, forse, il soggetto conosciuto lasciava poche difficoltà esecutive; incerta ed esitante è invece la procedura per il piano prospettico che presenta un soggetto nuovo accanto alla ben nota serie di archetti. Rigide e troppo stilizzate le foglie d'edera su una cadenza di tralcio che avrebbe richiesto maggiore morbidezza.

Motivo tipologico: il frammento sul piano prospettico prevedeva un altro elemento architettonico alla sua sinistra, giacché l'inizio della decorazione è la coda finale di una grande foglia. Inoltre, sempre da sinistra, continua il movimento sinuoso d'un viticcio con virgulti, piccole foglie, terminando alla fine con tre foglie stilizzate d'edera. In una partitura di questo movimento si innesta, e molto naturalisticamente, un caprone con accentuate corna volte all'indietro (questo è l'unico esemplare di decorazione con elementi

zoomorfi). Senza alcun elemento di divisione, la decorazione continua con la serie degli archetti, sensibilmente ribassati nel registro, costituiti da colonne scanalate, con basi e capiteli di forma approssimativamente triangolare. Una doppia fettuccia disegna la luce e una foglia lanceolata nasce dall'incontro degli archi. Le partiture degli archetti campiscono un fiore polilobato e una croce con accentuati bracci espansi convessi, quasi librata nel mezzo del registro. Il piano d'appoggio presenta la partitura di posa per la colonnetta (25 cm), cui seguono tre cerchi annodati in successione da una fettuccia. Il primo rappresenta un *soleil* con accentuato pomello centrale, fortemente traforato; il secondo racchiude un fiore polipetalo, molto ben inciso e pomello della stessa fattura; il terzo teneva una croce con bracci espansi. Il frammento reca un notevole apporto di fantasia compositiva, pur se un certo formalismo frena la spontaneità degli elementi richiamati. La cura profusa nell'incisione, l'uso accurato del trapano non solo per i pomelli, ma anche per i piccoli virgulti e per l'occhio dell'animale fanno di questo frammento uno dei migliori nel deposito in esame.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: più evidente il gioco chiaroscurale sul piano d'appoggio dove in genere l'incisione è più profonda. Il piano prospettico rende meglio questo gioco dove maggiore è stata la cura del trapano.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 13 – Frammento di epistilio (foto 14-14a).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 34; lungh. 81; sp. 17,5; n° catalogo del Museo 1189. Il pezzo proviene dal villaggio di Aşağı Tırtar, dalla casa del Sig. Musa Biner, a ca. 20 km ad ovest di Yalvaç, ed entra nel museo il 26 Ott. 1967; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* per il piano prospettico abbiamo 81 per 15,5, mentre per il piano d'appoggio 45 per 30 ca.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana fine.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: nessuno.

Destinazione originaria: lungo frammento di epistilio di *templon*.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: il frammento è mutilo di una sezione a destra; a sinistra, invece, risulta fratturato lo spigolo superiore. Scheggiature sono riscontrabili lungo i bordi. Restano tracce di cemento sulla serie di archetti a sinistra.

Cornice: listello (ca. 1) piatto a forte sbalzo limita il registro decorato del piano prospettico; il piano d'appoggio, invece, non ha avuto tempo per essere terminato.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: il piano d'appoggio conserva evidenti tracce della punta nella regolarizzazione della superficie; si è intervenuti poi con lo scalpello a pettine.

Profondità del solco: 5-7 mm.

Lavorazione del retro: non rilevata.

Strumenti impiegati: la punta, come detto, è intervenuta in modo continuo; scalpello a lama liscia e a pettine.

Grado della pulitura: discreto.

Esecuzione: il motivo del piano prospettico, pur essendo ripetitivo, ha avuto pochissima cura nella sua esecuzione. Le proporzioni all'interno delle singole partiture sono tozze e spesso rasentano l'approssimazione nell'esecuzione del disegno di base. L'esecuzione delle colonne e dei capitelli lascia molto a desiderare. Un discorso a parte merita, invece, il piano d'appoggio, lasciato allo stato quasi embrionale. La croce non conserva la sua assialità verticale, ed il secondo motivo è stato lasciato non finito (cf. il dettaglio nella foto 14a). Questo motivo conserva la partitura centrale costituita da un fiore esapetalo, con foglie lanceolate lasciate non rifinite, e nel rilievo e nella pulitura finale (se ne vedono bene i segni del pettine). Il cerchio prevedeva lo sbalzo della fettuccia il cui segno inciso resta al di fuori di 15 mm senza che si sia proceduto all'incisione.

Motivo tipologico: tutto il campo prospettico è occupato dalla serie di archetti. La colonna è tozza, scanalata e poggianti su una pseudo-base triangolare; il capitello, invece, sembra la continuazione dello scanalato della colonna con due aggetti triangolari rozzamente eseguiti. Ritorna il solito stelo gigliato fra gli archi, mentre le partiture create dagli archi racchiudono un approssimativo motivo floreale, polilobato, con fettuccia che ne allarga le dimensioni senza rispettare il disegno nella parte superiore.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: l'onda creata dalle fettucce e dalle scanalature delle colonne è l'unico effetto percepibile sul piano prospettico.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 14 – Capitello (foto 15).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 25; lato sup. 46; diam. di base 23; n° catalogo del Museo 24 (senza indicazioni); *moduli scalari dell'abaco*: dall'alto 3, 3, 1,5 e 3,5; *registro della base* 3,9.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana media.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: nessuno.

Destinazione originaria: capitello.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: il capitello è stato segato a metà; la metà conservata, inoltre, ha avuto una frattura in un angolo superiore. La decorazione della base è consunta e scheggiata.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: abbastanza buono nella lisciatura, pur se permangono carenze di pulizia.

Profondità del solco: da 18 a 20 mm.

Lavorazione del retro (fondo): si conserva il foro d'incasso di 3,5 per 7.

Strumenti impiegati: trapano, punta, scalpello a lama liscia.

Grado della pulitura: buona, un po' meno nelle partiture centrali.

Esecuzione: sicura nel ricamo a traforo sulle foglie d'acanto, ma rigida nei riquadri centrali non marcati da una sicura ed esatta incisione. Il collarino, da quanto resta d'esso, partecipa del buon lavoro del trapano.

Motivo tipologico: capitello a cesto ben conosciuto nella capitale nel VI secolo. Quattro angolari foglie d'acanto raccolgono la fitta tessitura delle partiture centrali dominate da una specchiatura centrale trapezoidale la cui qualità d'esecuzione, tuttavia, non s'addice alla ricercatezza mostrata sugli altri spartiti. Motivi floreali, a giglio e a palma, campiscono queste partiture limitate da un listello piatto e si inseriscono nel registro centrale della faccia nei rispettivi quattro lati dei capitelli. Tutti i registri bassi conservano, a loro volta, gli arrotondamenti di rifinitura delle foglie d'acanto. Il collarino, lavorato anch'esso col trapano, doveva mostrare un ritmo di foglie allungate, ma non d'acanto. Sia come tipo che come esecuzione, questo capitello resta ad oggi un *unicum* in questo museo.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: la buona incisione e soprattutto la profondità raggiunta dal trapano arrecano morbidezza al manufatto, attenuando anche l'impatto della specchiatura centrale.

Datazione proposta: VI secolo.

N° 15 – Capitello (foto 16a-16d).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 25; lato sup. 36; diam. di base 31; n° catalogo del Museo A248; il pezzo viene da Görgü Mah., Yalvaç, ed entra

nel museo il 29 giugno 1963²³; *dimensioni del collarino*: piatto, alto 5; la decorazione s'alza per 20 cm.

Collocazione attuale: nel deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco con venature grigie, a grana media.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: nessuno.

Destinazione originaria: capitello.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: gli angoli superiori hanno subito leggere fratture e smussature; la stessa cosa è accaduta anche alla base.

Cornice: piatto in alto, in assenza di abaco.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: cattivo.

Profondità del solco: fino a 5 mm.

Lavorazione della base: sembra che essa abbia avuto in seguito una regolarizzazione del suo piano d'appoggio.

Strumenti impiegati: la punta, scalpello a pettine e a lama liscia.

Grado della pulitura: nessuno.

Esecuzione: allo stato attuale il manufatto presenta la fase iniziale del lavoro di incisione. Molti motivi decorativi sono, infatti, puramente accennati dalla punta senza che vi sia stato tempo per il prosieguo del lavoro. Non è stato abbozzato l'abaco e le volute, benché ne sia pronunciato il disegno sulla pietra, sono rimaste irrisolte. L'improvvisa rottura del disegno di partenza in alcuni punti che s'avvicinano all'abaco possono anche far pensare che il blocco sia stato segato per un ripensamento.

Motivo tipologico: la tipologia rientra in quella dell'arredo medievale propria di alcuni capitelli. Due sono fundamentalmente le parti che scandiscono la superficie: quattro foglie di palma, altamente stilizzate salgono lungo i bordi angolari, e quattro specchiature centrali, ad ovulo molto allungato, campiscono le facce centrali. Una fettuccia tonda ben incisa disegna l'ovale, e un cordone lasciato grezzo lo taglia a metà. A questo schema comune s'associano della variazioni floreali all'interno del campo così creato. Le facce probabilmente erano pensate a creare delle coppie uguali — questo almeno il disegno di base lascia prevedere — ma è ancora il disegno base che differenzia, pur se lievemente, il decoro floreale che le riempiva all'interno o le contornava dall'esterno. I caulicoli superiori sono abbozzati con un altro elemento floreale, con fusto e foglie.

²³ Nell'inventario esiste ancora un altro numero di catalogazione (248), ma senza la "A", e risponde ad un capitello di imposta, conservato fuori, nel giardino del museo.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: dato lo stato del manufatto, non si hanno effetti particolari.

Datazione proposta: X-XI secolo.

N° 16 – Capitello di colonnina (foto 17a-c).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 9,5; lungh. sup. abaco 8,5; altezza dell'abaco 2,5; diam. di base 7,5; n° catalogo del Museo 1616. Il pezzo proviene da Özbayat Köyü, 8 km a sud di Yalvaç, comprato dal Sig. Nuri Aksu, ed entra nel museo il 22 Nov. 1970.

Collocazione attuale: nella stanza accanto al deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana fine.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: la base ha subito il lavoro di incasso, dal diametro di 4,5 e con profondità di 2.

Destinazione originaria: capitello di una colonnina di supporto (per altare? Per lo schermo marmoreo di un *templon*?).

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: discreto. Un lato dell'abaco ha subito una frattura.

Trattamento del piano di fondo: restano ancora intatti i segni della punta e dello scalpello a pettine.

Profondità del solco: 2-3 mm.

Strumenti impiegati: punta e scalpello a pettine.

Grado della pulitura: quasi certamente non completata.

Esecuzione: lo stato del manufatto sembra essersi fermato allo stadio iniziale della primitiva incisione, senza che vi sia stato un ulteriore intervento di rifinitura del disegno e di pulitura. Il doppio sbalzo a goccia sulle facce prospettiche e l'accento alla lavorazione dei caulicoli superiori mostrano un procedimento impacciato.

Motivo tipologico: il motivo ad "albero" è quanto resta di questo piccolo manufatto. La serie delle quattro piccole mandorle immette questo pezzo nella plastica ricercata di colonne ben conosciute²⁴. Per restare nel territorio a noi vicino, si veda il capitello inedito del museo archeologico di Isparta (foto 17c) che mostra il disegno nella sua esecuzione finale. Resta particolarmente interessante il tralcio di raccordo fra le specchiature, nel nostro caso solamente inciso.

²⁴ Si vedano le descrizioni del motivo in: A. Acconci, "Elements of the Liturgical Furniture", in *Mount Nebo. New Archaeological Excavations 1967-1997*, by M. Piccirilli and E. Alliata (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 27), Jerusalem 1998, n° 101, 159.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: difficile pronunziarsi su questo, dato lo stato incipiente e semplice del disegno.

Datazione proposta: fine V – VI secolo

N° 17 – Capitello di colonnina (foto 18).

Dimensioni generali: alt. 24; lung. sup. abaco 14; diam. di base 10; collarino 2; n° catalogo del Museo 75, entra nel museo nel 1953; *dimensioni dei registri decorati:* le croci erase hanno le aste di 14 per 7,5 e 14 per 8; il cerchio a sbalzo ha un diam. di 7 ed una profondità d'incisione di 4 mm.

Collocazione attuale: nella stanza accanto al deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana fine.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: leggero pronunciamento alla base per l'incasso; sulla base superiore si conserva il foro di innesto con un diam. di 4,5 per 2,5.

Destinazione originaria: capitello di una colonnina di supporto (per altare? Per lo schermo marmoreo di un *templon*?).

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: buono. Scalfitture del marmo si notano lungo i bordi dell'abaco, ma non si hanno fratture. Le croci sono state erase, e il bottone in aggetto sulle altre facce è rimasto privo di decorazione.

Cornice: le quattro specchiature sono state disegnate con un bel modulo triangolare, nettamente inciso

Trattamento del piano di fondo: lavorato con la punta e con l'ausilio dello scalpello a pettine.

Profondità del solco: il modulo delle specchiature e il bottone piatto presentano una profondità di 4-5 mm.

Strumenti impiegati: punta, scalpello a pettine e per le rifiniture si è ricorso a quello a lama liscia.

Grado della pulitura: resta sommaria, dato lo stato del manufatto.

Esecuzione: abbastanza semplice e lineare per quello che è rimasto sul capitello.

Motivo tipologico: la sicura presenza di croci a bracci espansi, benché erasi, non induce a un accostamento tipologico. Il motivo resta neutro a causa della mancanza dell'altro elemento decorativo che avrebbe certamente meglio confortata qualche analogia.

Uso degli effetti d'ombra: Le incisioni danno un bel effetto plastico, ma il manufatto, nella forma quasi incipiente pervenutaci, resta troppo povero.

Datazione proposta: probabilmente X-XI secolo.

[All'interno del deposito del 1924, incastrati nelle pile di frammenti marmorei, si sono individuati due pezzi di cui qui ne riproduciamo la foto e le caratteristiche. Era praticamente impossibile estrarre i pezzi dalla posizione in cui attualmente si trovano, per cui non è possibile dare tutti gli elementi propri ad una catalogazione]

N° 18 – Iscrizione.

Dimensioni generali del pezzo: alt. 12; lung. 48; sp. 12; n° catalogo del Museo: nessuno (foto 19); *dimensioni del registro epigrafico*: lung. ca. 30, altezza delle lettere 2.

Collocazione attuale: deposito del 1924.

Materiale: marmo bianco a grana fine.

Segni di adattamento architettonico: non rilevabili.

Destinazione originaria: l'iscrizione è relativa ad una tomba; forse si ha una cornice del monumento stesso.

Stato di conservazione e rimaneggiamenti: frattura a destra del pezzo e dell'iscrizione.

Cornice: tre modanature (fascia, gola, fascia) di 3,5 per 6,5 per 2.

Profondità del solco: 2 mm.

... JTA ONOMATA YΔEN †

Data: fine V-VI secolo. Il testo richiama la usuale forma di invocazione funeraria: Κύριε μνήσθητι ὧν] τὰ ὀνόματα οἶδεν molto diffusa sia su pietra che su mosaico. A parte Y per OI, la scrittura scorre elegante con *epsilon* in forma lunata. La *alpha* mostra gli apici in alto, *mi* e *ni* fanno partire la sbarra obliqua non dalla fine delle aste verticali.

N° 19 – Piccola urna funeraria, in marmo bianco a grana grossa.

Dimensioni generali: Altezza complessiva 21; larghezza del coperchio 31; i due lati spioventi misurano 17,5; il corpo inferiore 10 (foto 20).

Sul centro del lato corto dell'urna campeggia una piccola croce a rilievo, con aste di 9 per 8. Un modulo piatto (di 1 cm) limita i bordi del coperchio. La posizione del manufatto sotto l'accumulo di pezzi marmorei impedisce al momento di attestare o meno la presenza del foro sul coperchio.

Schools for Priests: Orthodox Education in Eighteenth-Century Ukraine

The monk Nestor of the Kiev Caves towards the end of the eleventh century wrote:*

Great is the benefit of book learning. Books show and teach us the way of repentance, we learn wisdom and restraint from writings. Books are rivers that slake the universe, they are founts of wisdom; books hold a fathomless store.¹

For long centuries, however, an appreciation of books such as Nestor's, although it never died out, had little to sustain it. Schools, where they existed, did not rise beyond the elementary level: they gave students only the basic tools of literacy. Nor did any specialized schools exist for the clergy. The history of schooling in Ruthenian lands begins only in the last decades of the sixteenth century, when schools began to be founded to raise Ruthenians from their cultural backwardness.

* The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes:

АДКА = *Акты и документы, относящиеся к истории Киевской академии*. Отделение II (1721-1795 г.г.). Ed. Н. И. Петров (Киев 1904-1909); Отделение III (1796-1869 г.г.). Ed. Ф. И. Титов (Киев 1910-1915).

Беднов = В. Беднов, "Краткие исторические сведения об Екатеринославской духовной семинарии", serialized in ЕЕВ.

Документы и дела = *Документы и дела, относящиеся к жизни и деятельности святителя Иоасафа (Горленко), епископа Белгородского и Обоянского*, 2 (Курск 1911).

ЕЕВ = *Екатеринославские епархиальные ведомости*.

ИСОЧЕ = [Филарет (Гумилевский)]. *Историко-статистическое описание Черниговской епархии*, Кн.1-6. (Чернигов 1873-1874).

КС = *Киевская старина*.

Лашенков, "Материалы" = Н. Лашенков, "Материалы к столетию харьковской кафедры. Христофор — первый епископ Слободско-Украинский и Харьковский", *Харьковский сборник*, 7 (1893) 121-262.

ОАСС = *Описание документов и дел хранящихся в архиве Святейшего Правительствующего Синода*.

ПСЗ = *Полное собрание законов*.

Смолич, *История* = И. К. Смолич, *История русской церкви*, 1 (Москва 1996).

Вл. П-ко, "Из истории" = Вл. П-ко, "Из истории образования на Украине", КС, 90 (1905, 3) 235-247; 91 (1905, 4) 126-132.

¹ *Повесть временных лет*, ed. Д. С. Лихачев, 1 (Москва 1950) 102.

FIRST SCHOOLS

The first schools to offer their students something more than the rudiments of literacy were those organized by church brotherhoods. Of these the first school to gain importance was founded by the Lviv Confraternity. The earliest registers of this school that have come down from the years 1586-1590 list priests' sons among the students. Since sons usually, or at least very often, followed their father's profession, probably some of the seven priests' and one deacon's sons listed intended to and did eventually become priests. These students were all from Lviv and its immediate environs: their fathers served at the Ascension, Theophany, St Nicholas, and an unnamed church in Lviv and in the village Syxiv near Lviv.²

That these students were all sons of town priests is not surprising: priests in town parishes were at a distinct advantage in sending their sons to school. Other town confraternities were founded on the Lviv model and likewise founded schools. Village priests had available only village schools, and these, where they existed, taught little beyond reading and writing. Sending a son to school in town often entailed hardship for the student and for his family. If the village was close to town, like Syxiv to Lviv, the student might have to walk back and forth a good number of kilometers; in other cases he had to find lodgings in town, and not every priest's family could afford such expense.

Brotherhood schools in western Ukraine, founded in the early seventeenth century, did not last long. A few decades later the leading role was taken over by the school founded in Kiev by the Theophany brotherhood in 1615 and united in 1633 with the Kiev Lavra school founded in 1631 by its archimandrite, Peter Mohyla. The Kiev school, from 1701 officially called academy, was located at the Brotherhood Theophany monastery in the lower part of Kiev.

Schooling developed in a promising manner in the first half of the seventeenth century, but it received a major setback beginning in 1648. The clash of arms is not the best setting for studies. Xmel'nyč'kyj's insurrection against Poland, begun in 1648, later the period of the Ruin, saw the destruction of much that had been laboriously achieved in the previous decades.

After the political division of Ukraine, cultural life, including schools, shifted its center to Kiev and the Left Bank. In the Right

² *Архив юго-западной России*, I/10 (Киев 1904) 57-60.

Bank, which remained with Poland, a long period of mere vegetation set in.

Renewed attention to education and religious culture was given by the Orthodox in Polish Ukraine in the late seventeenth century, but did not achieve anything, since the Orthodox eparchies one by one went over to the Uniate Church.³ A desire to do something about providing schooling may be seen in the attempt to recall to life the Hojs'kyj collegium in Hošča in the Luc'k eparchy. This school, affiliated with the Kiev Collegium, existed briefly in the first half of the seventeenth century. When Dionisij Žabokryc'kyj was elected bishop of Luc'k, king John III restored to him this abandoned property, and Žabokryc'kyj began to plan for the school's reopening. As a first step he sent a monk from his eparchy to study in Kiev in preparation for teaching in the projected collegium.⁴ The plans to reopen the school did not materialize because of Žabokryc'kyj's personal situation: due to canonical impediments he could not be ordained. In 1702 he went over to the Uniate Church, was ordained bishop of Luc'k, and took the eparchy with him into union with Rome.

The Kiev School

Like all schools in the seventeenth century, it was a general school, for all social strata and professions. Whether someone came from a priest's family or not, whether he intended to become a priest or to remain in civil life, the education he received was the same. Students preparing to join the ranks of the clergy followed the theology course that crowned the curriculum, but this too in principle was open to all. Before 1689, when the curriculum of the Kiev Collegium was completed by a course of theology lasting four years, theology was taught within the philosophy course. There was as little specialized preparation of candidates for the priesthood as for other professions.

Although the schools were open to all, if church brotherhoods, archimandrites, and bishops founded them, they certainly intended these schools to serve primarily to raise the clergy's cultural level. This becomes more evident with time, as bishops repeatedly call on

³ Cf. S. Senyk, "The Ukrainian Church in the Seventeenth Century", *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, 21 (1996) 339-374.

⁴ *Архив юго-западной России*, 1/4 (Киев 1871) 111-112, a letter of Ioasaf Krokovs'kyj, at that time *ihtumen* of the St Nicholas *Pustynnyj* monastery and rector of the Kiev Collegium, to D. Žabokryc'kyj, 29 September 1695.

their priests to send their sons, the principal candidates to the priesthood, to school.

The Kiev Collegium was inactive in the early stages of the war raised by Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj. It reopened, but burned down in 1658. In 1665, during the wars waged by the Right-Bank hetman Peter Dorošenko, the Collegium was again destroyed; it was rebuilt only in 1669.

In the eighteenth century the Kiev Academy was under the direct and full authority of the metropolitans. The metropolitans appointed and removed the staff, presented the Academy's needs and requests to state and other authorities, and dealt with many aspects regarding the students. All the metropolitans took a deep interest in the Academy's life and promoted its development.⁵

In 1738 metropolitan Raphael Zaborovs'kyj (1731-1747) introduced Hebrew, Greek, and German into the curriculum as elective courses. The Academy owed much of its improvements to him, and in recognition was often called in the eighteenth century the Kiev Mohyla-Zaborovs'kyj Academy. Metropolitan Arsenij Mohyljans'kyj (1757-1770) had studied at the Kiev Academy, completed his studies at the Xarkiv Collegium, then taught at the Tver' seminary, the Moscow Academy, and the seminary at the Trinity-St Sergius lavra. As could be expected from a person of his background, he devoted a great deal of attention to the Kiev Academy; he improved the material situation of its professors, looked after their rights, introduced new courses, and took steps to improve the lot of the Academy's poor students.⁶ In the 1770s the Kiev Academy suffered a series of catastrophes: in 1770 a flood severely damaged the dormitory, the epidemic of 1770-1771 practically closed the Academy, in 1775 the newly rebuilt dormitory was destroyed by fire, and in 1780 the Academy library and the superior's cells suffered the same fate. Under metropolitan Gabriel Kremenec'kyj (1770-1789), however, decisive steps were taken to improve the Academy's finances, to provide means for poor students, and to reconstitute the book collection after the fire.⁷

⁵ See the well-documented study by Д. Вишневский, "Киевская Академия в первой половине XVIII столетия", serialized in ТКДА, 1902 and 1903 and published separately, Kiev 1903.

⁶ Documents from the times of metr. Arsenij are in АДКА, II/2, 3.

⁷ Ibid., II/4.

SCHOOLS OUTSIDE KIEV

Černihiv

Bishop, later archbishop Lazar Baranovyč founded a school in Novhorod Sivers'kyj, where he first resided. When he moved to Černihiv he also transferred the school to the Černihiv monastery of Sts Borys and Hlib. This school was reorganized as a seminary, that is, a middle-level school by archbishop Ioann Maksymovyč (1697-1712) in 1700. Its first prefect was hieromonk Antonij Staxovs'kyj, who later was Maksymovyč's successor in the Černihiv see.

The curriculum of the Černihiv Collegium, as the school was known, ended with rhetoric. Like other eighteenth-century schools, it prepared its students for all professions. Students who wished to continue studies through philosophy and theology went on to the Kiev Academy.⁸

In the 1730s the total number of students shows large variations, from 188 in 1738/39 to 267 in 1743/44. Priests' sons constituted from one-third to one-half of the student body, which came not only from the Left Bank, but also from the Right ("Poland"), and even from Transcarpathian Rus' ("Hungary").⁹

Bishop Nikodim Srebnyc'kyj (1738-1740) wanted to introduce philosophy and theology classes into the school's program, so as to have a full course of studies for those preparing for the priesthood, but lack of material means prevented him from carrying out his plans.¹⁰ Archbishop Amvrosij Dubnevyč (1742-1750), who earlier had been rector of the Kiev Academy, in 1749 introduced the teaching of philosophy into this school's program, thus elevating it to a higher school. In 1776 the Černihiv Collegium was reorganized as a seminary, specifically for candidates to the priesthood, but a theology course was introduced only in 1787.¹¹ Before that, as in other schools, essential theology was taught within the other courses.

In 1790 the Černihiv seminary had 426 students, all but 40 from clerical families.¹²

⁸ Ibid., II/1: 359-360, the situation in 1728, according to Irodion Žurakovs'kyj.

⁹ Вл. П-ко, "Из истории", КС, 90 (1905, 3) 242-247.

¹⁰ ОАСС, 19 (Санктпетербург 1913) 506-507.

¹¹ ИСОЧЕ. 1: 101.

¹² Вл. П-ко, "Из истории", КС, 91 (1905, 4) 129.

Xarkiv

Before being named bishop of Belgorod, Epifanij Tyxors'kyj (1722-1731) had studied, then taught at the Kiev Academy. Immediately upon coming to Belgorod he founded a Slavic school for the sons of the clergy, to prepare them to serve the church as priests, deacons, and lower staff. For the maintenance of this school bishop Epifanij assigned the offerings left at the church of the village Kaplunovka by the large numbers of people who came to pray there before the miraculous icon of the Mother of God. In 1724, when he asked the Holy Synod to approve this assignation of funds, Epifanij wrote: "Quite a large number of priests sons, with God's help, have come and are coming to my school and have already begun their studies; this clearly gives good hope for the future".¹³ Within a few years the Belgorod school had six courses of two years each, ending with rhetoric.

In 1726 the Belgorod school, at the urging of prince Michael Golitsyn, was moved to Xarkiv and located at the Pokrov monastery. Classrooms were located in a two-story masonry building bought for that purpose by bishop Epifanij from colonel Lavrentij Šydlovskij in 1725. Before his death Epifanij obtained a charter for this school from the empress Anna.¹⁴

The Xarkiv Collegium, as the school soon came to be known, like the Kiev Academy and the Černihiv Collegium, was open to students preparing for all professions, although its primary purpose was to prepare candidates for the priesthood. Metropolitan Epifanij began to send the ablest to finish their studies in German universities. Courses of philosophy and theology were added to the program of instruction, philosophy at once and theology gradually, and Slavic, Latin and Greek were taught, after the pattern of the Kiev Academy. The theology course lasted two to three years. The school officials and the bishops judged when a student had completed his theology studies.¹⁵ In the mid-eighteenth century French and German, as well as mathematics were added.

Thanks to the efforts of Epifanij's successor, Dosifej Bohdanovyč-Ljubym's'kyj (1731-1733), the Xarkiv Collegium received 273 books from the library of metropolitan Stephen Javors'kyj.¹⁶ In 1761 two

¹³ ОАСС, 4 (Санктпетербург 1880) 77-78.

¹⁴ ПСЗ, 8: 394-395, no.5716, 16 March 1731.

¹⁵ Cf. Лашенков, "Материалы", 161.

¹⁶ А. С. Лебедев, *Белгородские архиереи и среда их архипастырской деятельности* (Харьков 1902), 40.

rooms were built over the stone entrance to the Collegium to house the library. In 1801 M.N. Šeremet'eva, née Golicyн, offered a sum of 500 rubles to provide an interest of 50 rubles annually for subscriptions to journals for the library. After her death Alexander Golicyн donated to the Xarkiv seminary her entire book collection.¹⁷

Perejaslav

The Perejaslav seminary owes its beginnings to bishop Arsenij Berlo (1733-1744). At the very beginning of his bishopric, in 1733, the status of the Perejaslav see itself changed from a vicariate of Kiev to an independent eparchy, which coincided with the territory of the Perejaslav regiment.

The Perejaslav school opened its doors in the fall of 1738, with classes through rhetoric. Students from the Perejaslav eparchy studying at the Kiev Academy were transferred from the Academy to the new school. It had become an established custom that teachers in seminaries, as at the Kiev Academy, should be learned monks. In 1738, however, bishop Arsenij had no such persons in Perejaslav and confided the task to diocesan priests. It seems that in the first years the seminary was obliged to fall back on instructors who themselves had not progressed beyond rhetoric.¹⁸ These were exceptions, however; most had higher studies. Teachers in the Perejaslav seminary continued to be often diocesan priests or laymen, probably such as intended to become priests, but there was a frequent turnover in the teaching staff. Evidently the bishop required qualified persons to put in a stint at teaching at the seminary.¹⁹

Already in its first year the Perejaslav seminary counted 110 students, sixty-five of them priests' sons; the students came not only from the Perejaslav eparchy, but from all parts of Left-Bank Ukraine. The school began with the lowest class (*fara*) and went on through rhetoric, but the *fara* was dropped by the 1741/42 school year as superfluous, since there were parish schools to teach the elements.

¹⁷ Лашенков, "Материалы", 178.

¹⁸ See АДКА, II/1.2: xix.

¹⁹ For a brief account of the opening of the Perejaslav seminary, see Ал. Лазаревский, "Из семейной хроники Берлов", КС, 64 (1899, 1) 101-133. For its first two decades, see Н. Петров, "Значение Киевской Академии в развитии духовных школ в России с учреждения Св. Синода в 1721 году и до половины XVIII века", ТКДА, 1904, 2: 94-97; Вл. П-ко, "Из истории", КС, 90 (1905, 3) 235-242.

Although the Perejaslav seminary was destroyed by a fire in July 1748, bishop Nikodim Srebnyč'kyj (1745-1751) saw to it that instruction not be interrupted by relocating the school temporarily in a private building until a new seminary could be built. Succeeding bishops likewise gave a great deal of attention to the school.

When the Perejaslav seminary was opened it was considered as being affiliated with the Kiev Academy, providing lower and middle education. Philosophy was introduced into this school by bishop Iov Bazylevyč (1771,1776) in 1773, theology by bishop Ilarion Kondratkovs'kyj (1776-1785) in 1781.²⁰

By that time in Perejaslav as in the other seminaries the proportion of priests' sons to students from other backgrounds was steadily rising. This rise was due both to the positive influence of frequently repeated exhortations by the bishops addressed to priests to send their sons to school and to the negative consequences of the enserfment of the population.²¹

In 1785, in connection with the organization of *namestničestva*, a new Novhorod-Sivers'kyj eparchy was organized, and the Perejaslav seminary was transferred to that town. The new eparchy existed only until 1797, and that year the seminary too was closed, its students being transferred to the Černihiv seminary, which that year had 716 students.²²

In Perejaslav in the meanwhile the Kiev consistory on 9 August 1785 decided to open a lower school at the Ascension monastery, to serve as a preparatory school for seminary studies.²³ This Perejaslav school had classes only through rhetoric.²⁴ In 1797 it was attended by 237 students, fifty-two of them from other than the clerical class. A few years later philosophy and theology classes were reopened at the Perejaslav seminary.²⁵

In effect the Perejaslav eparchy was subsumed into the Kiev, because its bishop, Victor Sadkovs'kyj, was in reality the metropolitan's vicar for the Orthodox in Poland, that is, in Dnieper Ukraine and in Belarus, with residence in Sluck. The Synod recommended to the bishop to open a seminary, a project to which Victor, who had re-

²⁰ АДКА, II, 1/2: 411; 4: 332.

²¹ See the figures for the Perejaslav seminary in 1764 and 1770, Вл. П-ко, "Из истории", КС, 91 (1905, 4) 126-127.

²² Ibid., 129-130.

²³ Cf. АДКА, II/5: xv-xvi.

²⁴ Ibid., 532-533.

²⁵ Вл. П-ко, "Из истории", КС, 91 (1905, 4) 130.

ceived his own education at the Kiev Academy, himself gave priority. In Sluck the bishop opened a seminary in 1787.

Poltava and Katerynoslav

The last years of the eighteenth century brought many changes in both civil and church administration. New eparchies were formed, and with that, new seminaries. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century a school for priests existed also in Poltava.

In 1776 the eparchy of Slavjano-Xerson was founded, renamed Katerynoslav in 1837, but with the bishop's residence in Poltava. Archbishop Eugene Boulgaris (1776-1779) at once took steps to open a seminary, but had to be satisfied only with a lower church school (*duxovnoe učylyšče*), which opened in 1777. For the planned seminary the archbishop summoned a fellow Greek, the learned Nicephorus Theotiki, who succeeded him in the Poltava see. Archbishop Nicephorus was able to reorganize the school as a seminary in 1779. The first theology class was opened here in January 1786. This seminary remained in Poltava until 1798, when it was moved to Novomyrhorod (Novorossijsk), later to Katerynoslav.²⁶ In 1797 there were 319 students at the Poltava seminary, sixty-six of them from outside the clerical milieu.²⁷

In 1797 a start was made to divide the entire Russian empire into four church school districts, in relation to the four academies, the older Moscow and Kiev and the newly-founded St Petersburg and Kazan'. Seminaries were to send a few of their better students of philosophy and theology to the academy of their district for higher preparation. The seminary of the Novorossijsk eparchy, as Katerynoslav was called in the reign of the emperor Paul, was to send two students to the Kiev Academy every two years, so that as those sent previously finished philosophy and embarked on theology, the new arrivals began philosophy. By this time, however, the Kiev Academy itself had declined in quality, and this measure did not greatly aid the seminary in obtaining highly qualified teachers.²⁸

²⁶ Cf. Петр Мазанов, *Полтавский Крестовоздвиженский монастырь* (Полтава 18912) 35-38.

²⁷ For other statistics on the seminary at this time, see Вл. П-ко, "Из истории", КС, 91 (1905, 4) 126-132.

²⁸ See В. Беднов, "Краткие исторические сведения", ЕЕВ, 1904, 29: 862-863.

In the second half of the nineteenth century a seminary was reopened in Poltava through the efforts of bishop Ioann (Petin, 1862-1887), who made a gift to it of his large personal library.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND EARLY REFORMS

In the eighteenth century the system of schools in Ukraine consisted of the academy in Kiev, seminaries, preparatory schools, and village church schools. The entire educational system was founded and run entirely by the Church.

Preparatory Schools

The Kiev Academy and the other schools had been intended as institutions for students who had already acquired the elements. Students, however, often came inadequately prepared, so these schools also had preparatory class. The preparatory classes were attended by very young pupils, hence in practice were only for the children of the school's immediate environs, since parents usually did not send very young children to study far from home.

Students who came to the secondary schools without any preparation did not reap much benefit from their schooling. Even a candidate who had studied at the Xarkiv Collegium, although evidently without overexerting himself, when being examined before ordination, to the question how many persons there are in Christ, could answer: "seven".²⁹

Preparatory schools had been opened in Belgorod and in other centers in the eparchy yet by archbishop Petr Smelič in 1737.³⁰ The Belgorod eparchy, thus, had eight schools, the Collegium and seven preparatory. These proved to be insufficient, and bishops in the second half of the eighteenth century, to prepare students for the Collegium, called for the founding of additional preparatory schools.³¹

The answers of candidates upon being examined before ordination showed bishop Ioasaf Mytkevych of Belgorod (1758-1763) that the clergy's sons, who were the majority of these candidates, attended neither the preparatory schools nor the Collegium. The bishop required that all priests, deacons, and other church staff send their sons

²⁹ Лебедев, *Белгородские архиереи*, 126-128, 1759.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 21-26, where several documents are cited.

to the lower Latin schools or teach them letters at home, then send them on to the Xarkiv Collegium. Most priests chose the second alternative, without bothering too much about the level of such instruction.

Since bishop Ioasaf's resolution went largely unheeded, it was repeated by bishop Samuil Myslavs'kyj (1768-1774) in 1769, with strict orders that it be carried out. The Oxyrka church administration saw to the founding of two preparatory schools, in Oxyrka and in the *sloboda* Boromlja. Its members found the results disappointing.

Many children of the clergy and church staffs who are supposed to be in those schools are in fact not present. Although this administration has frequently sent for them, all efforts to gather them for proper instruction have been totally frustrated, because they have encountered extreme stubbornness and disobedience. For this reason the Oxyrka church administration encloses detailed information about these persons and asks that the consistory search them out for compliance by someone sent specifically for that purpose, so that others may not follow their example and the Slavic school may not be obstructed in its foundations.³²

The seminaries too suffered from taking in poorly prepared or dull students. Only in 1793 metropolitan Gabriel of Kiev demanded that when a priest or other member of a church staff brought his son to a seminary, the rector or prefect together with one other teacher, before accepting the boy into the school, first examine him whether he was fit for studies.³³

Preparatory schools were even more needed for the clergy of Dnieper Ukraine, as bishop Victor Sadkovs'kyj found out soon after he opened his seminary. The students there — and priests only unwillingly sent their sons to this school — were not ready for seminary studies. The bishop's residence was in Sluck, but he spent longer periods in this region, staying at the monasteries of Dnieper Ukraine. He wanted the priests of each deanery, *protopopija*, themselves to open a preparatory school. The Čečelnyci *protopopija* heeded his words better than most. Its *protopop* opened a school in Vil'sana in 1787; to teach there he hired a student of philosophy at the Kiev Academy. With this teacher he made an agreement about lodgings,

³² Амфиан Лебедев, "К истории низших духовных и общественных школ в Белгородской епархии в XVIII веке", *Сборник Харьковского историко-филологического общества*, 6 (1894) 256.

³³ This provision is quoted in Беднов, "Краткие исторические сведения", ЕЕВ, 1904, 29: 867-868.

pay, and courses of instruction. The bishop sent detailed instruction not only about the courses to be followed (Russian, Polish, and Latin languages, sacred history, catechism "with explanations"), but also with practical advice to the teacher on how to bring out the natural abilities of each student, and to the students, about cleanliness and order. Priests were happy to have this school and even from distant Čyhyryn, Smila, and Korsun' deaneries sent sons to Vil'sana. But few other districts followed this example, one of the exceptions being a school opened in the Čerkasy *protopopiia* in 1788. In 1789 bishop Victor Sadkovs'kyj was arrested by Polish authorities, and this stopped for the time being the organization of new schools.³⁴

Podillja was annexed by the Russian empire in 1793, after the second partition of Poland. In April 1795 the Podillja episcopal see was established in Braclav, and the Basilian monastery and school in Šarhorod were turned into an Orthodox monastery and seminary. In 1799 the bishop's see was transferred to Kamjanec' Podil's'kyj, in consequence of which in 1806 the theology course taught in Šarhorod was also moved to Kamjanec'. There a regular seminary was organized, while in Šarhorod only the lower classes remained, called the "Šarhorod branch of the seminary".³⁵

After Volyn' was annexed to the Russian empire in the second partition in 1793, the episcopal see of Volyn' with residence at Ostroh was founded, first as a vicariate of the Minsk archbishop, then in 1799 as an independent see. In conformity with a rescript of the Holy Synod of 12 July 1795, bishop Varlaam Šyšač'kyj opened a seminary in Ostroh in May 1786, with four classes to begin with. The bishop ordered clergy and church personnel to send their sons to school and since here too not all were convinced about the benefits of study he had to resort to fines and, in extreme cases, temporary dismissal from duties.³⁶

Funding

The Kiev Academy and the other schools had to cope with economic difficulties, which affected the lives of teachers and students alike and hampered the educational process.

³⁴ "Несколько сведений вообще о состоянии просвещения в Киевской епархии в XVIII в.", КЕВ, 1864, 14: 443-455.

³⁵ О.І.Л., "До історії Київської єпархії і шаргородської духовної семінарії", *Записки Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка*, 4 (1894) 198-199.

³⁶ Н. Ив. Теодорович, *Волынская духовная семинария* (Почасв 1901), 1-2.

None of these schools had a sufficient economic base for the maintenance of buildings, for housing and feeding the students, many of whom had no funds from their families, and for paying adequately the teaching staff. Many teachers were monks and had quarters and meals at their monasteries, but for paper, books, sufficient candles, and the other requirements of study they too needed a remuneration.

In Kiev the metropolitans regularly sent out the monks-teachers of the Academy to quest for funds. Ioasaf Horlenko in the 1730s as a hierodeacon and teacher at the Academy spent about two years going around on such a mission.³⁷ Later, as bishop of Belgorod, he sent out teachers of the Xarkiv Collegium for similar questing. He also obliged the monasteries of his eparchy to give one-twentieth and parish churches to give one-thirtieth of their revenues for the Collegium's needs.³⁸

The Kiev-Mohyla Academy was maintained basically by the Brotherhood monastery. The Brotherhood monastery, where the Academy was located, however, had its properties gradually appropriated by others, mostly Hetmanate *staršyna*, thus the Academy by the 1750s was in serious economic straits.³⁹

The means the monastery could offer did not suffice for the Academy's needs, and the metropolitans provided additional sums from the revenues of the Kiev eparchy. In particular, the fines paid by the clergy for various neglects and offenses were destined for the Academy. This was hardly sufficient means for maintaining the Academy. The metropolitans sought out ways to remedy the Academy's material difficulties. Metropolitan Rafail Zaborovs'kyj especially renovated its buildings, sought funds to maintain it, and aided needy students.⁴⁰

At the Kiev Academy almost all the teachers were monks of the Brotherhood monastery, who had their cells there. For their needs

³⁷ See his autobiographical notes in Н. Д. Жевахов, *Святитель Иоасаф Горленко, епископ Белгородский и Обоянский*, 1/2 (Киев 1907) 172, and Приложение, 5-7, letter of metr. Rafail attesting that he is collecting for the Academy.

³⁸ See *Документы и дела*, 2 (Курск 1911) 20: on 21 January 1750 the bishop gave the archimandrite and rector of the Collegium, Gedeon Antons'kyj, registers for the collection.

³⁹ Cf. the introduction to АДКА, II/2: xvii-xx.

⁴⁰ Cf. Петр Орловский, *Сказание о блаженном Рафаиле митрополите Киевском* (Киев 1908) 24-31. See also the metropolitan's Instruction to the Academy's professors and students, in English tr. in Sergii Chetverikov, *Starets Paisii Velichkovskii* (Belinont 1980), 329-333.

they also received firewood and candles, but for paper, ink, and books they were only given small sums at Christmas and Easter.⁴¹

The students at the Kiev Academy were far worse off. The sons of the well-to-do lived in private quarters, but those from poor families had no choice but to stay in the damp and drab academy dormitory, the *bursa*, which by the mid-eighteenth century badly needed repairs. While this at least gave them a roof over their heads, it gave nothing else: their food they had to provide themselves. During the school year they sang under the windows of Kiev burghers, from whom they received small sums; these means they could supplement during the summer vacation by taking up a position of tutor in a wealthy home, hiring themselves out for farm work, or going around villages and small towns, singing religious songs and collecting alms. Only in 1764 was a new *bursa* built, and from 1766 half the sum of 500 rubles, which the Academy received annually from the College of Economy, was spent for the needs of the students living in the *bursa*.⁴²

When in 1786 the system of *štaty*, exact lists of personnel and of budgets, was applied to the Church in Ukraine, the Academy's material conditions improved notably. The Brotherhood monastery was closed (to be reopened under Paul I in 1799), but an imperial rescript of 1787 assigned to the Academy annually 9000 rubles, 500 of which were to go to the Perejaslav seminary, still dependent on the Academy. From then on the Kiev Academy, and its successor, the Kiev Theological Academy, had stable and sufficient funds. Besides the state allotment it also received interest on sums donated in its favor, principally by the hierarchs among its alumni.⁴³

Like all the schools when they were opened, the Belgorod school at first had no source of funds, while most of the pupils, as bishop Epifanij wrote in 1724, came from very poor priests' families.⁴⁴ He found funds for it, as recounted above, and the Golycyn family, which had properties in the eparchy, began to take an abiding interest in the school. When the school was moved to Xarkiv, the Collegium, due to the continuing interest and support of the Golycyn family, was in a more favorable economic situation. Students who were orphans had lodging in the *bursa*, a masonry building. From the end of the eighteenth century the Collegium had a separate building for the infir-

⁴¹ Cf. Смолич, *История*, 1: 401.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 400.

⁴³ АДКА, II/5, has a general description of these measures in the introduction by N. Petrov, followed by documents.

⁴⁴ ОАСС, 4: 78.

mary, which from 1801 received 50 rubles annually from the interest on prince Golitsyn's capital.⁴⁵ Students of philosophy and theology, as in other schools, had an opportunity to earn some money by serving as tutors in the homes of prosperous nobility, townspeople, and priests. This work was mainly a summer occupation, but bishop Xristofor in 1806 found during the school year twenty philosophy and thirty-six theology students absent as tutors. He forbade such absences in the future.⁴⁶

The other schools, until the *štaty* were introduced, were often short of funds.

Already by the mid-eighteenth century the building housing the Černihiv Collegium, dating from Ioann Maksymovyč's time, was too small, and classes were held in the monastery refectory.⁴⁷

The instructors at the Černihiv Collegium, all monks, had their cells at the monastery and were maintained at the monastery's and the bishop's expense. As in Kiev, students from wealthier families lived in private quarters. Poorer students who were hired as tutors in wealthy families likewise had their lodging and board assured. The rest lived in the two dormitory buildings at the Collegium, maintained by funds collected in alternate years from parishes and monasteries; monasteries made their contribution half in money and half in produce.⁴⁸

At the Perejaslav seminary the teachers were maintained by the Ascension monastery at which the school was located and by the bishop. Students at the seminary were even worse off than at the Kiev Academy. The seminary had a wooden building in town for the *bursa*, where poor and orphaned students lived. A report of bishop Ilarion Kondratkovs'kyj of 7 November 1782 makes it clear that the funds collected throughout the eparchy for this *bursa's* support were meager, and the students must often have suffered cold and hunger.⁴⁹

When the Poltava monastery was founded, it was at first maintained by voluntary contributions and gifts. These soon began to peter out, so archbishop Nicephorus Theotiki in 1786 ordered all churches to have a box with a slot on the top for collecting offerings for the seminary at church services. Metropolitan Gabriel confirmed this decree on 18 September 1794, but the clergy sent in these collec-

⁴⁵ Лашенков, "Материалы", 162.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 176.

⁴⁷ ИСОЧЕ, 1: 97.

⁴⁸ Вл. П-ко, "Из истории", КС, 90 (1905, 3) 243-244.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 240-241.

tions irregularly, and they were stopped on 9 June 1798.⁵⁰ Instructors in the seminaries were poorly paid. In consequence, there was a frequent turnover. Instructors who were priests and had a parish considered their teaching duties as secondary, and the level of instruction suffered in consequence. At the Poltava (Novomyrhorod) seminary, as at the Xarkiv Collegium, there was a *bursa* for the sons of priests and church personnel whose fathers had died. They were divided into two categories: those who received board and clothing (thirty-three in 1788) and those who received only board (twenty-six in 1788).

In 1799 metropolitan Gabriel prescribed that the Novomyrhorod seminary maintain thirty-five students, orphans from the clerical estate, with clothing besides board and twenty with board alone, but for a long time yet the students there lived and studied in primitive material conditions.⁵¹

In the Šarhorod seminary teachers and students suffered want, and the lack of proper material provision had a repercussion on schooling and school life. In 1812 one hundred students of the Šarhorod school signed up as volunteers for the army, preferring the risks of war to suffering hunger and cold at the seminary. These conditions contributed to a high drop-out rate. In the years 1817-1837 only a little over twelve percent of the students enrolled finished the full course in Šarhorod.

The situation for all schools began to improve in the nineteenth century. The Xarkiv seminary from 1807 received 4000 rubles annually.⁵²

INSTRUCTION: METHODS AND LANGUAGE

Throughout the eighteenth century the scholastic method remained dominant at the Kiev Academy and consequently also at the other schools, many teachers at which had received their own instruction at the Academy. The scholastic system, however, was modified by individual teachers, most notably at the beginning of the century by Feofan Prokopovyč, professor of philosophy from about 1707-1710 and of theology 1710-1716. He eliminated futile scholastic questions and based his theology course not on logical deductions,

⁵⁰ Беднов, "Краткие исторические сведения", ЕЕВ, 1904, 29: 874-875.

⁵¹ Ibid., 869-872.

⁵² Лашенков, "Материалы", 178.

but on Scripture and church history. Other professors too, even if they were not as original as Feofan, tried to break away from scholasticism. In the second half of the eighteenth century theology was taught wholly according to the way traced by Prokopovyč.⁵³

During the reign of the empress Anna demands began to be made that instruction be also in Russian. Anna's 1731 charter for the Xarkiv Collegium called for the introduction of Russian as the language of instruction, and already in the 1730s some courses at the Xarkiv Collegium were taught in Russian.⁵⁴

When Samuil Myslavs'kyj became bishop of Belgorod in 1768, he turned his attention to the Xarkiv Collegium. Soon after arriving in his see, in 1769, he issued an instruction for the Collegium, which, as could be expected, closely followed the program of the Kiev Academy. The bishop favored replacing Latin with Russian as the language of instruction and wanted the students to learn proper Russian pronunciation. The students were to prepare at least three sermons a year, keeping to the *Orthodox Teaching of the Faith* of archimandrite Platon Levšin. The bishop condemned learning by memorizing and cramming as futile. As a basis for the philosophy course he recommended the manuals of Friedrich Christian Baumeister, which indeed were widely used in the seminaries. Philosophical disputes were to be conducted now in Russian and were to be based on translations of the works of Christian Wolff.

Although the theology course was to follow the plan elaborated by Feofan Prokopovyč, the bishop counseled to omit Prokopovyč's superfluous rhetoric and excessively derisive expressions. Nor was it enough, according to Myslavs'kyj, to keep to the sources Feofan used, but outstanding Christian authors were also to be cited. The study of Orthodox dogmas ought not to be limited to citing Scripture texts as proofs; it was also necessary to know objections to Orthodox teaching and be able to respond to it.⁵⁵

Latin was not easily dislodged, however. Towards the end of the century courses at the Xarkiv Collegium beginning with the grammar class were all taught in Latin. For those who knew no Latin bishop Xristofor founded two classes, where students could obtain a basic

⁵³ Cf. В. Аскоченский, *Киев с древнейшим его училищем Академиею*, 2 (Киев 1856) 17-19; Вишенский, "Киевская Академия", ТКДА, 1903, 2: 196, 391-393, 408-410.

⁵⁴ ПСЗ, 8: 395; cf. Смолич, *История*, 1: 395.

⁵⁵ Cf. Смолич, *История*, 1: 410-411.

education, after which they could apply for posts on church staffs.⁵⁶ Instruction in Latin in seminaries continued well into the nineteenth century.

In 1762 empress Catherine II turned her attention to church schools and priests' education. She found that many eparchies still did not have seminaries and in general the state of the schools was unsatisfactory. A commission of three ecclesiastics was to draw up a plan of reform. Like many of Catherine's projects, however, this one too never gave any concrete results, but it did stimulate others to offer their versions of school reform.

The plans of empress Catherine II to reorganize Russian church schools prompted archimandrite Samuil Myslavs'kyj, rector of the Kiev Academy from 20 February 1761 to September 1768, to draw up a project of reform of his Academy. He did not want it to lag behind schools that owed their origins to the example and assistance of the Kiev Academy, but were outstripping it in adapting to modern needs and methods. The archimandrite's proposal was to expand the Academy's curriculum to include a whole series of new subjects. Theology too was reorganized: it was to include both dogmatic and moral, with apologetics, sacred scripture, patrology, and church law. The plan was drawn up in the abstract, without any consideration of the actual state of the Academy, and even the theology program took no account of the availability of funds and teachers.⁵⁷ In any case, the project's author attempted a hopeless task: to combine the needs of his age for a European-style university with the inherited scholastic system of the Kiev Academy, which had once served its purpose, but now was hopelessly outdated. The Academy gave neither a proper formation for candidates to the priesthood nor prepared students for other professions.

The project of hetman Cyril Rozumovs'kyj had greater merit. He understood that it was high time to found in Kiev a university on western models. The Kiev Mohyla Academy would form within this university the faculty of theology. Hetmanate officials likewise called for the founding in Kiev of a university, as the Academy was no longer answering contemporary needs. Rozumovs'kyj's project, however, was intimately connected with his scheme of a hereditary hetman in his family, while the *staršyna's* desideratum was expressed in its 1766 proposals to the Commission that was to draft a new code of

⁵⁶ Лашенков, "Материалы", 160. By "church staffs" I mean what in Russian are called *cerkovnoslužitelie*, that is, sacristans, readers, cantors.

⁵⁷ Cf. АДКА, II/3: xiv-xv.

laws for the Russian Empire; both projects shared the failure of the larger plans in which they were included.⁵⁸

In 1783 Samuil Myslavs'kyj became metropolitan of Kiev (to 1796) and began to introduce far-reaching reforms. Like his predecessor, metropolitan Gabriel, Samuil Myslavs'kyj tried to bring the Academy in line with the needs of their age, in the strongly centralized empire under Catherine II. New subjects of a general curriculum, such as geography and history, were introduced, and the entire curriculum was reorganized. The Academy now compared favorably with the two universities in the Russian Empire, Moscow and at the Academy of Sciences.⁵⁹ The metropolitan was a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and emphasized a correct knowledge of Russian, necessary for any church or civil service.

A reform of theological schools introduced on 31 October 1798, and applied at the Kiev Academy from February 1799, was aimed at raising the standards of theological education, but was only partially successful.⁶⁰

The days of the Kiev Academy as it had been for 200 years, nevertheless, were counted. Ukrainian society needed a university, which no adapting of the old Academy could create, while the Church needed a school of higher theological studies, which, again, the Academy, preparing persons for all walks of life, did not provide. The German academician Johann Anton Güldenstädt justly observed in 1774 that the Kiev Academy could be considered at most a gymnasium of no high standing, although it was the only institution of learning in Little Russia.⁶¹ Both university and theological school were to arise, not through a reorganization of the Academy, but on new foundations after its closure.

Reorganization of Theological Seminaries and Academies

The church schools, as they existed, no longer met the needs of the times. For the secular faculties universities were founded: Moscow 1755, Xarkiv 1805, St Petersburg 1819, Kiev 1834. The church

⁵⁸ Cf. Смолич, *История*, 1: 96-397.

⁵⁹ Cf. АДКА, II/5, introduction.

⁶⁰ For particulars of this reform, its merits, and its drawbacks, see the introduction, *ibid.*, III/1.

⁶¹ Cf. Л. Синицкий, "Путешествие в Малороссию академика Гильденштедта и кн. И. М. Долгоукого", КС, 40 (189361) 283.

schools began to assume a new character: narrower, aimed at preparing only clergy.

Not everyone was happy with this transformation. The Golicyn princes, the main benefactors of the Xarkiv Collegium, wanted to preserve the Collegium's character as a general school, not for the clergy alone, but their insistence was doomed to fail after the founding of the Xarkiv University.⁶²

At the same time, these schools could now expand and deepen those courses that were proper to the education and formation of priests. The reform of seminaries, however, was subject to the vagaries of persons who were strangers to church interests. In 1802, for instance, it was decided that all seminaries were to institute courses of medicine, since, so went the motivation, the priest, who was often the sole educated person in the countryside, could double as a general doctor. This ruling was not carried out — for one, there were no instructors for such courses — and was abolished in 1808.

GOING TO SCHOOL

Once schools were open, bishops could demand that parishes present to them educated candidates and that priests send their sons, who usually were destined to become priests in their turn, to these schools. That for many decades bishops had to repeat these demands shows that old ways of doing things die hard; it took concerted effort by the bishops over a long period of time to convince village pastors that formal schooling was not only useful, but necessary for priests. Because of the long-established custom of sons inheriting their fathers' parishes the clergy had come to feel that being a priest's son was sufficient qualification to be a priest and going to school was a waste of time. Many priests preferred to keep their sons at home, assigning them to posts of cantor (*djak*) and sacristan (*ponomar*), with the excuse that this gave their sons practical knowledge of church services. This common practice prompted bishop Irodion Žurakivs'kyj of Černihiv (1722-1734) to demand in a circular letter of 1722 that cantors and sacristans be not priests' sons, but chosen from other strata; the sons of priests, instead, were to be sent to school.⁶³ The bishop's directives had little effect, and Irodion was forced to repeat

⁶² See the letter of pr. Golicyn to bishop Xristofor Sulyma of Sloboda Ukraine, 1802, in Лашенков, "Материалы", 158.

⁶³ The text of the circular is in ИСОЧЕ, 1: 76-77.

it. The bishop threatened he would not ordain priests sons who had not studied at the Collegium, whatever might be their rights to succeed to their fathers' parishes; he would appoint priests who had studied, whether they came from priestly families or not.⁶⁴

Bishops in other eparchies had recourse to similar promises and threats to convince recalcitrant clergy to send their sons to school.

The metropolitans of Kiev repeatedly called upon their clergy to send their sons to Latin schools, principally to the Kiev Academy.⁶⁵

Rafail Zaborovs'kyj of Kiev used to promise priests that he would ordain their sons to succeed them if the sons studied at the Kiev Academy.⁶⁶ Episcopal pressure to send sons to school must have been especially effective in the case of priest's widows with small children. Bishops would promise that the priest's parish would be reserved for his son, or son-in-law if he had only daughters, but only if the son finished his studies. A resolution of the Kiev consistory of 4 July 1724 may serve as an example.

With regard to the request of the priest's widow from Snjatyn, the church tribunal has decided as follows: if her children study in Latin schools, then the vicar is to give her one-third from the church revenues, until such time as the metropolitan decides otherwise, and she is to have the sale of candles and *prosfor*y; but if she does not send her children to school, then she is to have no share of the revenues.⁶⁷

In their promotion of enlightenment the eighteenth-century hierarchy, themselves products for the most part of the Kiev Academy, found an ally in the *Ecclesiastical Statute*.

The *Statute* promulgated by Peter the Great pointed out widespread lack of instruction among the clergy and indicated in detail how schools were to be run, but neither then nor later did the state take an active part in providing for the schools and only continued to exhort bishops to found schools.⁶⁸ According to the *Ecclesiastical Statute*, schools for the education of priests' sons were to be founded by every cathedral, and from that time on imperial authorities and

⁶⁴ Ibid., 80-82.

⁶⁵ АДКА, II/1.1 (Киев 1904) 68-69, Varlaam Vanatovyc, 13 November 1723; 75-76, Rafail Zaborovs'kyj, 15 September 1733.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 89, 1742.

⁶⁷ National Library of Ukraine, Institute of Manuscripts, F. 232, No. 2, f. 23r. A vicar served at a parish until one of the sons was ordained.

⁶⁸ The text of the *Ecclesiastical Statute* is found in various collections of laws, among them in В. Н. Бенешевич, *Сборник памятников по истории церковного права*, 1 (Петроград 1914).

the Synod call upon the clergy to send their children to school. In 1731 a rescript called for the opening of schools, which then received the name of seminaries, in eparchial centers.⁶⁹ These provisions had in view the situation in Russia proper and were not directly applicable to Ukraine, but they certainly had an indirect influence on the frequentation of schools.

Whether the state's legislation and exhortation served as a stimulus to the hierarchy is difficult to say, since eighteenth-century bishops throughout the empire in the majority came from the Kiev Academy or other schools and themselves were concerned about the clergy's education. The legislation that called for schools called also on the clergy to send their sons to schools. This the bishops found useful, since they could cite the laws to reinforce their demands that priests' sons receive instruction in schools. They endorsed without reservation the Statute's insistence on education and cited the authority of the Statute in their demands for an educated clergy. The bishops appealed to this and other legislation to give force to their demands because many priests were not enthusiastic about sending their sons to school.

When we read that so-and-so was ready for ordination, having studied at such-and-such a school, we should keep in mind that not only the courses at the different schools ended at different levels, but that a student could leave at different moments. Not all the priests who had studied at the Kiev Academy finished theology; some left school at the end of the philosophy course, and some after having finished only rhetoric.

Statistics from the first half of the eighteenth century show the small percentage of priests' sons studying theology at the Kiev Academy.⁷⁰

School year	Number of students	Priests' sons	Studying theology	All theology students
1736/7	367	67	1	11
1737/8	494	140	5	12
1738/9	444	92	3	11
1739/40	536	146	6	23
1740/1	567	152	8	20
1741/2	687	213	6	34
1742/3	822	266	8	32
1743/4	902	263	9	36
1744/5	1110	338	3	24

⁶⁹ ПСЗ, 8: 560-561, no. 5882.

⁷⁰ АДКА, II/1.2: Приложения, 268-269.

To compel candidates for the priesthood to finish proper studies the bishops tried various means. We have already seen some above. In the Kiev eparchy candidates who had not studied at the Academy or who had left it before completing the full course had to pay a fine at ordination.⁷¹

Metropolitan Arsenij Mohyljans'kyj took this measure after trying various others to counter the large proportion of uneducated clergy chosen by communities or claiming rights to inherit a parish. Neither election nor inheritance could be done away with, but the emphasis could be placed on the candidate's personal qualifications. If he was ignorant, then neither the people's preference nor his hereditary claims to a parish were to be taken into consideration.⁷² On 8 June 1787 metropolitan Samuil Myslavs'kyj repeated that all sons of the clergy who did not yet study were to be sent either to the Kiev Academy or the Perejaslav seminary, as long as they were under eighteen years of age, were not included in tax lists, and knew Russian letters. Orphans would be admitted at state cost.⁷³

Prospective priests were also warned that if they left school after rhetoric or philosophy they would not be named to "important parishes".⁷⁴

In other eparchies the bishops likewise noted that deacons and even some priests barely knew how to write or even to read. In Sloboда Ukraine, in spite of repeated instructions that only candidates who had studied at the Xarkiv or other schools be presented for ordination, the bishops often were obliged to cede and ordain candidates who fell short of the desired standard.

Among the bishops most concerned about having an educated clergy was Ioasaf Horlenko of Belgorod (1748-1754). He exhorted candidates and priests to study and was bent on ordaining only educated candidates. He was, however, obliged to resign himself to candidates whose preparation consisted in having been sextons and cantors before aspiring to the priesthood, and instead of school certificates had only testimonials that they had reached the canonical age (thirty years), read well, and lived in the fear of God.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Николай Шпачинский, *Киевский митрополит Арсений Могилянский и состояние Киевской митрополии в его правлении (1757-1770 г.)* (Киев 1907), 124.

⁷² Ibid., 1341ff. Cf. S. Senyk, "Becoming a Priest. The Appointment and Ordination of Priests in the Orthodox Church in Ukraine in the Eighteenth Century", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 69 (2003) 125-151.

⁷³ АДКА, II/5: 211-212.

⁷⁴ Ibid., II/3: 321-324, 18 June 1765.

⁷⁵ *Документы и дела*, 2: 4-5, rescript of 31 January 1750.

In spite of a whole series of strict orders by the bishops that clergy and church personnel send their sons to the Xarkiv Collegium or other schools, the results were not comforting. Bishop Aggej (Kolosovs'kyj, 1774-1786), who founded a seminary in Belgorod, on 16 October 1775 instructed his consistory to watch "with a vigilant eye" that the clergy's sons did indeed attend those schools.⁷⁶

Although the partitioning of the population into strictly delimited classes in eighteenth-century Russia was extended to Ukraine at the end of that century, the insistence of hierarchs that priests, deacons, and members of church staffs send their sons to schools preparing candidates for the priesthood cannot be ascribed simply to their pursuing a closed priestly caste. Even without state legislation the tendency was for the priestly class to perpetuate itself, and the percentage of priests who themselves were sons of priests was always very high. The widely diffused custom of sons inheriting their fathers' parishes left few vacancies for candidates from other backgrounds. In insisting that priests and deacons send their sons to school the bishops were carrying out their obligation to ensure a competent clergy.

While it is impossible to verify statistically, the over-all impression of eighteenth-century Orthodox clergy in Left Bank Ukraine is that the majority remained with insufficient education.

For one, the schools were too few to provide educated clergy for all the parishes. Since the schools were destined not only for candidates to the priesthood, only a small percentage of those who studied in them did choose to become priests. The steady growth of population in Left-Bank Ukraine meant a consequent opening of ever new parishes, for which there simply were not enough well-educated priests to go around.

Moreover, many candidates for the priesthood remained unconvinced about the usefulness of education. The people seemed satisfied with, indeed sometimes seemed to prefer to have an unschooled priest, so there was little popular stimulus for priests to obtain a good education.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, the standard of education among the clergy rose steadily, if slowly, throughout the eighteenth century. This was due most of all to the insistence of bishops on education, their decided preferment of educated candidates.

⁷⁶ Амфиан Лебедев, "К истории", *Сборник Харьковского историко-филологического общества*, 6 (1894) 247.

⁷⁷ Examples are given in Senyk, "Becoming a Priest".

Manikathanar in Centenary Retrospect

In a 1950 full-size biography of his, a photo shows him seated like the Moses of Michelangelo, in lordly nobility and regal majesty, with a full, white beard cascading over a black cassock and his penetrating eyes peering pensively into the ages.¹ In appearance like Moses, he was also like him in life, a great leader, celebrated as the hero of the deliverance of his people from a Pharaonic captivity. What the Bible says of Moses has been applied to him: "Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses...; God made him equal in glory to the holy ones and made him great...." (Dt 34:10; Sir 45:2). On the occasion of his fiftieth death anniversary (1954) he was indeed reckoned as the greatest Thomaschristian of all times. In a Gallup poll conducted by *Bhasha Poshini*, a leading literary journal of Kerala in 1920, he was put on a list of fifteen greatest Malayalees of all times headed by Śankarācārya, the premier Indian philosopher. The year 2004 marks the centenary of this uncrowned Christian king. His popular name is Manikathanar.

A genius of many parts, Manikathanar was an almost incredible blend: a genial and intrepid leader, a powerful orator, a moving preacher, an outstanding administrator, a seminal journalist, an invincible lawyer, a last resort physician for hopeless cases, a pre-ecumenist, a pioneer historian, a far-sighted educationist, a versatile linguist, a talented writer, a gifted poet and hymnographer, and a holy priest.² He was qualified by Eugene Cardinal Tisserant as "a very

Abbreviations:

ACO = Archives of the Oriental Congregation (Congregation for the Oriental Churches)

APF = Archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide.

SCPF = Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (= Congregation for the Propagation of Faith).

SRCM = *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Malabaresi*.

¹ Chevalier V. C. George, *Nidhiyirikkal Mānikkatthanar*, Ernakulam: Little Flower Press, 1950; 2nd ed. by John Pellissery, Kottayam: Pellissery Publications, 1994. Cited hereafter as V. C. George. It presents the first commissioned biography of Manikathanar by a prominent historian, a monumental work of over 900 pages in Malayalam, with several appended studies and comments by various writers.

² Abraham M. Nidhiry, *Father Nidhiry: A History of His Times*, Kottayam: Deepika, 1971, pp. 300-318. This book was reviewed in OCP 39 (1973) 515-516. Cited hereafter

zealous and learned priest.”³ In 1969, as a tribute to his contribution to Malayalam literature, the Kerala Literary Academy unveiled his portrait in the Academy Hall at Trichur. Endowed with a prodigious memory, he had learnt by heart several Sanskrit tomes and entire volumes of the Christian classics, including the Syriac New Testament and the Book of the Psalms. Like Napoleon he could attend to three or four different intellectual activities at the same time.⁴ Chevalier I. C. Chacko called him a “versatile prodigy,” reminding one of Leonardo da Vinci, albeit far less known abroad. For his leadership and commitment to the cause of ecclesial autonomy, he was the Thomaschristian prototype of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of independent India. If Gandhi attained global renown through a liberal English press, Manikathanar was instead misrepresented and sidelined by some foreign churchmen. But acclaimed widely in Kerala, he has been remembered and celebrated like no other Christian leader through silver jubilee, golden jubilee, and platinum jubilee. His life and activities are intricately interwoven with the history of his Church.⁵ He deserves to be more widely known on the occasion of his centenary. His formal or official name is Mani Nidhiry or Emmanuel A. Nidhiry.⁶

as *Nidhiry*. For the reference to the Gallup poll, see p. 334. A second, posthumous edition, “with some minor corrections,” was published by Nidhirickal Manikathanar Foundation, Kuravilangad, in December 2003.

³ Eugene Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India: A History of the Syro-Malabar Church from the Earliest Time to the Present Day*, Authorized adaptation from the French by Edward R. Hambye, S.J., Bombay – Calcutta, Orient Longmans, 1957, p. 138. Cited hereafter as Tisserant – Hambye.

⁴ Chacko Moolayil, in *Nazrani Deepika*, Kottayam, 21. 6. 1938, cited *Nidhiry*, (n. 2) 318.

⁵ Mathias A. Mundadan, *Indian Christians' Search for Identity and Struggle for Autonomy*, Bangalore, 1984: “Nidhiri was the most vocal and influential among the Syrians of his time” (p. 99).

⁶ Manikathanar’s name appears variously in the Roman script. His first name is Mani, which is given as Emmanuel in English. His family name figures as Nidhiri, Nidiri, Nidhiry, Nidhiyiri, Nidhirickal, Nidhiyirickal, etc. Manikathanar, his popular Malayalam name, can be rendered phonetically as Māṇikkatthanār. The word *kathanar* (probably from the Syriac *kahnā*, “priest” + *ar*, respective plural ending, but confused with *kattan* + *ār*, from Sanskrit *kartā*, “creator”, “lord”) refers to a Suriani priest (whereas a Latin priest is *pātri* or *pādiri*). It is roughly the equivalent of *Don* (from Latin *dominus*) in Italian, as in Don Bosco. Hence “Manikathanar” will be “Don Manuele” in Italian.



**Rev. Mani Nidhiry Manikathanar or Emmanuel A. Nidhiry
(1842-1902)**

1. LIFE AND HISTORICAL SETTING

Mani was born on 27 May 1842 as the second son of Ittiyavira and Rosa in the rich and prominent Nidhiyiri family of Kuravilangad, an ancient Thomaschristian parish, northeast of Kottayam in central Kerala. After his mother's death in 1851, he grew up under the care of his stepmother in a large family of seven siblings. His father was a leading advocate, who also carried on the family tradition of conducting a "court" to settle cases extrajudicially. His expertise in four languages (Malayalam, Syriac, English and Portuguese) was an inspiration for Mani to become a polyglot. To initiate his children into English he engaged a tutor at home. His elder brother Father Varkey Nidhiry was for long the parish priest of Kuravilangad and taught the young Mani Syriac and oriented him towards priesthood. Mani learnt quickly and soon reached the level of his teacher so as to need to move out to a more learned teacher, and then again to another, till he mastered Syriac from the most outstanding master, Mar Athanasius, professor at the Old Seminary, Kottayam. There he perfected his English, too. He further practised spoken Syriac with Denha bar Jona, who had come from the Babylonian Patriarchate and was stationed at Kuravilangad. Likewise he mastered Sanskrit early from Valiya Asan (senior tutor) and he learnt Tamil acquiring proficiency in it, too. Gifted with a superior intellect and an exceptional memory, he excelled in his studies. A raw poet once brought to him a new poem he had composed and recited it. Manikathanar, who was then in his sixty's, asked him to recite it once more; and then, before repeating it himself, said in excuse that, when he was young, he only needed to hear a text once to memorise it.

Manikathanar's ecclesiastical career cannot be understood properly without reference to its historical setting. The Thomaschristians had lost their original self-government and had long been under foreign bishops, first East Syrian (or Chaldean) and then from 1599 onwards Latin. In spite of internal rivalries between their two ethnic factions called Northists and Southists,⁷ they used to administer the

⁷ The *Southists* are variously designated as *Suddists* or *Sudists* — which are Italianisms (in Italian "south" is "sud") — and are distinguished from the *Northists*. According to the Southist author Jacob Kollaparambil, *The Babylonian Origin of the Southists Among the St. Thomas Christians* (OCA 241), Rome, 1992, "From the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new name *Knanaya* came into vogue, coined out of the lay leader's surname ... Thomas Kinay" (p. 83) — wrongly called Thomas of Cana —, the leader of the Southist emigration to Malabar. He was a native of *Kynai*, an important Christian centre with a university and a monastery, about 35 kilometres from the Sassanian capital Seleucia Ctesiphon (pp. 1-2).

affairs of the Church through their representative assemblies called *yogam* under the leadership of an archdeacon, while their Chaldean bishop functioned mostly as a *pūjāri* ("pontiff," or sacrificer) in charge of the liturgical functions. Since 1599 their Portuguese Jesuit bishops of the Padroado regime were determined to exercise, in Latin style, not only the power of order but the power of governance. Pursuing a wider policy of latinization, these bishops overruled or set aside the archdeacon and the *yogam*, provoking a revolt against Jesuit rule under Bishop Francis Garcia, S.J., in 1653, which made history as the Coonan Cross oath.⁸ In spite of some reforms and some other valuable contributions, the Padroado period was on the whole a troubled time of rebellions and schisms. Rome tried to apply a remedy by introducing its direct jurisdiction through Carmelite bishops under the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (SCPF). Thus the Catholic Thomaschristians were divided between two foreign Latin jurisdictions, both professing to save souls but in practice locked in rivalry to perpetuate their power and serve their own interests to the detriment of the natives. This regime of double jurisdiction was further complicated by the double polarisation foreign-native and Latin-Suriani, this latter being based on rite.

A terminological note is in order here. The term "Surianis" or "Sorianis", from the commonly used Malayalam word "Suṛiyāni," occurs regularly in the documents of the period to designate the Eastern or non-Latin Christians in India. We shall use it in fidelity to the sources. The term "Malabar" formerly comprised a vast area including today's Kerala (consisting of former Travancore, Cochin and Malabar province, combined into one linguistic and political unit) as well as Tamil Nad. The term "Syro-Malabar" became common currency in Malabar as a term distinct from "Syro-Chaldean" after the Surianis were removed from the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch by Pope Pius IX.⁹

⁸ The Thomaschristians vowed that they would no longer submit to the high-handed rule of Archbishop Francis Garcia, S.J., supported by his Portuguese Jesuit associates of St. Paul's College ("Paulistar" in the oath) inasmuch as they were understood to be acting *against the orders of the pope*. This was implicitly to declare their submission to the Roman Pontiff, not schism. The later divisive developments cannot be directly attributed to the Coonan Cross oath itself.

⁹ Cherian Varicatt, *The Suriani Church of India: Her Quest for Autochthonous Bishops (1877-1896)*, (OIRSI 175), Kottayam, 1995; for "Suriani" sources, see pp. 498-500. Cited hereafter as Varicatt. This is a well researched work, based on the Vatican archives. It needs to be completed with native sources, just as the monumental work of V. C. George (n. 1) needs completion by use of material from foreign archives.

The Padroado was suppressed by Pope Gregory XVI in 1838, but owing to the Indo-Lusitan schism it was revived in 1857 by Blessed Pope Pius IX with a concordat with Portugal. In 1863 the Surianis were ordered to choose between the Padroado and the Propaganda to belong under. To the latter adhered 104 parishes, to the former 37, while in 16 others some parishioners opted for the one, the others for the other, thus being divided between the two jurisdictions. Among this last group was Kuravilangad. The Nidhirys had long belonged with the Padroado. And the young Mani, who had set out to study the Portuguese language first from a *malpan* (teacher), and then from a Portuguese missionary priest at Quilon, had acquired such proficiency in it as to impress his teachers and the Portuguese colonialists. In 1861, though only a teenager, he was appointed secretary to the administrator ("governador") of the see of Kodungalloor (Crananore), which had been left without bishop by the restored Padroado and was governed by the archbishop of Goa through an administrator. The young Mani served under four different administrators till 1873 in quick succession. Administrators came and went like the Malabar monsoon: in the sixteen years between 1857 and 1873 twelve of them reigned in colonial style, an eloquent proof of the Padroado zeal for souls.

The Surianis under the Padroado regime suffered many hardships. Without a bishop, they were like sheep without shepherd. For promotion to the major orders the candidates had to go either to Goa or to the rival Propaganda bishop. Both were difficult choices. So when the Chaldean bishop Mar Thoma Roccas (spelt also Rocos, Rokkos), came to Malabar in May 1861, clerical candidates flocked to him, and he ordained in all 18 priests, 9 deacons, 24 subdeacons, and conferred the minor orders on 54 candidates and the tonsure on 23.¹⁰

The common allegation that the term "Syro-Malabar" was coined in Rome in 1887 is false. It was used already by the Carmelite Tertiaries of the monastery of Vazhukulam in a petition they sent to Pope Pius IX on 9 July 1876 pleading to be left under Verapoly: "... Christianos Sancti Thomae Syro-Malabarenses Malabariam incolentes..." (ACO, *Ponenza*, Agosto 1876, n. 16, *Sommario*, p. 707). Also, "Syro-Malabar" is regularly used in a letter written on 4 March 1881 by the Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna (Ceylon, today Sri Lanka), Christopher Bonjean, OMI, to "The Syro-Malabarese Priests," (see Aloysius Pareparampil, *An Account of an Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar*, Puthenpally, (n.p.), 1920, "Documents," pp. 121, 122, 126, 128. This shows that the expression "Syro-Malabar" was an accepted usage already in 1881.

¹⁰ Alex Paul Urumpackal, *The Mellus Schism*, doctoral dissertation, Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1980, p. 98. The list was submitted by the vicar apostolic Leonardo Mellano, OCD, to the SCPF when he was in Rome for the First Vatican Council. On 26 September 1862, Pope Pius IX forbade the Chaldean patriarch Joseph Audo to

Mani Nidhiry used the occasion to be tonsured in July, the use of the Syriac rite probably being an additional attraction. All of these incurred the canonical penalty of suspension because Roccas was a forbidden intruder. But the Roman condemnation of the intrusion was known for certain in Malabar only later when on 5 September 1861 Pope Pius IX wrote to Bernardine Baccinelli, OCD, the Propaganda vicar apostolic of Verapoly (1853-1868), authorising him to excommunicate Roccas in case he refused to withdraw. After being exposed, combated, and finally excommunicated on 30 November 1861, Roccas quit Malabar in 1862. He had not selected the candidates for ordination with the necessary rigour, and doubts were raised about the Pontifical he used and about the validity of the orders he conferred. So the question was referred to Rome. The SCPF studied the matter carefully and took time to give a final reply in spite of many petitions from Malabar, especially from the clerical candidates on cue. But the proverbial mills of Rome grind slowly. They grind to a near halt when the inputs are contradictory. Among those thus penalised by the Roccas schism was Mani Nidhiry, who had to wait for fourteen years before being cleared for his priestly ordination.

The Padroado administrator Father Antonio Correia dos Reis Coelho (1867-1869) moved with his young secretary to the newly built seminary at Mangalapuzha (Alwaye), where Mani taught Malayalam and English from 1867 till 1873. He accompanied Coelho, who was a great retreat preacher, rendering his Portuguese orations into Malayalam. With such practical lessons in public speaking, he became himself a charming orator. He was appointed attorney for the many civil lawsuits of the Padroado with the Propaganda, especially for the possession of Suriani churches, a job he performed splendidly, winning intricate cases and wide acclaim as an outstanding, self-made lawyer. In 1873 he won a court case against a notorious police officer, Manasinku by name, who had perpetrated fiendish brutality in mafia style on the village people of Kalathur; when the culprit was finally sentenced to prison in the appeal court, the priest-lawyer's fame spread all over the country. Another famous appeal court victory was in the Chittattoor case. Recognizing his merit, the Travancore High Court would later send him a case for mediation and settlement.

But the fact that he had received the clerical tonsure from Mar Roccas stuck as a stigma, although he had not followed the intruder into schism. Those who did follow Roccas merged later into three

exercise jurisdiction in Malabar by sending bishops (ACO, Patriarcato Caldei I, p. 243, cited *ibid.*, p. 21).

streams: Padroado, Propaganda, and Roccisian. Thirty parishes were split between the first two. In 1870, the Propaganda vicar apostolic of Verapoly, Leonardo Mellano, OCD, elevated as titular archbishop of Nicomedia, was authorised by Rome to "steal" the Padroado sheep discreetly without endangering the 1857 concordat between the Holy See and Portugal. And eighteen parishes which had adhered to the Padroado fully and eight only partially were received by Mellano under his Verapoly jurisdiction.¹¹

Regarding the ordinations conferred by Roccas the final decision of the SCPF was that they were valid. The Padroado administrator published a circular absolving all those who were under irregularity or suspension. But the Propaganda vicar apostolic Mellano forbade the faithful under his jurisdiction to attend the mass said by priests so absolved, or to allow them to say mass in their churches or to receive any sacraments from them. Thus the Surianis again fell victim to the Padroado-Propaganda rivalry, and some of them turned to Babylon for relief. As we shall see, the Chaldean patriarch will respond by sending a second bishop, Mar Elias Mellus, and there will be a second schism in twelve years.

Reacting to the reports of apostolic visitors and petitions from Malabar, Pope Pius IX issued an order on 6 March 1865 to the SCPF to discuss in its general assembly of the cardinals the question of the governance of the Surianis ("Syrians"). The three "doubts" on the agenda were the following: 1) Are the Surianis to be restored to the jurisdiction of the Chaldean patriarch? 2) Are they to be given a bishop of their own rite and nation immediately subject to Rome? 3) Are they to continue to be subject to Verapoly but taken care of by a Vicar of their rite and nation, in which case (a) is he or, (b) is he not to be of the episcopal order?¹² After excluding the first and second options on appeal to canon 9 of Lateran IV, the SCPF settled for the third solution with the second alternative (b). In fact Bernardine Baccinelli, OCD, vicar apostolic of Verapoly (1853-1868), with the support of the other Carmelite missionaries, had resolutely rejected the cardinals' suggestion to appoint as bishop his vicar general for the Surianis, Father Chavara Kuriakose (1805-1871), who had played a decisive role in exposing and ousting Roccas (and who would be beatified by Pope John Paul II at Kottayam in 1986).

¹¹ Varicatt, (n. 9) 8. Verapoly was made an archdiocese, with Cochin and Quilon as suffragans, in 1886, while Cranganore was suppressed with all the Thomaschristians being brought under Verapoly.

¹² ACO, *Lettere e Decreti*, II (1864-1865) f. 419.

It was the general conviction of the Suriani laity and clergy that their greatest woe was the lack of a bishop of their own rite and nation. And the young and dynamic Padroado secretary Mani Nidhiry galvanized the movement to get one. Together with his friend and colleague Malpan Joseph Pidiyekkal, who taught Syriac in the same seminary, he set out plans for achieving Suriani autonomy. He went to Goa in January 1872 and pleaded with the archbishop to have a bishop for the Surianis appointed, reviving their ancient see of Cranganore, which had been suppressed along with the Padroado but not revived. All to no avail. The people grew restless; they met in July the same year and threatened to quit the Padroado. In November, the Mangalapuzha seminarians, prompted by Professor Mani Nidhiry, sent a petition to the archbishop of Goa and to the king of Portugal asking for a bishop. Again to no avail. The people started quitting the Padroado. In 1872 a crisis point was reached when, in the divided church of Kanjoor, a militant Padroadoist stabbed the pro-Propaganda parish priest at the distribution of Holy Communion. The shock and shame precipitated a vast exodus. Mangalapuzha seminary was almost deserted. Nidhiry felt like standing in a sinking ship. Soon he, too, quit the Padroado for the Propaganda.

A deserter coming from a hostile camp need not expect a grand reception. But Mani Nidhiry was already a name to be reckoned with, a force to be enlisted. However, he had first to finish his priestly formation in a seminary since the *malpanate* formation he had received was not recognized as "canonical." Although suppressed by Stephen Brito, S.J., the Padroado archbishop of Angamaly (1624-1641), about twenty *malpanates* had survived. Bernardine Baccinelli OCD (1853-1868) of Verapoly closed them down and established instead four regional seminaries: Verapoly (for the Latins), Mannanam, Elthuruth and Vazhakulam (for the Surianis). Professor Mani Nidhiry became a seminarian at Mannanam on 16 July 1874 after receiving the four minor orders. He read church history, both general (by Marcellino, OCD) and Thomaschristian (by Ittoop Writer); he read the Greek, Latin, and Syriac Fathers; he studied carefully the decrees of the First Vatican Council. He was known to be a voracious reader, but no bookworm. He made several friends among the Carmelite missionaries like Father Ambrose, OCD, and Father Elias, OCD. The former, before returning to Italy later, would make him a personal gift of his collection of about 300 books; and the two would bid good bye in tears. Manikathanar owned a remarkably big personal library.

The subdiaconate was conferred on seminarian Mani Nidhiry on 6 May 1875 and the diaconate on the following 24 November. His

priestly ordination took place on 12 December 1875 at Mannanam, where he celebrated the First Mass on 3 January 1876. And in March 1876 he was appointed parish priest of Kuravilangad by archbishop Leonardo Mellano, OCD, of Verapoly, who will later entrust to him also with the Chittattoor church case against the Mellusians.

Mellano, vicar apostolic since 1868, was an energetic legislator and administrator. He was high-handed in his reforms and government, provoking the Surianis to send a flood of complaints to Rome. And in reaction, he wielded the fiery sword of sacred power by decreeing: "To write to Rome or to subscribe to petitions directed to Rome is a reserved sin." For having done so he dismissed seven religious priests from their native congregation. Some Carmelite missionaries themselves like Father Leopold Beccaro reported that the vicariate was reduced to moral paralysis — and Mellano packed him off back to Italy in 1876 together with his brother and confrere Gerard Beccaro, who also was supportive of the Syrians.¹³ Independent opinion came from the Latin Bishop of Coimbatore, Depomier, MEP, that it was necessary to give a separate bishop to the Surianis. But several Carmelite missionaries wrote to Rome against the appointment of a native priest as bishop.

2. NO CANDIDATE FOR A NATIVE BISHOP

After the conquest of Cochin in 1663 and the expulsion of all non-Dutch Europeans, the Dutch colonialists had let in the Carmelites on condition that the missionaries be Italians, Belgians or Germans, and that "they should not arrogate to themselves superiority over the Thomas Christians and that they should leave the churches to be administered by the natives of the place or by those approved by them."¹⁴ The Dutch, who made a treaty with the King of Cochin on 22 March 1663 and had the Christians of Malabar under their protection, knew that missionary arrogance of superiority was a root cause of the Christian unrest in Malabar. But as the Carmelite missionaries saw it, superiority and inferiority were a matter of nature, not a matter to be regulated by a treaty. One of them had written in a newsy letter to Europe that the people of Malabar looked like monkeys. The native

¹³ Sunny Maniakkunnel, *A Historical Outlook into the Life and Activities of Fr. Leopold Beccaro of St. Joseph in Malabar (1860-1877)*, doctoral dissertation, Pontifical Gregorian University, n. 8321, Rome, 2003.

¹⁴ Thomman Paremakkal, *Varthamanappusthakam*, translated into English by Placid J. Podipara, (OCA 190), Rome, Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1971, p. 13.

priests were excluded from eating or sitting with the missionaries. Thus, when the young Manikathanar accompanied the apostolic visitor Leo Meurin, S.J., as his interpreter in 1876, he was made to sit and eat alone apart from the group during dinner with the Carmelites in the monastery of Koonammav offered by its prior Leopold Beccaro. Meurin intervened to have him seated with the group. Manikathanar quipped with good grace: "they did not regard themselves worthy to eat with me!" Only a few exceptional Europeans like Leo Meurin, Antonio Agliardi and Andrea Aiuti recognized the merits of Manikathanar and even marked him out as a worthy candidate to be a future bishop; but the Carmelite missionaries could see among the natives no worthy candidate for episcopal ordination.¹⁵ Even Leopold Beccaro, the Carmelite most favourably disposed to the Surianis, was against the idea of appointing his best Indian friend Father Chavara Kuriakose, the native founder of the tertiaries and Verapoly vicar general for the Surianis, as a bishop for the Surianis.¹⁶

Leo Meurin was a German Jesuit and the vicar apostolic of Bombay. Against the negative opinion of Archbishop Mellano about the need for an apostolic visit in Malabar, he was appointed apostolic visitor by Pope Pius IX on 24 March 1876. He landed at Cochin on 5 May 1876 and saw that no one had been sent by Mellano to receive him at the port. He went to meet Mellano and arranged to have as his Malayalam interpreter Father Emmanuel Nidhiry, recommended to him by the archbishop of Goa and the former Padroado administrators, whom Nidhiry had served as secretary. Father Nidhiry found himself in a delicate position. He had now a providential occasion to brief the apostolic visitor of the exact predicament, desires and hopes of the Surianis, but he could not do this without going counter to the stand of his own ecclesiastical superior Archbishop Mellano. He would do his duty to the former without lacking in due respect for the latter.

Father Nidhiry arranged a grandiose reception for Meurin in stark contrast to the cold void that had greeted the visitor in Cochin. Meurin sailed to the monastery of Mannanam in a decorated boat, accompanied by 300 long canoes filled with 5000 people. On landing, he was escorted by a large crowd sporting rows of multicolour silk umbrellas and glittering crosses of silver and gold. Meurin knew that

¹⁵ ACO, *SRCM*, II (1878-1889), ff. 1430v-1431r.

¹⁶ The social psychology is well expressed by the English satirist George Orwell, born in India in 1903, who writes in his *Burmese Days* with vitriolic irony about British imperial bigotry: "after all, natives were natives — interesting no doubt, but finally only a 'subject' people, an inferior people with black faces."

it was the outward expression of the people's devotion to the pope but also an index of their great expectations.

Thanks to his interpreter, Meurin got an exact idea of the situation of the Surianis by meeting the crowded assemblies in Mannanam, Kottayam, and Ernakulam. The two grew in admiration and affection for each other. In one of his friendly banters Meurin remarked that from a land of schismatics like Malabar no good bishop could be expected. Nidhiry retorted: "How then could Germany, the land of Martin Luther, produce a bishop like Your Lordship?" At the end of his visit, Meurin made an eight-day retreat together with his secretary Fr. Clarke and his interpreter at the monastery of Elthuruth. On the fifth day, Nidhiry took up as the subject for "election" his long-standing desire to join the Society of Jesus. He presented it for discernment to Meurin together with the objection that the Society of Jesus did not [then] admit non-Latins. But he said that he had felt this desire ever since he read Alphonsus Rodriguez.¹⁷ Meurin advised "gratitude for the good thought" and left it at that, probably to save Nidhiry from possible conflict between his commitment to the native cause and Jesuit obedience to foreign superiors.

In the meanwhile, the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Joseph Audo, who had been forced to recall Mar Roccas, had tried his fortunes once again. He had sent Bishop Mar Elias Mellus to Malabar in 1874, responding to the renewed pleas of the Surianis. Upon his arrival on 21 October 1874, Mellus had proclaimed himself their true pastor and got considerable following in northern Malabar centred around Trichur. He won over 12 parishes entirely and 25 parishes in part. Wanting to conquer Kuravilangad, the Suriani core and castle, which was split into two with two parish priests, Mellus tried to decoy Manikathanar by offering to consecrate him bishop. Manikathanar tore to pieces the letter in front of the messenger: he would have nothing to do with a bishopric devoid of the papal blessing. He cleared his parish of the presence of Mellus and was invited to many other parishes to route the Mellusians with his philippics and win back churches through court cases. Excommunicated by Mellano on

¹⁷ V. C. George (n. 1) 348-350, mistakes the Jesuit spiritual writer for the Italian Redemptorist saint Alphonsus Liguori. Alonso Rodriguez (1538-1618) was a Spanish Jesuit novice master and superior, who wrote *Practice of Perfection and Christian Virtues*, 3 vols., Seville, 1609. A spiritual classic, it was translated into 23 languages and went into 300 editions; it was specially recommended by Pope Pius XI. Till the Second Vatican Council, it used to be prescribed spiritual reading in all Jesuit novitiates and was widely in use also in other religious institutes and many diocesan seminaries.

23 October 1874 and by Meurin on 9 May 1876,¹⁸ Mellus lingered on till 1882 when he was recalled by his patriarch. But he left behind a certain Bishop Jacob Abraham to head the Mellusians. Manikathanar eventually converted Mar Jacob, but a breakaway group persisted in its schismatic option.

Meurin understood well the situation in Malabar thanks in large measure to Manikathanar, who functioned effectively also as his secretary. Manikathanar got the people to ask for a Jesuit bishop, who, they hoped, would be Meurin, or like Meurin. In his 1876 report to the SCPF Meurin recommended to separate the Surianis and the Latins with a separate bishop and indigenous auxiliary bishop for the former, restoring Cranganore.¹⁹ This Cranganore idea was originally Manikathanar's, who was presumably also the auxiliary bishop foreseen by Meurin. However, as Meurin told Manikathanar, the definite solution with a Suriani diocesan bishop would have to be delayed in order that Rome might not appear to yield to the blackmail of schism. But Meurin's support of the Surianis provoked Mellano, who denounced him to Rome as a dupe and adventurer. As a result, Rome sent Bishop Ignatius Persico, OFM, to interview some prelates in India but not as a counter apostolic visitor, who on 6 June 1877 endorsed Meurin's recommendation.²⁰ And the newly appointed apostolic delegate Andrea Aiuti, too, supported the proposal.²¹

But many foreign missionaries were convinced that Catholic India would be doomed under native bishops. Likewise on the eve of India's independence in 1947 many foreign Christians thought that rule by Britain, a Christian power, was better for the Church in India than independence: between Hindu rule and Christian rule the choice was obvious. When expert reporters clash, it is difficult for a distant central administrator to discern and make the right choice. And the proverbial mills of Rome grind ever more slowly.

¹⁸ ACO, *SRCM*, I (1862-1877), ff. 465-466.

¹⁹ ACO, *SRCM*, I (1862-1877), ff. 555-563. Here are Meurin's trustful and daring words: "To suppress the schism more quickly, I think that a better course will be for the Holy See to appoint me Administrator of the Diocese [of Cranganore], and to permit the election by all the clergy of an Assistant Bishop for episcopal functions from among the Malabar Clergy, at least this once, and that after referring the result to the Holy See, he be consecrated by me" (ACO, *Ponenza*, Agosto 1876, n. 16, *Sommario*, p. 44).

²⁰ ACO, *SRCM*, I (1862-1877), ff. 662-664. See Charles Payngot, *Kerala Sabha Patthonpathām Nūttāndil* (= The Kerala Church in the Nineteenth Century): The Report of Ignatius Persico (in Malayalam translation), Kottayam, OIRSI, 1997, p. 95.

²¹ ACO, *SRCM*, I (1862-1877), ff. 524r-630 v; July 1877 (n. 8) 2-3 and 24.

The Roman solution was a compromise calculated to save the Carmelite face. As a first step, it gave a Latin bishop to the Surianis under Verapoly in the person of the Italian Carmelite Marcellino of S. Teresa, rector of the seminary of Puthenpally, which was common to the Latins and the Surianis. He knew Malayalam well enough and had written several religious books in Malayalam, although he stood no comparison with Manikathanar on any count. But he had one plus point to be chosen for appointment as bishop: he was a European. Manikathanar organized a grand reception for the newly appointed bishop Marcellino at his parish Kuravilangad. But Marcellino's prime care was to feather the Carmelite nest. Though SCPF had asked him to appoint a Suriani vicar general and four consultors, he did not do so. His disdain for the Surianis inclined them to look away to Babylon, and the Mellusian schism was the result.

More than ten years had to pass before Rome took the second step to separate the Latins and the Syrians according to the Meurin report. But whom to appoint as bishop of the Surianis? That was the question. The first apostolic delegate to India, Mgr. Antonio Agliardi, in a note to Mgr. Domenico Jacobini, Secretary of SCPF, written on 1 May 1886, had qualified Nidhiry as an "excellent Suriani Catholic priest."²² The SCPF asked Mellano to send Nidhiry to Rome along with four seminarians being sent to the Propaganda College, "in case an interpreter was needed." Surely, more was involved here than an interpreter. And Mellano sensed it and replied that Nidhiry "was not the type to whom young boys could be entrusted; it would be a public scandal since this kathanar is quite known for some evil."²³ The innuendo was dynamite. The SCPF asked Mellano for an explanation and directed Agliardi to collect information. Mellano furnished the following explanation: "He is capable of dealing with the world according to the spirit of modern times, and so he is sought after by his associate rebels. But in the things of God he is wanting; and this is the public opinion."²⁴ Mellano's nice word for gossip was "public opinion." On 27 March 1887 Agliardi sent an extensive reply referring to Meurin's good report about Nidhiry. He confirmed it by his own personal knowledge of the man, who was his guest for a few days. He had Nidhiry's correspondence and also the praise of Nidhiry by Mel-

²² APF, *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi Indie Orientali, 2 Semestre 1885-1886*, vol. 26, f. 533: "il Rev. Nidhiry, ottimo sacerdote cattolico Soriano."

²³ ACO, *Lettere e Decreti 1887*, vol. 20, f. 30.

²⁴ ACO, *SRM II* (1878-1889), f. 1253.

lano himself and others during Agliardi's visit to Malabar.²⁵ The SCPF asked for the opinions of others, and Agliardi collected and sent the opinions of three missionaries about Nidhiry's doctrine and morals. These experts mentioned gossip about "deplorable happenings" about Nidhiry and betrayed Carmelite rancour for his former service to the Padroado. Agliardi explained Mellano's expression "public scandal" as an improper metaphor for the surprise of Nidhiry's opponents if he were known to have been asked to go to Rome. Agliardi's positive report about Nidhiry was confirmed by his successor as apostolic delegate Andrea Aiuti, who had come to know Manikathanar personally and had the highest regard for him. In his supplementary note, however, Mellano said: "Concerning Father Mani Nidiry, I must own up frankly that his behaviour does not conform to the spirit of a Catholic priest; such is his public image. About his private life, I have no idea."²⁶ Having nothing concrete to report, Mellano kept to generalities and the talk of the town, leaving the reader to guess the worst.

At long last, overruling the SCPF choice of Carmelites as bishops, Pope Leo XIII with his apostolic letter *Quod iampridem* of 20 May 1887 effected the ritual separation of the Latins and the Surianis ("Syro-Malabars") and erected for the latter two vicariates apostolic, Trichur and Kottayam;²⁷ he also appointed as apostolic vicars two Latin non-Keralites: Adolph Medleycott (an Anglo-Indian) for Trichur and Charles Lavigne, S.J. (a Frenchman) for Kottayam. The change-over to native rule was foreseen, but had to be gradual not to provoke the Carmelites. Both the vicars apostolic of Kottayam and of Trichur were enjoined by the pope to appoint a Syro-Malabar vicar general each and four Syro-Malabar consultants.

The newly appointed apostolic delegate Andrea Aiuti wrote a friendly letter dated 21 May 1887, the day after Pope Leo XIII had made the ritual separation, to Father Emmanuel Nidhiry summoning him to his residence at Ooty. Aiuti wanted him to translate *Quod iampridem* into English and Malayalam. Nidhiry spent a few days there, and thus Aiuti got an opportunity to come to know him and appreciate him personally. They became close friends. Aiuti wrote to Nidhiry confidentially repeating what he had told him orally about his candidacy as bishop: "I can assure you once more that the Holy

²⁵ Ibid., f. 1244.

²⁶ Ibid., f. 1253: ... "with his worldly vanity" ... he is "not fit the things of God."

²⁷ *Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi Acta*, VII, Romae, 1888, 106-108; *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 19 (1887) 513-514.

See is thinking of you.”²⁸ The present arrangement was provisional, after which there would be the definitive solution. On 8 April 1889 he wrote to the cardinal prefect Simeoni of the SCPF about Father Emmanuel Nidhiry in glowing terms as follows.

This priest is indeed the most intelligent, the most instructed and the most active member of the entire Suriani clergy of Malabar. He speaks Syriac, Tamil, Malayalam, Latin, Portuguese and English fluently. He has a fair education in philosophy, theology and literature, acquired by dint of private study. His eloquence is charming. He carries on a staggering number of activities, knows how to deal with his people, belongs to a rich and prominent Suriani family, has fought against Mellus and is now busy with the conversion of the Jacobites to the Catholic Church. He is well known all over Malabar as the luminary of its clergy and has great influence over all his people. He has served the Apostolic Delegation under both Mgr. Agliardi and the undersigned.²⁹

That was as good as the thumbnail description of a bishop *in petto* by an apostolic delegate, an honest foreign admirer. But quite a different account of Nidhiry had been dispatched to the previous apostolic delegate Agliardi by Marcellino Berardi, OCD, whose mass Mani Nidhiri had served as altar boy and who had been his seminary rector.

“[Father Emmanuel Nidhiry] knows English, but does not write it very well. He knows Soriano (sic! Read, Syriac) sufficiently. He speaks a little Portuguese perhaps, I doubt whether he can write it. He knows some word of Latin, but is about zero. He has a good knowledge of the Malabar language, even high. ... Philosophy, dogmatic theology and the other ecclesiastical sciences he has not studied.”³⁰

Prejudice oozes palpably from this account about the former secretary of the Portuguese Padroado governor. Inclined rather to take in such European opinions, Bishop Lavigne saw Nidhiry as a sinister antagonist. On 8 June 1890 Aiuti wrote again to Simeoni warning that Lavigne seemed to be prejudiced against Nidhiry and had a certain animosity against him to start with. “That prelate [Lavigne] showed me always a certain contrariety towards Nidiri, and I fear that if he continues to treat him always with little confidence or often

²⁸ *Nidhiry*, (n. 2) 354.

²⁹ ACO, *SRCM*, II (1878-1889), ff. 1421-1422.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1251.

opposing him, things could be set on a wrong foot."³¹ Perfect prognosis: soon things were indeed set on a wrong foot.

3. SIDELINED BY A FOREIGN JESUIT BISHOP

To the Suriani Catholics, who longed for bishops of their own rite and nation, neither Lavigne nor Medlycott was *persona grata*, although they received both as their pope-appointed pastors in spite of some initial reluctance. Medlycott dedicated himself to the service of the Surianis and is remembered gratefully even today as the founding father of the Trichur archdiocese; but Lavigne left behind a lame legacy. The story of Manikathanar for nearly a decade is closely linked with Lavigne.

Charles Lavigne, born in Marvélols (Lozère), France, on 6 January 1840, was a diocesan priest before entering the Society of Jesus. Besides French, he knew Italian, English, a little German, and Tamil. He was for four years private secretary of Father Peter Beckx, superior general of the Society of Jesus. When the latter died in 1887, Lavigne was appointed superior of the house in Toulouse. The new Jesuit general Father Anton Anderledy, yielding to the insistence of the SCPF to propose a Jesuit for the Malabar bishopric, named him. "Though he is energetic [euphemism for "impetuous" or "short tempered"], he has agreeable manners." Anderledy had misgivings about the choice of any Jesuit for appointment as bishop in Malabar, especially of one ignorant of Syriac. However, Pope Leo XIII, chose Lavigne and appointed him vicar apostolic of Kottayam on 2 September 1887, along with Medleycott (recommended by Agliardi) for Trichur, overruling the resolution of the SCPF in favour of Carmelite missionaries. Without the Surianis, Verapoly shrunk like a wineskin. Marcelino, appointed bishop in 1877 for the exclusive care of the Surianis, now found himself a shepherd without sheep. Disappointed and humiliated, the Carmelites started to scheme with some Southists led by Mathew Makil, the secretary of Marcellino, for a separate Southist vicariate.

After his episcopal ordination on 13 November 1887, Lavigne reached India in April 1888 and, as advised by the apostolic delegate Andrea Aiuti, wrote to Father Emmanuel Nidhiry to meet him at Mannanam. There he was given a grandiose reception organized by Manikathanar, and attended by about 30,000 persons. On 10 May

³¹ ACO, *SRCM* III (1890-1892), f. 1651.

1888, the feast of the Ascension, Lavigne entered Kottayam in solemn procession and took possession of his see.

Although he was gifted with "an amazing memory,"³² Lavigne did not learn the local language Malayalam beyond the rudiments he had picked up from a seminarian in Rome. He relied on an interpreter.³³ Normally he used English, but the local "Malayalish" pronunciation of English caused him difficulty. He did not learn Syriac either, the language of the liturgy of the Surianis. Celebrating the Latin Mass, he maintained an outsider's distance, conscious of "the superiority of the Latin rite." Both Lavigne and Medleycott wanted to reduce the pontifical privileges of their future vicars general to the minimum, and discussions of the details dragged on through the apostolic delegate and with Rome. Lavigne tried his best not to have to appoint Nidhiry as his vicar general. He adopted the Carmelite viewpoint that Nidhiry was a schemer, who would readily quit for the Jacobite camp "if Mar Dionysius offered him a good church."³⁴ The SCPF consulted the former apostolic delegate Agliardi, who certified: "The undersigned has known kathanar Nidiry to be a very respectable priest, of excellent manners, of high intelligence, devoted to the Holy See and full of zeal for the conversion of the Jacobites."³⁵ The SCPF recognized that "Nidiry is the most distinguished personality among the Suriani clergy" and insisted that Lavigne appoint him as his vicar general. Lavigne tried an alternative. He wrote to Aiuti to procure for Nidhiry

³² P. Duclos, "Lavigne, Louis Charles," *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, III, Rome: Institutum Historicum, 2001, p. 2296. This short article is based on western sources and presents Lavigne in all light without shadows, as is done also by Hambye (n. 3).

³³ Inadequate knowledge of the language is pointed out as the first of ten obstacles to evangelization in a document entitled "*De impedimentis propagandae fidei in Indiis orientalibus deque mediis ea superandi*" (APF, *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali*, 2 Semestre 1885-1886, vol. 26, ff. 940-952: last part with name of author missing): "Inadequate knowledge of the vernacular language is obviously a great disadvantage for the missionary. ... It seems advisable ... to enjoin strictly on the prelates not to give any charge to a missionary who has not passed a strict examination in the vernacular language" (f. 949).

³⁴ Lavigne's letter to Aiuti on 11 December 1888, ACO, *SRCM*, II (1878-1889) 1373r: "As I had difficulty to understand his English pronunciation [1373v] I asked him to repeat a second time, and I did not understand any better. So with all reserve I am stating what I believe to have understood. Father Nidiry is a clever man, ... *un homme mauvais*, a wicked man (sic); ... I express my personal opinion, but I have no positive proofs: if Mar Dionysius offered him a good church, he would become a Jacobite." Aiuti's comment on this letter: "it sheds much light on the dark and scheming character of Nidiry" (1370rv).

³⁵ ACO, *SRCM*, II (1878-1889) 1426 v.

the papal honour of *Cameriere segreto soprannumerario di Sua Santità*.³⁶ This was but a palliative to mollify Nidhiry, whose qualities of leadership Lavigne recognized with secret envy: "he has the art of finding the words which lift up and calm the people; he has the qualities that make him loved." But both Aiuti and the SCPF rejected the alternative of the papal honour and insisted on Nidhiry's appointment as vicar general. Lavigne replied to Aiuti: "After reading the letter of His Eminence Cardinal Simeoni, I have reflected again and prayed to God to illuminate me. My feelings have not changed and my intentions remain the same as before." Aiuti persisted with the SCPF that Lavigne "had his preconceived idea" and wanted "to have the satisfaction of seeing Nidhiry humiliated and castigated." Lavigne unwittingly revealed and quelled his subconscious fear as he wrote to Aiuti: "I am not afraid that he will dominate me, in the sense that he will impose on me his way of seeing things; thank God, I have my conscience and my will."

Lavigne not only had his will, but was self-willed. Aiuti suggested to Cardinal Simeoni to "force him affectionately to obey, though Lavigne is tenacious, or rather most tenacious, in his opinion and much more in his resolves." Aiuti finally told Lavigne that he waived all responsibility for the very grave consequences of excluding Nidhiry, "with a danger present and imminent against the well-being and the prosperity of the Vicariate of Kottayam." At long last, Lavigne submitted "in Ignatian obedience" and appointed Nidhiry as his vicar general on 8 September 1889, more than two years after his own appointment. Nidhiry knelt down before Lavigne and asked pardon for any "uncharitable suspicion" he had that the bishop had no good opinion about him. Aiuti reported that at Nidhiry's appointment there was universal satisfaction; nobody protested, contrary to the usual Suriani custom of expressing dissent quickly and openly.

Lavigne started well with a diocesan synod held on 17-21 December 1888. But he set off with a fierce attack on the 'Syrian National Union Association' or *Jātyaikya Sangham* founded by Nidhiry.³⁷ About this association we shall say more shortly. In attacking it, he chose to lean on a tiny conservative minority. Against a chorus of protests, Lavigne forbade Catholics to associate with the Jacobites, like attending their schools. The alternative was attending Hindu or state schools, or no education at all, since Catholic schools were then rare

³⁶ ACO, SRCM, II (1878-1889) 1421-1226.

³⁷ Andrews Thazhath, *The Juridical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Kottayam, OIRSI, 1987, pp. 245-246.

and far between: there were only five secondary schools for the 110,000 strong Catholic population of the vicariate, and no college. As regards the Jacobites, he ordered prayers to be said during Sunday Mass for their conversion. He also forbade Catholic women to wear earrings like the pagans; for their earrings should be like those of "the Christian women of the whole world."

In matters of governance, Lavigne acted as the sole decision-maker and demanded prompt and perfect obedience ("blind obedience," in Jesuit jargon). He ordered an increase of the monthly fee payable by the seminarians of Mannanam. Instead of obeying blindly, they came in a large body of 58 to speak to Lavigne. He refused to receive them. Then the vicar general Nidhiry intervened and led them back to the seminary, making them ask pardon of the rector. The matter seemed closed. But Lavigne visited the seminary, made an enquiry and dismissed eight leaders of the "revolt," to the outrage of the vicariate. There was all round uproar. The apostolic delegate Aiuti had to intervene and find a way of both saving the face of Lavigne and having the seminarians readmitted.

Some Southists led by Father Mathew Makil, secretary of Bishop Marcellino, met Bishop Lavigne and told him that they would not accept to be under a Northist vicar general: they always had their own separate churches for worship and avoided intermarriage with the Northists.³⁸ Lavigne did not at first quite get at the point of the Southist argument. Traditionally, the Northists and the Southists had been equally under the rule of one and the same archdeacon, who was always a Northist. In fact during the Chaldean period the Thomaschristian archdeacon had more powers than the Latin vicar general and exercised almost all the power of governance proper to the bishop. Besides, they had accepted to be under a Northist bishop, Chandy Parampil (Alexander de Campo), who governed the Church "efficiently" for twenty-four years (1663-1687).³⁹ But Lavigne was no more versed in Malabar history than in Malayalam. The Southists had asked for a separate vicariate apostolic, or for a Southist bishop;

³⁸ Mathew Makil, *Diary* (Malayalam MS), 2 vols., Kottayam, vol I, p. 35; cited by Mathew Moolakkatt, *The Book of Decrees of Mar Mathew Makil*, doct. dissert., Pontifical Oriental Institute, Faculty of Canon Law, Rome, 1992, p. 13, n. 16.

³⁹ Father Chandy, a native of Kuravilangad, was its parish priest. "He was much loved by the natives and was much praised by the missionaries for his simplicity, wisdom, prudence and leadership." He was unanimously proposed by a *yogam* convoked at Kaduthuruthy on 1 February 1663 by the apostolic visitor Bishop Sebastiani OCD. See Andrews Thazhath, *The Juridical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Kottayam, OIRSI, 1987, pp. 176-178.

they had now to be given at least a vicar general. In January 1890, with Roman approval, Lavigne appointed a second vicar general for the Southists in the person of Mathew Makil.⁴⁰ The Southists had never had in their history so high an ecclesiastical dignitary; now they were satisfied. Thus the apostolic vicariate of Kottayam had two vicars general, one for the Northists and the other for the Southists. The Northist-Southist divide, which till then was chiefly sociological, obtained thus an ecclesiastical stamp and structure. It will be used as a wedge by divisive forces to widen the division, till a separate hierarchical structure would emerge in less than fifteen years with the erection of the new vicariate apostolic of Kottayam for the Southists in 1911.

Manikathanar, the first vicar general ("protosyncellus"), was Lavigne's foremost resource person. In the hot months of April to August 1890, Lavigne retired to the cool heights of Ootacamund after entrusting to him the administration of the vicariate. Manikathanar starred as an administrator. He was in great demand to celebrate pontifical masses ever since he first did so on 14 November 1889 at Palai and then at Kuravilangad. To compensate for the Latin bishops' ignorance of the Syriac language and liturgy, the pope had granted to their vicars general the privilege to celebrate most of the pontifical functions and wear distinctive insignia. Dressed much like a bishop he passed for the people's bishop. His masses and sermons attracted huge crowds in contrast to the formal scanty receptions Lavigne got during his pastoral visits. The bishop felt that he was being outshone by a native star. He hastily restrained Manikathanar's use of the privilege regarding the pontificals.

Against the advice of his counsellors, and in particular of his vicar general Nidhiry, but with Roman approval, Lavigne transferred his episcopal residence from Kottayam (a Jacobite and Southist centre with only a few Catholics) to Changanacherry (a Catholic centre) on 21 March 1891. But Changanacherry was difficult of access for most people owing to poor transport facilities. Lavigne's move displeased most priests and people of the apostolic vicariate. Lavigne indeed had his will and his way. He reproached Nidhiry for giving a dress as a present to his own servant without telling the bishop. He asked for an explanation why Nidhiry made his own (Lavigne's) secretary Father Aloysius Pazheparambil sit in the back seat of his (Nidhiry's) horse carriage (because the animal was baulky, answered Nidhiry). The

⁴⁰ ACO, *Lettere e Decreti* XXII (1989), f. 267.

boss always found something to sniff at, and the vicar general's office became increasingly stuffy.

With his censures, edicts and interdicts, Lavigne quickly alienated the goodwill of the people of the vicariate. He decided to construct a grandiose episcopal residence at Changanacherry, worthy of his Lordship. In order to raise money for it he decreed to tax the churches and the people, but without the traditional procedure of consulting the *yogam*. The people openly rebelled. The leaders gathered at Palai and resolved as follows. All the parishes will contribute one fourth of their annual income, but the amount will be kept by a committee, which will issue a receipt specifying the scope: for the expenses of the vicariate, for the construction of the episcopal residence, and for *the patrimony for a native bishop*. The resolution got the approval of the protosyncellus but not of the bishop. The latter did not fail to note the "malice" of the third clause. Like Pilot he insisted: "What I have written I have written." Some parishes did not pay. He forbade the celebration of the feasts of their titular saints. Many parishes rose in uproar. Lavigne responded by forbidding meetings within the church precincts under the threat of full church interdict. Kuravilangad held its first May Day on 1 May 1892 when representatives of 72 parishes met outside the churchyard and deplored the style of Lavigne's governance. Significantly, in the presiding chair was an oil portrait of the former Suriani Bishop Chandy (or Alexander) Parampil (1663-1687), now held up as a prophetic prototype of the future bishop all saw in Manikathanar. Volleys of petitions for a native bishop were sent to the Holy See.⁴¹ Aiuti was proved right about the wrong foot.

Another issue was the *Jātyaikya Sangham* founded by Manikathanar, a pioneer project to reunite the divided Thomaschristians in a single community (*jāti*).⁴² The group that had broken away after the Coonan Cross oath in 1653 from the mainstream Thomaschristians was at first led by a succession of archdeacons, one of whom had at last succeeded in getting episcopal ordination. The two wings (called today Catholic and Orthodox) were then called *Pazhayakūr* (old stylists or traditionalists) and *Puttenkūr* (new stylists or innovators, referring to the Jacobites). Following a Jacobite Bishop Mar Gregory who arrived in 1665, the latter had left the East Syriac or Chaldean tradition and received the West Syriac or Antiochene tradition. A pro-

⁴¹ ACO, *Delegazione India, Soriani del Malabar 1883-1914*, rubr. 109, vol. 3, fasc. 1, Prot. No. 18670/1904.

⁴² Placid Podipara (*Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Alleppey: Prakasam Publications, 1976) says that Nidhiry "anticipated the ecumenical movement of today, though he was misunderstood by his superiors" (p. 175).

ject for the reunion of the two groups had reached a high point with the Jacobite leader Mar Dionisius I (alias Mar Thomas VI, 1728-1808). But his move was frustrated largely by the missionaries of Verapoly, who feared that they would lose their own hold in Malabar, if Rome were to admit and appoint him as a bishop of the Thomaschristians.⁴³ All the Surianis would go after him (cf. John 11:48)!

Manikkathanar launched again efforts at reunion. His mother was a Jacobite convert and he had several influential Jacobite relatives and friends. He was friends with the Jacobite bishop Mar Dionysius Pulikkott and the lay leader Varghese Mappila Kandathil. Together with them he launched *Jātyaikya Sangham* in 1882, an association for the unity of the *jāti* or community. Its practical goal was the social, cultural, educational and economic betterment of the community and it was patronised by the viceroy of India. The preamble of its Statutes stated:

The Syrians of Malabar, commonly called Nazranees of St. Thomas, having been divided into two religious parties called Pazhayacoottucar (people of the ancient party) and Puthencoottucar (people of the recent party), have become two weak fractions as broken members of a body and deprived of the progress in the social status by education, civilization and elevation to high offices which should proceed from the national union.⁴⁴

The aim was not exactly the unity envisaged by the ecumenism of today, which is full ecclesial communion. The Roman formula, conveyed by Aiuti and Lavigne, was return or reunion or conversion. Aiuti's directive to Nidhiry regarding Mar Dionysius was "to smoothen the way for his return into the bosom of the Church of Jesus Christ," ... and he "should have a fuller trust and an unlimited confidence in the Holy See, which is the most kind, the most affectionate and the

⁴³ Jacob Kollaparambil, "Mar Dionysius the Great of Malabar for the One True Fold," OCP 30 (1964) 148-192. The Bishop of Cochin José da Soledade, OCD, insisted on the continuation of the Latin jurisdiction: "Supposta la conversione del Vescovo Mar Thoma, e delle sue chiese, in verun conto deve rimanere in queste terre giurisdizione di Propaganda," (p. 190).

⁴⁴ ACO, SRCM, II (1878-1889), ff. 1258-1266 (Malayalam original); 1267-1274 English translation by Manikathanar, cited by Varicatt, (n. 9) 515-22: "Appendix III: Rules for the Syrian National Union Association in Malabar." The thirty-four articles or rules do not mention the conversion of the Jacobites, but in the annotations added by "Fr. E. A. Nidiry" (p. 523) to inform Rome we read: "Note to the 9th rule. This rule is made with the intention of converting the Jacobites by the means of good education" (p. 522).

most tender of mothers.”⁴⁵ Manikathanar and Mar Dionysius drafted a joint project to start a union college in a twenty-two acre Woodland Estate they had bought. Lavigne ordered his vicar general to quit the Woodland Estate and thus nipped the project in the bud. He could not envisage a Catholic bishop cooperating with a heretical and schismatic bishop on an equal footing.

In Malabar the Jacobites of today were the Nestorians of yesterday: their heresy was the veneer of a schism that was thrust upon them by the Padroado “Paulistars.” All would be in one fold, no matter the face-saving gimmicks of Chalcedonian and Ephesian christologies, if only Rome would restore the pre-Diamper church order. But Rome was all too entangled in difficult diplomacy with the Padroado, which had to be quickly restored as soon as it was suppressed.

Manikathanar could easily floor any controversialist. Wherever he went the Jacobite priests used to go and meet him personally at night like Nicodemus and carry on long conversations with him. He was welcome among the Jacobites like one of their own leaders. When he was appointed vicar general, he was accorded festive receptions in the main *Puttenkūr* or Jacobite centres like Tripunithura, Ampalloor, Kandanad, Mulanthuruthy and Udayamperoor (Diamper), with the priests paying him homage, as if he were their own bishop. After the official frown on *Jātyaikya Sangham*, some of them joined the Catholic Church keeping their West Syrian rite.⁴⁶

The principal objections of the Jacobites to reunion, as formulated by Manikathanar from first hand knowledge, were two. First, their forefathers had quit after having petitioned Rome in vain for a native bishop; “now to return before being granted their petition, is to show that their forefathers were wrong.” Second, their forefathers had sworn at the Coonan Cross never again to submit to a Jesuit (“Paulistar”) bishop; “now to submit to Monsignor Lavigne ... is to break the oath of their forefathers. This is against their conscience.”⁴⁷ These

⁴⁵ Aiuti to Nidhiry on 6 November 1888: ACO, SRCM, II (1878-1889), f. 1363.

⁴⁶ Hambye writes: “The reunion of the Jacobites became also one of the main objects of Mgr. Lavigne’s activity. ... Five Jacobite priests were reunited together with one deacon... Some families followed” (Tisserant – Hambye, *Eastern Christianity*, n. 3, p. 130). Placid Podipara correctly gives the credit to Manikathanar: “Under Mons. Lavigne, S.J. (1887-1896), through the effects [read: efforts] of Emmanuel Nidiry (a Thomas Christian priest), 9 (or 11?) Jacobite priests became Catholic, and they were allowed by the Holy See to use the West Syrian rite” (*The Thomas Christians*, London: Darton, Longman / Bombay: St. Paul, 1970, p. 215).

⁴⁷ *Nidhiry*, (n. 2), Appendix III, F, Letter of Manikathanar to Aiuti (17 September 1990), p. 360.

objections were patently of the practical order. Division was due to non-theological factors and the *Jātyaikya Sangham* was conceived as practical ecumenism. But with the death blow dealt to it by Lavigne, the non-theological factors gradually underwent a mutation into dogmatic questions, investing division with dignity and destined to figure on the agenda of modern ecumenical dialogues.

Jesuit historian Edward Hambye credits Lavigne with having secured the conversion of some Jacobite priests, which was as a matter of fact thanks to Manikathanar.⁴⁸ Lavigne seems to have been unaware of the Jacobite objection number two mentioned above. He did not realise that for “the reunion of the Jacobites” as a Jesuit bishop he was not suited; indeed that *he* was the obstacle number one! He suspected Manikathanar to be a crypto-schismatic. He was persuaded that schism was endemic to the Surianis, but like the other missionaries he did not ask the question why this was not so for centuries prior to their arrival — and of course like them he too could not foresee that, after they handed over power, Malabar would be schism-free for a whole century and more.

Though the *Jātyaikya Sangham* was suppressed, Manikathanar felt that much could still be done through the press. Chiefly through his initiative a periodical called *Nasrani Deepika* had been started in 1887 as the organ of *Jātyaikya Sangham*. He was its founder-editor as well as its Verapoly-appointed manager. It evolved gradually into the leading Catholic daily of Kerala. He heartily supported also the subsequent establishment of a periodical called *Malayala Manorama*, by his Jacobite friend Kandathil Varghese Mappila, destined to become the leading daily of Kerala. The two organs, united in their origin in Manikathanar’s heart, would in course of time diverge and rival before reaching the current pose of respectful ecumenical distance.

While pursuing the objective of the *Sangham*, Manikathanar felt the need for unity in one’s own house in the first place. Hence he strove for the integration of the Northists and the Southists in one community in a kind of “*ad intra* ecumenism.” He was keenly aware of the incongruity of the division between (what he called having in mind the Sanskrit-Malayalam word *jāti*) these “sects” or “castes” in the one Church of Christ. He wrote:

I was the first person to advocate the abolition of the caste [*jāti*] distinction between the Nordists and the Suddists. After consulting the late Fr. Joseph Tharayil, the Suddist councillor to His Lordship Bishop Lavigne, and some other chief members of the Suddist community, we resolved to

⁴⁸ Tisserant – Hambye, *Eastern Christianity in India*, (n. 3) 130.

get a written consent of the influential men of both the parties to appoint some Suddist priests in the Nordist churches and vice versa as vicars and through their exhortation and influence to get consent for intermarriage between the two sects, which would gradually lessen and finally abolish the long existing distinction, without any violent measure. But that idea was abandoned on account of the premature death of the said Fr. Joseph Tharayil and my removal from the vicar-generalship.⁴⁹

Father Joseph Tharayil was Manikathanar's colleague in the curia as one of the two Southist consultors of Bishop Lavigne. He was not one of the fifteen signatories, headed by Mathew Makil, who wrote to the cardinal prefect of the SCPF to thank him for sanctioning the appointment of Makil as the Southist vicar general. In the plan for the social and ecclesial integration of the Southists and the Northists, (through the influence of lay leaders, exchange of parish priests, intermarriage) it is significant that Manikathanar mentions the support of the Southist consultor Father Joseph Tharayil, and not the Southist vicar general Mathew Makil. Manikathanar was the acknowledged leader of the whole Suriani community, not of a faction. Just as he spoke in the public meetings of the Northists "he used to be invited to preach in the important churches of the Southists."⁵⁰ He was a charismatic leader who could unite all with his charming ways and universal love. While Joseph Tharayil and many other Southist leaders knew that union is strength, Mathew Makil with a few Southists saw that division was power. And power they would have with division.

Manikathanar did not give up his role as the Moses of Syro-Malabar autonomy for the perquisites of Lavigne's palace. Tale-bearers had the ear of the Lord of the palace. With His Lordship overruling the advice of the vicar general as well as of his counsellors, the rift between the two widened. Lavigne kept reminding Nidhiry that his vicar generalship was not for ever but at the pleasure of his superior. As soon as Aiuti and Simeoni were replaced he had that pleasure. He suggested to Nidhiry to submit his resignation for sickness.⁵¹ He then issued an edict on 11 May 1892 granting Nidhiry the "requested exoneration" from office "for sickness" and appointing him parish

⁴⁹ *Nidhiry*, 254-255. The terms "Nordist" and "Suddist" are Italianisms used sometimes for the English words "Northist" and "Southist" (see n. 7).

⁵⁰ V. C. George, (n. 1) 923.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.675-686. From Nidhiry's courteous reply, "I submit without enquiring into the motives of your decision" (p. 679), it is clear that his ill-health was only a pretext.

priest of Kuravilangad. In his place, Father Joseph Thayyil was appointed as the new vicar general for the Northists. The latter was, according to Lavigne's own later certificate, ignorant of English and Latin and "devoid of vivacity;" and Mathew Makil, his Southist vicar general was "young, educated, humble and obedient," or in other words, "lacked energy"⁵² — with these qualities they were both pliant and harmless as vicars general. Lavigne, just like his later namesake Charles de Gaulle, would not permit any solar eclipse by a paltry moon.⁵³

Vicar general Nidhiry's dismissal was widely criticized as unfair. A group of twenty-seven priests lodged a complaint about it to the new apostolic delegate Ladislaus Zaleski. Incensed, and probably suspecting Manikathanar's hand behind the denunciation to the delegate, Lavigne contrived that his degradation was driven farther down. He deprived the parish of Kuravilangad of its *forane* status, which was transferred to Muttuchira parish. Kuravilangad was one of the foremost and ancient Christian communities of the Thomaschristians, the home of archdeacons and of other leaders down the ages including the erstwhile Bishop Chandy Parampil. It is doubtful if Lavigne himself realised the depth of the humiliation he was inflicting on it and on Manikathanar. Lavigne did not stop even there. He humiliated Manikathanar still further by requiring him to publish and execute the decree of excommunication which he inflicted on the latter's younger stepbrother, deacon Abraham Nidhiry in 1892.

Manikathanar's habitual "Jesuit obedience" saved him from becoming a Malabar Luther. He never defied legitimate church authority. Even when unfairly treated, as with his dismissal from the office of vicar general, he did not complain or speak ill of Lavigne or canvass support for himself. He endured suffering in heroic silence without being reduced to inaction. As parish priest, he worked hard for the betterment of Kuravilangad. He started a school in 1893 to teach English (not favoured before by the Carmelite missionaries of Verapoly) besides Malayalam and secured it state grant in the following year. He constructed a large and magnificent two-story presbytery in 1901 with a spacious hall close to his own room for *yogam*. In the

⁵² ACO, SRCM, II (1878-1889), f. 1543; Varicatt, (n. 9) 402.

⁵³ Manikathanar's version of his "resignation": "The said calumniators ... persuaded His Lordship that, as the people have great confidence in me to defend them, His Lordship could not freely govern them and make them obey his orders till I be removed from the Vicar-Generalship and consequently he removed me from that office." Letter, cited in *Nidhiry*, (n. 2) 223.

same year he also made arrangements with the postal department to have a post office opened at Kuravilangad.

But his interests went beyond the parochial. Although *Jātyaikya Sangham* was done to death, Manikathanar reached out to all, caring for the welfare and progress of all Malayalees, irrespective of religion or caste. One such common initiative was a petition addressed to the Travancore state government called Malayalee Memorial. It was, in substance, a distant, local version of the Bill of Rights: it sought to secure a better deal in social and political life for the non-Brahmin population, both Christian and Hindu, particularly in the assignment of government posts so far reserved to the Brahmins. The draft had secured 10028 signatures. But it contained a hint that the Nair community was in the forefront of the service of the country. It was the lid that opened the Pandora's box. Spokesmen for each community started exalting its own patriotic record. The debate ran into a crisis. Various leaders sought Manikathanar's intervention to save the Malayalee Memorial. In a public meeting held at Kottayam and attended by representatives of all the communities, including bishops, some participants demanded at the start that the offending sentence be struck out. Some others opposed this move. Manikathanar, the chief speaker, rose to the occasion and during the course of a heart-warming oration for unity he stated: "We are all brothers, Malayalees. This Memorial is our manifesto. If a son says that he loves his father more than the other sons, will they remonstrate? Does not each son have the right to claim the same thing?" There was a thunderous applause, in which the cold antagonisms melted into warm unity. That was the performance of a tall statesman.

Lavigne did not hear that thunderous applause. He had come to Malabar to govern. Indeed, during his reign he did make some real contributions. He started St. Berchman's High School, Changanacherry, and got several Jesuits to be on its staff in order to improve the quality of education in the vicariate. That was of course a long-range project and supposed the continuation of foreign hegemony, contrary to Manikathanar's stance. Lavigne started several other schools, a minor seminary, and more than twenty centres of catechumenate for the evangelization of the low castes. Besides these valuable contributions,⁵⁴ there were also others in the fields of missionary activity and the promotion of religious life.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Edward Hambye, S.J. has sketched a uniformly bright picture of Lavigne (n. 3, pp. 127-131), which is based chiefly on some French publications. It needs to be tempered with the critical remarks of Abraham Nidhiry in *Nidhiry*, (n. 2) 162-252, based chiefly on Indian sources and in need of being completed by foreign sources. V. C.

However, Lavigne, unlike his colleague Medleycott, who is even today gratefully remembered as the founder of Trichur archdiocese, did not win the goodwill of the people, much less their love. He kept and was kept at a respectful distance. With his hauteur, autocratic manners and disregard for the Thomas-Christian traditions, he provoked widespread popular revolt. The apostolic vicariate of Kottayam became dysfunctional. There was chaos, his health deteriorated, and he had to be replaced. The apostolic delegate Zaleski informed Rome of the dismal state to which the vicariate had fallen: "The relation in the Vicariate of Kottayam, is one of mutual dislike and of mutual distrust between the apostolic vicar on one side and the people and clergy on the other; and, humanly speaking, there is no possibility that it could return to a normal state."⁵⁶

A successor to Lavigne had to be found. In Lavigne's eyes Manikathanar, the leader of the movement for native bishops, was "the evil genius of the Malabar Christians"⁵⁷ and was not suited to be made bishop. A century earlier, Malpan Joseph Kariattil, on his way to Rome and Lisbon to report the problems of Malabar, was regarded by the missionaries as the chief trouble-maker of the Malabar Church;⁵⁸ and half a century later, Mahatma Gandhi will be seen as the evil genius of India or as a "half-naked fakir," according to Winston Churchill, who will also predict India's collapse after independence for want of able leaders — regardless of Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhai Pattel and other stalwarts who built up India as the world's largest democracy. In the ecclesiastical politics of

George rightly criticises Jesuit Lavigne's narrow vision of "ecumenism," but regards it as due to "the constitutions of the Society of Jesus" (n. 1, p. 434) without any citation. Mellano, OCD, too opposed the Syrian Christian Association in his letter to the SCPF: "The union of Catholics and the Jacobites in the same association of people governed by universal suffrage... is contrary to the spirit of the Catholic Church and cannot but produce disastrous results": ACO, *SRCM* II (1878-1889), f. 1260. The SCPF itself forbade the Catholic-Jacobite union college at Kottayam with the approval of the pope (Varicatt, [n. 9] 86). Such was the prevalent Catholic posture before the advent of ecumenism; it was not a specific trait of the Jesuit constitutions.

⁵⁵ Hambye writes of Lavigne: "He founded a congregation of Tertiaries of St. Francis of Assisi..." (n. 3, p. 129). Indeed, Lavigne was long regarded as the founder of the Franciscan Clarist Congregation, but no longer. See George Nedungatt, S.J., "Typology of Founders," *Commentarium pro religiosis*, 79 (1998) 96-119, at 103-104.

⁵⁶ ACO, Acta 1895, vol. 25, f. 49, Zaleski to Ledochowski; cit. Varicatt, (n. 9) 202.

⁵⁷ ACO, *Deleg. India, Soriani Malabar 1889-1900*, rubr. 109, vol. 1, fasc. 5, f. 1v (Lavigne to Ledochowski, 4 April 1896: "... le Père Nidiri qui est le mauvais génie des chrétiens du Malabar").

⁵⁸ Thomman Paremakkal, *Varthamanappusthakam*, translated into English by Placid J. Podipara, (OCA 190), Rome, Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1971, p. 79.

Malabar, Manikathanar was like a “half-naked fakir” for some Churchills occupying high places in the Catholic Church.

Manikathanar had two faults: being too far ahead of his times and being far more gifted than his jealous bishop. Lavigne honestly believed that it was better for the Surianis to continue to be governed by European missionaries and benefit from Jesuit education. And just as Mahatma Gandhi’s clarion call “Quit India” and program of “home rule” irked the British who believed that they were on their mission to civilise India, so did Manikathanar’s agenda of church governance by autochthonous bishops irritate Lavigne.

In 1895 Lavigne left for Europe, chiefly to care for his health but also to collect funds for the high school he had started at Changanacherry. In Rome, during his *ad limina* visit, Pope Leo XIII was not amused. Lavigne was never to return to Malabar, where he had left behind a revolting odour. “He was appointed coadjutor to Mgr. Cazet, S.J., vicar apostolic of Northern Madagascar, but soon afterward this nomination was changed [because of the opposition to it from the French government]. He was made bishop of the diocese of Trincomalee in Ceylon [Sri Lanka] on 27 August 1898.”⁵⁹ He was not missed in Malabar and he died in his native France on 11 July 1913.

4. SIDELINED AGAIN: UNDER A SOUTHIST BISHOP

The apostolic delegate Ladislaus Zaleski, a Pole, succeeded Andrea Aiuti in 1893. Fr. Aloysius Maria Benziger, OCD, was his secretary, from whom he borrowed the thesis of the Carmelite missionaries that the “Surianis” were not worthy to be made bishops as they lacked theological formation. Indeed, the theological formation in the seminaries run by the Carmelites was lamentably inadequate.⁶⁰ They had systematically pursued an obscurantist policy in priestly formation to keep the natives under control.⁶¹ However, Manikathanar was not

⁵⁹ Tisserant – Hambye, *Eastern Christianity*, (n. 3) 131.

⁶⁰ ACO, *Deleg. India, Soriani Malabar 1889-1900*, rubr. 109, vol. 1, fasc. 14, f. 1; ACO, *Ponenza*, March 1896 (n. 6); ACO, *Acta*, vol. 18, ff. 261-263.

⁶¹ Zaleski wrote of the “sad plight of Malabar,” where native priests were systematically kept “debased and humiliated” (ibid., fasc. 2, f. 6v). According to a report of his predecessor, apostolic delegate Andrea Aiuti, the Carmelite missionaries, with the approval of Archbishop Leonard Mellano OCD of Verapoly, had inculcated humility in the native seminarians rather than knowledge, lest “puffed up by knowledge, they should cease to respect us any longer.” Here is the text of Aiuti’s report: “la scienza non è per loro, anche perché, se insegnassimo loro qualcosa, essi dopo averla imparata, si gonfierebbero, diverrebbero superbi e non ci rispetterebbero più. *Bella*

really a seminary product; he had got his priestly formation mostly from tuition by priest-teachers called *malpans*. Zaleski admitted that the situation of the Surianis being governed by Latin bishops was “abnormal” and that the Surianis were “some way right and even had the right to demand bishops of their own rite.”⁶² But he could not just find any Suriani priest worthy of the episcopate — Bishop Chandy Parampil of former times being screened out of Zaleski’s vision. He saw Manikathanar as a great trouble shooter, a crypto-schismatic in dark liaison with the Jacobites, albeit an immensely popular figure. He wrote to the SCPF on 12 July 1896, postulating a pure hypothesis that, if an election for a native bishop were to be held in the assembly of priests and laity of Malabar, the one elected would be Father Emmanuel Nidhiry.⁶³

Asked by Zaleski to propose a terna of episcopal candidates to be transmitted to Rome, Lavigne recommended Mathew Makil, George Tharayil and Aloysius Pazheparambil. And asked by the SCPF whether there was any worthy Suriani priest, he suggested Makil for the Southists and Pazheparambil for the Northists, probably under the supposition that each would still be under a Jesuit bishop.⁶⁴ Needless to say, Manikathanar was not considered by Lavigne at all.

On 28 July 1896, with his brief *Quae rei sacrae*, Pope Leo reorganized the structure of the Syro-Malabar Church, by erecting three apostolic vicariates, namely, Trichur, Ernakulam and Changanacherry. And despite the persistent but loyal opposition of Zaleski, regularly briefed by the Carmelite missionaries, the pope appointed three Syro-Malabar priests as vicars apostolic: Mar John Menacherry for Trichur, Mar Aloysius Pazheparambil for Ernakulam, and Mar Mathew Makil for Changanacherry. They were each to be directly dependent on the Holy See. Though this reorganization responded finally to the desire

ragione davvero!...” (stress in the original): ACO, SRCM, II (1878-1889), f. 1428; see also *ibid.*, f. 663v. However, the Jesuits taught Latin, Syriac, philosophy and theology at the seminary they ran at Vaipicotta.

⁶² ACO, *Deleg. India, Soriani Malabar 1889-1900*, rubr. 109, vol. 1, fasc. 1, f. 3v (Zaleski to Ledochowski, 7 October 1893). But Zaleski did not go farther and say with Stephen Borgia, secretary of the SCPF from 1770 to 1789: “A foreigner in China will never be a good shepherd for the flock, since he is not on the one hand in a position to guide and pasture it freely, and on the other, since he is a foreigner, it is difficult for the people to have the same confidence in him that a son should have in his father. ... Europeans in China will be shepherds in name, bound indeed to the flock but not loved by the flock.” (APF, *Scritture Originali Congreg. Particolari*, vol. 65, ff. 386-404; Varicatt, (n. 9) 502.

⁶³ ACO, *Deleg. India, Soriani Malabar 1889-1900*, rubr. 109, vol I, fasc. 4, f. 2 v.

⁶⁴ Varicatt, (n. 9) 401-403, 494.

of the people to have bishops of their own rite and nation, it did not fully satisfy all and was problematic on three counts:

— *Lack of administrative unity.* For any matter pertaining to the whole Syro-Malabar Church the three vicars apostolic had to petition the Holy See unanimously, since it lacked a proper, unified hierarchical head at the local level.

— *Northist dissatisfaction.* The Vicariate of Changanacherry was entrusted to a Southist, who being suspicious of Northist domination was known to have pleaded for the continuation of the Latin rule by foreign Carmelites.

— *Southist dissatisfaction.* The Vicariate of Kottayam was suppressed, although Kottayam was a bigger town than Changanacherry and a stronghold of the Southists; and the Southist Mar Mathew Makil was appointed to the newly erected Vicariate of Changanacherry, a Northist centre.

But above all, the worthiest of candidates, Manikathanar, was not one of the three new vicars apostolic. When after receiving their episcopal ordination in Kandy, Ceylon (today, Sri Lanka), the three reached their sees, the vicars apostolic of Trichur and Ernakulam were received with grand ovations; but, in striking contrast, Mar Makil was not given a warm reception at Changanacherry. Indeed, he would not have got any reception at all, or got a hostile reception, if Manikathanar had not intervened and saved the situation. In the promotion of Makil many saw an open slight, if not insult, to Manikathanar. In reaction, Makil was ostracised. In less than fifteen years, the Syro-Malabar ecclesiastical map would have to be redrawn again.

Who was this supplanter of Manikathanar? After his clerical formation under the Carmelites at Puthenpally Seminary and priestly ordination on 30 May 1874, Mathew Makil (1851-1914) taught Syriac and Latin there; he then served in various parishes as parish priest; and was chosen secretary to Bishop Marcellino, OCD, auxiliary of Verapoly for the Surianis. With this portfolio, he met the apostolic delegate Andrea Aiuti at Ooty to plead for the establishment of a separate apostolic vicariate for the Southists under a foreign Carmelite prelate (Marcellino). Thus he had implicitly opposed the appointment of Jesuit Lavigne as bishop! Yet on 8 January 1890 he was installed by Lavigne as his vicar general for the Southists. "What a wonderful thing! What a holy vengeance! They who refused to accept a bishop to reign over them were recipients of all kinds of favours from the same bishop till his death!" Such was the astonished comment of Mar Aloysius (Louis) Pazheparambil, a Northist colleague of

Makil in the diocesan curia as Lavigne's secretary and later again as vicar apostolic of Ernakulam.⁶⁵

The Southists of the vicariate numbered about 10,000 in all. They had nine churches of their own and two jointly owned with the Northists, who were about 96,000 strong with 141 churches and 271 priests. Even so, since 1890 each community had a vicar general; each had two counsellors of the bishop in the episcopal curia. The Northist majority resented this numerical parity of representation without regard for proportion. The Southist minority had in the past lived under the Northist archdeacons, and once even under a Northist bishop, Chandy Parampil (Alexander de Campo), who governed the Church "efficiently" for twenty-four years (1663-1687). But it had never happened before 1896 for the Northists to be under a Southist minority ecclesiastical head. Makil as the vicar apostolic of Changanacherry found himself in that unenviable position. But it was not simply a matter of numbers. Was not Makil, who had asked for the continuation of the foreign Carmelite rule, a masked double agent and time server?

The Northist pride was wounded. The vicariate of Changanacherry was in revolt. There was widespread fear that the inauguration of Makil would be a catastrophe. In order to restrain "the vehement current of fury of the great mass," Manikathanar was called up from his sick bed in Trivandrum hospital. All knew that only he could calm the general agitation and control the situation. Thanks to his intervention Makil was accorded a peaceful reception, albeit modest. In great form, Manikathanar delivered the inaugural speech in the Syriac language, without a written text, (as he would do again for the inauguration of the newly built bishop's residence in Ernakulam in 1900). That was for form. But he knew that form would not calm the fury of the crowds. He told the protesting Northists that they were right to protest, but "first obey, and then protest using all lawful means." In doing so he would be with them. He was ever the master statesman. Mar Makil was grateful to him for saving the day. He convoked a conference of priests and laypeople on 17 December 1897 at Changanacherry. Manikathanar was asked to speak in the beginning. But when Makil started to speak, there were cat calls, then protests. The situation quickly got out of control and he had to leave the hall.

⁶⁵ Mar Louis Pareparambil, *An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrians of Malabar*, Puthenpally (Ernakulam), 1920, Part III, p. 140. "Pareparambil" is written also "Pazheparambil".

Bishop Makil and Manikathanar continued to maintain friendly relations, but they were never really cordial. Makil confirmed the premier priest of the vicariate as diocesan consultor and treated him deferentially. He invited him specially for the feast of his patron St. Mathew. However, Makil was also petty and mean to him. Manikathanar was once under hydropathy treatment, which could not be interrupted without medical harm, when he received a notification from the curia to join the annual retreat. He wrote respectfully to Bishop Makil pointing out the danger of interrupting the treatment and asking permission to make the retreat later privately at home along with two other priests. But Makil merely put him up with a second group, causing interruption of treatment. Manikathanar faced it gamely.⁶⁶

Makil found himself unable to escape or throw off allegations of Southist nepotism. Not a few radical Northists pressed for his removal from office, but Manikathanar, the leader of the cause for a Northist bishop, did not want his removal and never put his signature to any of those petitions. At Manikathanar's death, Makil reportedly burst into tears. Conceivably, they were tears of mixed emotions: sorrow for a lost loyal friend mingled with regret for having supplanted a worthier man, reminiscent of OT Jacob, who had supplanted his elder brother Esau and pilfered the firstborn's birthright and blessing by cheating a blind father (Gen 27:1-29). After Manikathanar's funeral, diverse communities made a joint proposal to build a memorial to honour their late hero, but Makil was again mean and said No.

The Northists never quite forgave Makil for that "most unkindest cut." They had always eyed him as a sly manoeuvrer for the Southist cause. If separation is what he wanted, he would have it. Though he tried his best to rise above factionalism in his pastoral governance, the Northists were not appeased. Always accusing him of favouring the Southists, they sent many petitions to Rome demanding his dismissal. In a petition entitled *Libellus supplex* of 1907 and signed by many Northist priests of all the three vicariates, they blamed the apostolic delegate Ladislaus Zaleski for having preferred Makil [implicitly, to Manikathanar] and pursuing the old policy of divide and rule. They asserted that the appointment of a Southist to Changanacherry was the cause of all the unrest and agitation in Malabar.⁶⁷ Lay representatives from all over the vicariate assembled and — even without a Coonan Cross to rally round — declared that they would no longer

⁶⁶ V. C. George (n. 1) 793-794.

⁶⁷ ACO, Prot. No. 19099/1907.

submit to Makil's authority. Makil suspended a priest accusing him to be the ringleader of the agitations; but this only poured oil on the embers provoking further protests with public demonstrations and distribution of leaflets. The situation got fully out of control and Mar Makil fled Changanacherry and stayed in a Southist parish in Kottayam.

The apostolic delegate Zaleski at first tried to minimise matters but later confessed that the appointment of Makil as the vicar apostolic of Changanacherry had been a mistake.⁶⁸ To mend matters, he proposed to the SCPF to appoint a Northist coadjutor to Makil with the right of succession. There was of course no public confession of past mistakes. That was not ecclesiastical policy till Pope John Paul II first did it in 2000 with his Great Jubilee Year confession of "the sins of the Church" to the shock of several cardinals. But the wrongs done to the Church of the Thomaschristians were not on the pontifical list of the sins of the Church then publicly confessed by the Polish Pope Karol Wojtyła.

In 1904, shortly before Manikathanar's death, the *Civiltà Cattolica* had featured an unsigned article (by the editor Father Bartoli, S.J.) on India under the rubric "Contemporanea" in connection with the apostolic delegate Zaleski's visit to Malabar. The article referred to the situation in Malabar hinting at the danger of a Northist exodus to the Jacobite fold.⁶⁹ This was the editor's addition to the text, which had been submitted and proof-read by the seminarian Mathai Kochikunnel, who was the Northist lobbyist studying at the Propaganda College and Manikathanar's correspondent. Manikathanar got very uneasy about that addition about the risk of a Northist schism and wrote to him to have a correction inserted in the following number of the same periodical denying that there was any such schismatic tendency among the Northists. However, the seminarian judged it diplomatically unwise to want to correct the editor. Bartoli was favourable to the Northist cause, having had pretty close knowledge of the situation in Malabar when he was a missionary in Mangalore. In the end, Manikathanar acquiesced after failing to convince the semi-

⁶⁸ Zaleski wrote to the SCPF on 11 April 1911: "If the agitation and rebellion still continue in Changanacherry, it is because of the mistake made by giving them a bishop of another caste or nation that is considered inferior to the vast majority of the people" (ACO, *Deleg. India, Soriani Malabar* 1883-1911, rubr. 109, vol. 2): "è per ragione dello sbaglio che fu fatto, dando loro un vescovo di altra casta o nazione, considerata poi come più bassa che l'immensa maggioranza del popolo."

⁶⁹ "India, nostra Corrispondenza," *Civiltà Cattolica* 55 (1904) 113-123: "Il Delegato apostolico Mgr. Zaleski in visita negli Stati di Travancore e Cochín," (pp. 120-122).

narian that even diplomacy should yield to truth.⁷⁰ But the episode shows clearly and unequivocally how unfounded was the suspicion of Lavigne and Zaleski that Manikathanar was a crypto-schismatic.

The Southists had complained of "Northist persecution," which, even with an understandable dose of exaggeration, had surely its foundation in the way minorities are treated by the majority everywhere, Malabar being no exception to the general rule. Foreigners blamed caste for the traditional Southist-Northist rivalries.⁷¹ That stance, however, fails to appreciate the fact that those rivalries had been administered during a millennium and more by a Northist archdeacon, who used to be elected by the Northists and the Southists together and who was the leader of both the *jātis*. Under that system Manikathanar would have been chosen archdeacon — and probably become Mahatma Manikathanar.

5. LAST DAYS AND THE SUNSET

Manikathanar seems to have had a presentiment that his days were coming to a close. In spite of that, or rather for that very reason, he kept up a very demanding schedule of work past midnight till one or two. Besides answering certain questions of Thomaschristian church history, as commissioned by the vicars apostolic, he kept sending petitions abroad pressing for autochthonous bishops. His model was the widow in the Gospel, who kept pestering the godless judge till she got her way. Manikathanar wrote letters, memorandums and articles in English, Latin and Italian, languages in which he had acquired remarkable mastery. He composed a Latin poem to felicitate Pope Leo XIII and spiced his petition for a Northist bishop with it. Upon Leo's unforeseen death he had to change that wording to felicitations for the newly elected Pope Pius X. He wrote Italian (but had it first corrected for the language) to get his message across to those who had power in the Roman Curia or were able to influence it from outside through publications in the Italian media like *L'Osservatore Romano*, *Civiltà Cattolica*, *Vera Roma* and *Giornale di Italia*. Wanting to inform those able to influence public opinion as well as Church authorities, he wrote research tracts on the history of the

⁷⁰ V. C. George, (n. 1) 894-899.

⁷¹ ACO, *Ponenza* 1911, Siri Malabarici, 540.

Thomaschristians, which would later serve Father Bernard, the pioneering compiler of Thomaschristian history.⁷²

For the last few years he worked past midnight far into the small hours, wearing himself out in the service of the Syro-Malabar Church, the probable cause of his death by seeming heart failure. He used to spend the whole morning in the church till about eleven o'clock: he devoted one hour to prayer before mass, then followed the mass, hearing confessions, the recitation of the *sumara*, fifteen decades of the rosary, and work in the office of the parish priest, etc. On Fridays he kept to the practice of the holy hour. The evening examination of conscience was followed by five decades of the rosary. His last week on earth he spent mostly in prayer and meditation with his eyes raised on high and shedding tears. The day prior to his death was a Sunday. He received the sacrament of penance, said mass, and arranged for the crucifix on the wall of his room to be suspended from the ceiling over his easy chair, so that he could readily kiss it. The next day morning, Monday 20 June 1904, he said he felt intense pain in the chest. As his last moments drew near, seven priests rushed to give him the anointing of the sick, after which he died peacefully. It was 9.00 a.m.

The funeral of Manikathanar took place in the same evening. A crowd of over 7000 gathered as soon as the news of his death spread. The sacred rites were presided over by Bishop Mathew Makil and attended by more than 50 priests. The bier was taken out through the town in procession, a funeral honour reserved normally to dignitaries like bishops. His body was buried in the parish church of Kuravilangad, a rare privilege accorded till then only to Bishop Chandy Parampil and Father Panankuzhakal, a saintly priest. Catholic schools were closed, public meetings were held and deliberated on erecting a memorial to the deceased. A poet sang of "the light and leading star of the Syrians." Letters of condolence poured in from distinguished personalities regardless of religion or faction: from the Travancore Dewan (premier) Krishnaswami Aiyer, from the poet laureate Kerala Varma, etc. The former apostolic delegates Agliardi and Aiuti wrote letters of condolence; the sitting delegate Zaleski did not.⁷³

⁷² Bernard of St. Thomas, TOCD, *Mārttomma Kristiānikal*, 2 vols., Palai, 1916, Mannanam, 1933; Id., *A Brief Sketch of the History of the St Thomas Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1924

⁷³ Zaleski opened his mind about Manikathanar a little later in a speech to the seminarians of Puthenpally. He referred to him (without naming him) "as a trouble-maker for thirty years; a man who with his evil deeds opposed the religious and cultural progress of the Malabar Catholics; an evil priest called to account by God, hope-

The diary kept by Manikathanar casts light on his spirituality. It reveals a holy priest, a man of prayer and penance. During a retreat he noted down: daily rosary, fast on Fridays with the wearing of the penitential chain of thorns; use of the latter also on other days or at least for some time during the day; examination of conscience twice a day with general and particular examen.⁷⁴ For his daily meditation he used an Italian book entitled *Meditazioni per tutti i giorni*. Father Bernard, T.O.C.D., his colleague and historian, recorded that he was a “pious priest.”

6. ECLIPSE IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL EMPYREAN

How Manikathanar would have shaped Malabar church history, if he had been appointed bishop, is a question that can now be the subject matter of a novel, not history. That would be like asking what Joseph Kariattil, the Lisbon-appointed Suriani Archbishop of Cranganore (1783), would have done, if he had not died during his return journey on 10 September 1786 in Goa. Exercises in such futuribles are neither history nor futurism. But history is not only the record of what actually happened but also insight into how events could have been shaped. Thus Cardinal Tisserant writes: “The consecration of a local bishop would have put an end to the intrusion of the Mesopotamians. To the less prejudiced mind this was clear. But only too often vested interests succeeded in befogging the issue....”⁷⁵

As we saw, French Jesuit Charles Lavigne made a mess of things in Malabar, where Manikathanar could have performed better. Mathew Makil, the protégé of the Carmelites and Rome’s choice, was not a persona grata for those whose idol was Manikathanar. In the traditional polarisation between the Northists and the Southists, Manikathanar had a better chance to succeed than Makil as the successor of Lavigne. A century earlier in 1778, the Southists and the Northists had met together in a *yogam* and voted for and financed

fully without a successor or imitator among the priests of this country” (V. C. George, n. 1, pp. 955-956). No one is more blind than the blind who think they see. Could Zaleski say what the “cultural progress” opposed by Manikathanar was? A dignified protest memorandum was sent to him from Malabar with 5000 signatures.

⁷⁴ V. C. George (n. 1) 429-432, presents Manikathanar’s notes of his eight-day group retreat at Mannanam (17-25 September 1888) but fails to note that the retreat was based on the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola with the meditations on the Principle and Foundation, Triple Sin, etc.

⁷⁵ Tisserant – Hambye, *Eastern Christianity in India*, (n. 3) 124.

most of the expenses of the journey to Rome of two Northist priests, Malpan Joseph Kariattil and Thomas Paremmakkal. And the Southists as well as the Northists had gladly accepted the former's appointment as archbishop of Cranganore. And after his death in 1786, they were under the rule of Governodor Paremmakkal, whom they tried to get appointed, using the influence of the rich lay leader Thachil Mathew Tharakan, as their common bishop.⁷⁶ As a distant successor of Paremmakkal, Manikathanar as bishop would have handled the Northist-Southist factionalism differently from the way it was exploited by Makil. With the Southist Joseph Tharayil as vicar general and with the cooperation of leading laymen of the *Jātyaikya Sangham* from both the factions, he might probably have succeeded. On the contrary, with the appointment of Makil as bishop in 1896, the whole scenario changed. Not because he was a Southist, but because, as Placid Podipara puts it, he was suspected of treachery and regarded as a traitor,⁷⁷ who had gone to plead with the apostolic delegate Aiuti in support of the foreign Latin Carmelite yoke. That was a re-edition in ecclesiastical politics of how Indian princely factions had sought to beat their rivals with the help of the British, who thus got a hold in India and established their Raj over the subcontinent. Makil was a forerunner of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whose intransigent stand for constitutional guarantees for Indian Muslims led inexorably to the division of India and the creation of Pakistan. Understandably, the future father of the Southist Diocese of Kottayam was treated as a traitor at his enthronement in Changanacherry with a cold reception. Rome was too far away to feel how cold it was.

Lavigne had admitted that, if a new bishop were to be elected rather than appointed by Rome, Emmanuel Nidhiry would be elected as the unique leader of the Thomas Christians. If that was true in 1896, it was true also in 1887. But, as Cardinal Eugene Tisserant again observes, "such was the weight of prejudice that nobody dared to appoint Syro-Malabar prelates immediately."⁷⁸ Both 1887 and 1896 were missed opportunities. If in 1911 Makil could propose the for-

⁷⁶ Thomman Paremmakkal, *Varthamanappusthakam*, translated into English by Placid J. Podipara, (OCA 190), Rome, Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1971; M. O. Joseph Nedumkunnam, *Thachil Mathu Tharakan* (Malayalam), 2nd ed., Kottayam, National Book Stall, 1962, pp. 189, 199-204.

⁷⁷ "There were also a few (very few) Thomas Christians (C.M.I.'s not excluded) who for various reasons adhered to the Carmelites. They were Judases for the rest of their brethren." — Placid Podipara, *The Thomas Christians*, London: Darton, Longman / Bombay: St. Paul, 1970, p. 190.

⁷⁸ Tisserant — Hambye, *Eastern Christianity in India*, (n. 3) 120.

mula of "cohabitation" between a Southist bishop and a Northist vicar general, surely the inverse formula with a Northist bishop and a Southist vicar general in 1896 (and perhaps even in 1887) could have been an even more viable proposition.

The apostolic delegate Zaleski was patently prejudiced against the natives and he relayed the warped missionary opinions about the natives to Rome.⁷⁹ Manikathanar, who knew that the policy of the Holy See was to promote native clergy and episcopate,⁸⁰ blamed the actual SCPF (whose task of discerning the truth was certainly not easy) for preferring to believe the European reporters than knowledgeable Indians. He felt that it was a demonstrable thesis that the remote cause of the decline of the true faith in Malabar through the inroads of heresies and schisms was that the men in the Roman Curia chose not to trust the natives. The SCPF asked Makil to investigate this allegation by Manikathanar, an affront to "the honour of the Holy See." On 16 October 1902, Makil served a show cause notice on Manikathanar.⁸¹ Unfortunately, we are not informed of the sequel. But this was not the first time that Manikathanar was summoned to answer before Makil. Suspecting that the two had run foul of each other, some enemies of the priest denounced him to the bishop. As his accusers were determined to get rid of him, it can be easily imagined that whatever charge that could be collected was brought forward. Makil summoned Manikathanar and the plaintiffs and heard the case, which ended with the latter asking the pardon of Manikathanar before the judge.⁸² This canonical process can be regarded as sufficient clearance of his name from all accusations, although they did their intended job of robbing the prince of his crown. Manikathanar took

⁷⁹ "From the day of the appointment of the native Soriani bishops there is no more trace of ecclesiastical discipline in the Syrian clergy or people and their example has impacted also on the Latins who live in Malabar intermingled with the Sorianis" (Zaleski to Cardinal G. M. Gotti, prefect of the SCPF on 9 August 1904, ACO, *Delegazione India, Soriani 1883-1914*, rubr. 109, vol. 3, fasc. 1, Prot. No. 18093/1904, p. 2).

⁸⁰ In an instruction of SCPF of 23 November 1845 the missionaries are directed: "The indigenous clerics are to be educated in all necessary knowledge and piety; they must also be carefully trained for the sacred ministry; and in such a way that, in accordance with the repeated wishes of the Apostolic See, they may be able to exercise any ecclesiastical charges and even the direction of missions, in a manner worthy of the episcopal character" (*Collectanea S. C. de Propaganda Fide*, vol. I, Rome, 1907, p. 544).

⁸¹ V. C. George (n. 1) 868-869. The author quotes from the letter of the SCPF to Makil dated 19. 8. 1902 (Prot. 14742) and Makil's notice to Manikathanar, but concludes that the sequel is unknown.

⁸² V. C. George (n. 1) 803.

all that in stride — as Mahatma Gandhi would do when on his return journey from the 1931 Round Table Conference in London and an audience with the king, the “half-naked fakir” had got an interview with Mussolini in Rome, but was given none by Pope Pius XI.⁸³

The “uncrowned king” of the Thomaschristians was really great in his patience and humility. “Meek and humble of heart,” he never criticized his superiors as persons, even when he opposed their policy. His obedience aroused the admiration of Jesuit Bishop Leo Meurin, who used to tell him, “You consider the blessing of a bishop as an additional sacrament or as a sacramental.”⁸⁴ He was ready to relinquish even his dearest project for the Thomaschristian unity, if it did not have the blessing of obedience: “I, therefore, considered myself as not ‘sent’, as St. Paul says, to preach to the Jacobites, till I see a manifest sign of permission from Your Excellency or Mgr. Lavigne.”⁸⁵ So, “However painful the order, Manikathanar would not oppose or water it down.”⁸⁶ That is obedience unto death, even death on the cross; that is the seed that falls to the ground and dies to produce much fruit. It is the high watermark of heroic holiness.

7. THE AFTERGLOW

Numerous tributes of glory were paid to Manikathanar during life and after death. The chief secretary of the State of Travancore, P. Thanu Pillai, a staunch Hindu, told him personally in his last days: “There is no one so great as you in the whole of South India. Your death will be an unremediable loss.” On the occasion of the celebration of Manikathanar’s fiftieth anniversary a leading Catholic writer asserted: “Probably no one greater than Manikathanar was ever born among the Malabar Suriani Christians.”⁸⁷ However, like Jesus Christ, who was branded as the evil genius of Beelzebub, Manikathanar also was seen as an “evil genius” by Bishop Lavigne. And his picture that was transmitted to Rome by those in power was usually discoloured and distorted through foreign filters. Among the very few exceptional foreign worthies are Meurin, Agliardi and Aiuti.

⁸³ Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, Tauchnitz, 1953, at II, p. 250.

⁸⁴ *Nidhiry*, (n. 2) 340, 357.

⁸⁵ Letter to Aiuti, *ibid.*, p. 357.

⁸⁶ V. C. George (n. 1) 924.

⁸⁷ (Rev. Dr.) Joseph Ettumanookaran, in *Deepika*, 20. 6. 1954, cited *Nidhiry*, (n. 2) 318.

Both Lavigne and Makil, who were preferred as bishop to Manikathanar, have received their due from the jury of history. There is one French biography of the former,⁸⁸ and a recent adulatory one of the latter in Malayalam.⁸⁹ But there are about a dozen biographies of Manikathanar, not counting commemoration volumes, seminar papers, essays and articles. His first biography was written by Father Yauseph Pidiyekkal and released on 2 February 1930 during his 25th death anniversary celebrations. In the same year appeared another biography done in verse by poet V. K. Joseph Trippunithura. In 1938 a serial biography by Chackochan Moolayil was published in *Deepika*, which had evolved into a leading daily. A full-size biography, based on local documents collected by several collaborators and written by a seasoned historian Chevalier V. C. George, appeared in 1950 under the title *Nidhiyirickal Mānikkatthanār*. It was reissued in 1994 in a second edition, amplified with seventeen essays and appreciations by several churchmen and leading writers.⁹⁰ In 1971 professor Abraham M. Nidhiry published a concise biography in English; it was reissued in 2003.⁹¹ Another biography appeared in 1979 by N. K. Jose.⁹² In still another N. M. John Nidhiry (1983) stressed the leading role played by Manikathanar in the struggle for autochthonous bishops. In the series of primers of great men for children (Kairaly Children's Book Trust), Gangadharan Thikkurisi, a leading Hindu writer, published a biography of Manikathanar in the same year 1983. Among the numerous commemorative articles and anthologies mention may be made of the very recent collection of articles by Professor George John Nidhiry.⁹³

Reversing Makil's refusal of a memorial to Manikathanar, Mar James Kalacherry, bishop of Changanacherry, blessed and laid a marble slab on his grave on 2 February 1930 during his 25th death anniversary celebrations. Mar Sebastian Vayalil, Bishop of Palai, always showed particular interest in duly honouring the memory of the

⁸⁸ P. De Jabrun, *Vie de Mgr. Charles Lavigne*, Paris, 1919.

⁸⁹ Varghese Kanjirathumkal, *Yugaprabhāvanāya Mar Mathai Makil* (= Epoch-Making Mar Mathew Makil), Kottayam, Bishop Makil Foundation, 2004.

⁹⁰ See n. 1.

⁹¹ See n. 2.

⁹² N. K. Jose, *Nidhirekal Manikkathanar: A Biography* (Malayalam), Alleppey, Prakasham Publications 1979.

⁹³ George John Nidhiry, ed., *Nidhiyirickal Mānikkatthanār: Kālatthinte Sāradhi* (Malayalam), 2nd ed., Kuravilangad, Nidhirickal Manikathanar Foundation, 2003 (1st ed. 2002) 5-6. In this anthology on Manikathanar, some writers say he knew eighteen languages but do not mention them.

diocese's most illustrious son (Kuravilangad came under the Diocese of Palai, erected in 1950). Leading churchmen also of the Syro-Malankara and the Latin Churches graced the occasion in 1990 which marked the centenary of the first pontifical *qurbana* celebrated by vicar general Manikathanar in 1890. On his 25th, 50th and 75th death anniversaries he was widely acclaimed in public assemblies.

Without exceeding the limits of an article it is not possible to convey even an approximate idea of Manikathanar's 's polyhedral personality and valuable contributions. He made his mark as a pioneer journalist when the first issue of *Nasrani Deepika* he founded (after the prestigious Italian Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica*) rolled out on 15 April 1887 with his twelve-line inaugural verse in Sanskrit. Besides writing articles in it, he spiced up every issue with some Sanskrit writing composition. He was a gifted poet, who could improvise quality verses on the spot. His literary interests found expression in his founding participation of the academy of poets called *Bhasha Poshini*, with its publication of a homonymous journal. Malayalam literature has been enriched by his contributions in the fields of poetry, drama, essays and hymns. Whereas previously what Christians wrote was routinely dubbed disparagingly as "padiri Malayalam," with Manikathanar Christians obtained a rightful place in Malayalam literature. He got permission to bring out a translation of the Bible from Syriac into Sanskrit and another translation into Malayalam, but he could not attain to these objectives owing to the pressure of many other activities.

Manikathanar was a pioneer in the field of education. He started a special school at Kuravilangad in 1894 to teach English, which developed into the present day St. Mary's High School. He promoted the establishment of St. Thomas High School, Palai. Foreseeing the importance of English, he called out at a public meeting: "Sell the golden processional crosses and start English schools." His command of fourteen languages has struck several observers as a remarkable achievement.⁹⁴ In religious education he pressed into service the visual aids then available, ahead of the age of the cinema and the slides.

⁹⁴ Among Indian languages, Sanskrit, Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, and Canarese [Kannada]; and among foreign languages, Latin, Greek, English, Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian. Some orientalists know many more languages. The Italian Cardinal Giuseppe Gasparre Mezzofanti (1774-1849) knew over one hundred languages and dialects. The late Belgian Jesuit Michel van Esbroeck, before starting his study of Malayalam, told me that he knew *only* one percent of the languages of the world, i.e. 50 out of 5000. In comparison, fourteen languages may not be an impressive number. But in Manikkathanar's life context it was surely remarkable and exceptional.

He paid special attention also to physical education; as a boy he had excelled in sprint, fencing and wrestling, which later stood him in good stead and enabled him to defend himself from the assault of ruffians. As the representative of the most outstanding Suriani Christian culture and society, he had the honour of being visited by the poet laureate Kerala Varma and by the Maharaja of Travancore Sri Visakham Thirunal (1880-1885) and prince Marthanda Varma (1903), besides being a welcome guest without the need for protocol at the royal palace in the capital Trivandrum.

Like St. Paul, Manikathanar made himself all to all (1 Cor 9:22). He took interest in the welfare, both material and spiritual, of low caste and outcaste Hindus, and hundreds of them embraced Christianity. Evangelization, dedication to Catholic-Jacobite unity, defence of orthodoxy against the Mellus schism, pastoral work as parish priest were but the various facets of his service of God. His congregations were crowded with people craving to hear his inspiring word. His homilies on the passion of Christ on Good Friday would reach such a crescendo as to make people sob and weep. Many would long remember a sermon he preached on the Sacred Heart of Jesus only a few days before his death. The ardour of his love for the Saviour made their hearts burn. He was a man of faith and profound religious experience but of intense human feelings, too. When his intimate friend and colleague Panankuzhakal Mathan Kathanar died, he felt so sad as to become sick himself, reminding one of Jesus who burst into tears at the tomb of his friend Lazarus.

Manikkathanar, for all his exalted state, wore his greatness lightly and was most unassuming and approachable. What the Bible says of Moses could be applied to him: "Moses was a very humble man, more meek than any one else on earth" (Num 12:3); "Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses" (Dt 34:10).

* * *

A last lingering thought about Manikathanar is that, if he were an Italian, probably he would long ago have been canonized. In Indian Christianity, native saints and mystics have generally been ignored till recently — like flowers that bloom "in the desert air to blush unseen," as the poet puts it. The foreign bishops did not take effective steps for the canonization of a martyr like Devasahayam Pillai († 1752). And many in India see genuine mystics, Marian revelations, etc. only abroad. As regards Manikathanar, if some foreign church-

men did not give him his due, this is understandable, given the social dynamics of prejudice and power politics. But the foreign-native polarisation is no longer a helpful paradigm: even the laying of a memorial marble slab over his grave took place only after a quarter of a century under native bishops. A memorial to his literary merits had to wait half a century. A scholarly study entitled "Attempts Made by the Thomas Christians to Get Bishops of Their Own Rite" does not even mention Manikathanar.⁹⁵ The Gospel proverb seems to apply: "No prophet is without honour, except in his own country" (Mc 6:4). In his apostolic exhortation *Pastores Gregis* (16.10.2003) Pope John Paul II states that it is the duty of the bishops "to seize on and bring to light the signs of holiness and heroic virtues" by duly promoting the process of canonization. The centenary of Manikathanar can perhaps raise the question about the official recognition of his Christian virtues and merits so as to end the long eclipse in the ecclesiastical empyrean of a unique Thomaschristian sun/son.

Pontifical Oriental Institute

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⁹⁵ Varkey Vithayathil, "Attempts Made by the Thomas Christians to Get Bishops of Their Own Rite" *Christian Orient* 2 (1981) 29-45.

A Romanian Proposal for Church Unity — Rome 1937

The documents, reproduced in full after this commentary and conjoining historical survey, are conserved in the archives, housed at the central headquarters (*Curia Generalizia*) of the Society of Jesus in Rome.* They are in the form of a letter addressed by Father Philippe de Régis¹ to Włodimir Ledóchowski,² Superior General of the Jesuit

* The author would like to thank Father General P. H. Kolvenbach, S.J., for the special permission to reproduce and publish the documents concerned, although they derive from a period still officially closed to researchers.

¹ Philippe de Régis de Gatimel (1897-1955) was born at Saint-Pierre-de-Mézoargues near Tarascon (France). After his entrance to the Jesuit order (1914), he was ordained priest at Lyon (1926). He was one of the first to volunteer for the Russian work which he did through Michel d'Herbigny, although earlier he had thought about a vocation in the Far East. In 1928, he was sent to Albertyn (Poland), the centre of the *Missio Orientalis*. At first he worked as a simple curate among the Eastern Slavs, before he was appointed novice master and superior of the Jesuit house (1932). In 1933, he was expelled by the Polish government which objected to his russophile tendencies. In the same year, he came to the Russicum as spiritual director. Shortly after (January 1934), de Régis was named vice-rector and administrator of the college, after Vendelin Javorka, the first rector, left for the Far East. In October 1934, he was appointed rector after it became apparent that Javorka would not immediately return. De Régis officially continued as rector until August 1949. But during this time, he was absent for two longer periods. He spent the war years (1940-1945) at home, since as a French citizen, he could not remain in Axis Italy. In 1947, de Régis left Italy to work among the Russian refugees in Argentina and South America, where he died.

² Włodimir (Włodzimierz) Ledóchowski (1866-1942), was born at Loosdorf (Austria-Hungary — today in northern Austria), the third son of Count Antoni Halka-Ledóchowski, a Hapsburg courtier and a descendent of an aristocratic family of Galician Poles. His mother, Countess Josephine Salis-Zizers, was Swiss but Włodimir always considered himself a Pole. As a boy, he served as a page of the Empress-Queen and attended the Theresianum, a prestigious Viennese secondary school. After one year of law studies at Kraków, Ledóchowski entered the seminary at Tarnów, but soon transferred to the Germanicum-Hungaricum (1887-1889) in Rome. He entered the Society of Jesus at Starawieś (1889), and was ordained priest (1894). Ledóchowski was soon elected Provincial of the Province of Galicia (Austria-Hungary) (1902-1906). In 1906, he was chosen German Assistant and collaborated with Franz Xaver Wernz, the newly elected Superior General. In 1915, Ledóchowski was himself elected Superior General, a post he retained until his death. Ledóchowski's Polish origins and Hapsburg ties predisposed him as General to a preferential option for the Russian apostolate and the cause of Christian Unity, as it was then understood. The First World War forced Ledóchowski to transfer his curia to Switzerland (Schloss Zizers bei Chur). Metropolitan Szeptycki visited him at his temporary residence and the two

order, together with two enclosed reports (*allegata*), detailing the project. All bear the same date: 12 December 1937. De Régis is a trustworthy witness to the proceedings. Rector of the Pontifical Russian College (Russicum) in Rome, he was a French Jesuit, zealous and discerning. He was particularly involved in all questions which involved the Orthodox. In later life, he grew to greatly respect the Christian East, especially in its Slavic and Russian incarnation. Leaving behind preconceived notions and prejudices, he gradually evolved into an authentic forerunner of today's ecumenical dialogue.

The first detailed statement (*allegatum*) as compiled by de Régis falls under the heading *Question de l'union des églises en Roumanie*. His second report is in the form of an answer to the questions raised by the first account. It describes in detail an original plan for the creation of an organisation meant to prepare the union of the churches — Orthodox and Roman Catholic — in Romania: *Projet d'une organisation en vue de préparer l'union des églises en Roumanie*. It goes without saying, that the whole project was conceived with an eye to *unionism* — the prevailing ecclesiology of the contemporary Roman Catholic world, but a view of the Church which today is generally regarded as no longer valid.

THE TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT

De Régis begins his first report with an account of an unusual visit. A rather enigmatic Romanian, who would seem to have been fairly well known to his contemporaries, had arrived in the Eternal City:

... His Excellency, Mr. Jean (Ion) Pangal,³ the former Secretary of State of Romania, an influential man of politics and the former head of Free-

began plans for the formation of an *Oriental Section* (*Ramus Orientalis*) of the Society of Jesus. Ledóchowski sponsored the work of the *Missio Orientalis* in eastern Poland, helped found the Pontifical Institute and Russicum, as well as accorded permission for the first Jesuits to transfer to the Byzantine-Slavonic rite. His letter (24.11.1930) laid the foundations for the *Manipulus Russipetarum*, a group of Jesuit scholastics who trained for the Russian mission. In 1931, he also constructed a small chapel of the Russian rite at the Jesuit curia in Rome, which was dedicated to Vladimir of Kiev, his patron saint. See G. Cassiani Ingoni, *P. Włodimiro Ledochowski, XXVI Generale della Compagnia di Gesù 1866-1942* (Roma 1945).

³ Ioan (Jean) Pangal (1893-1966), born at Nice (France), a noted free-mason leader for most of his life, enjoyed a career as a journalist and later as diplomatic minister. He was responsible for publishing the daily newspaper *La Roumanie*, which came out in French. Later he was appointed under-secretary of the government Press

Masonry, who in accordance with the wishes of Patriarch Miron,⁴ had the courage to publicly liquidate the Masonic order, arrived in Rome on the

and Information Bureau (1931-1932) and was later a foreign minister of Romania in Portugal and Spain. He married the daughter of Prince George Valentin Bibescu, Grand Master of the Grand National Lodge of Romania and was the owner of the Pângăleşti estate in Giurgiu district. He began his Masonic career while still a student in Paris. In 1919, he renovated the Supreme Council of Romanian Masons, assuming the title of president in 1923. In 1928, he was named Grand Master of the Grand National Lodge of Romania. In 1938, he dissolved all Masonic organisations in Romania on the order of Carol II in the latter's campaign against secret societies and in spite of the fact that the king himself was formerly a member of a Masonic lodge and had used Pangal as his secret representative to the society. In the same year, Pangal was sent to a diplomatic post in Portugal under the condition that he leave Romania forever because of his Masonic connexions which had now become suspect to the government. In 1944, Pangal settled in France, where from 1947-1966 he was re-inscribed as a member of one of the Romanian émigré Masonic lodges in Paris. During his time at Lisbon as Romanian envoy, Pangal co-operated with Polish intelligence in its plans to organize transfers of Poles from occupied Europe to Great Britain and in winning over Hungary, Romania and Italy to the Allied cause. Pangal's biographer adds the fact that he was also named a Knight of Malta. Certainly this nomination came about in the time Pangal was not associated with the masons. Unfortunately, we have only the scantiest information on Pangal and no indication how the meeting between Pangal and de Régis came about, where in Rome they met, or why de Régis was chosen to meet him, a man who on account of his Masonic past, would at best be considered by Vatican officials as having a checkered past. Compare Horia Nestorescu-Bălceşti, *Ordinul Masonic Român, mai puțină legendă și mai mult adevăr* (București 1993), 465. For relatively obscure information on the career of Pangal, I would like to thank Dr. Șerban Turcuș of the Romanian Embassy to the Holy See for his invaluable aid.

⁴ Miron-Ilie (Elie) (Cristea) (1868-1939), a Transylvanian, served as first patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church (1925-1939), besides acting as a member of the regency council which ruled during the minority of Mihai I in his first reign (1927-1930) and as prime minister (1938) towards the end of the reign of Carol II. He helped transform the executive government of inter-war Romania into a *royal dictatorship*, a situation which was confirmed by the constitution of 20 February 1938. Cristea was born at Toplița (Harghita) in Transylvania, which at the time was still Hungarian. Austro-Hungarian Dualism was still the order of the day. He was baptised Ilie or Elie, the form of the name Elias according to Transylvanian usage — Miron was his monastic name and the name he used as bishop. He studied at the Theological Institute of Sibiu and later completed his studies with a doctorate on the Romanian poet Mihai Eminescu, which he wrote in Hungarian at the University of Budapest (1891-1895). He later taught at the Romanian church school at Orăștie for a year (1890-1891), before he was assumed into the service of the Orthodox archbishop of Sibiu as secretary (1895-1902) and advisor (1902-1909). At the same time, he was ordained deacon (1900), took monastic vows at the monastery of Hodoș Bodrog (1902) and was admitted to the priesthood (1903). After taking monastic vows, Cristea was sent to study fine arts at Munich, chiefly in order to prepare the iconographic design for the Orthodox cathedral at Sibiu. He later assumed various responsibilities in the diocese as well as in the cultural life of Sibiu, serving as editor of the *Telegraful Român* and as the president of the Romanian Association of Music. He also contributed firsthand to

12th of December. He has come solely in order to carry out but one aim — to discuss the question of the union of the churches.

the construction of the Orthodox cathedral of Sibiu. Since his student days, he campaigned actively for Romanian national unity. In 1909, he was appointed bishop of Caransebeș in the Banat. He defended the local Romanian school system against the intransigence of cultural adversaries in the Hungarian government. Since the Orthodox Metropolitan See of Transylvania was vacant at the time — Metropolitan Vasile Mangra was seen to have collaborated too willingly with Hungarian interests in Transylvania and was forced to leave the country — it was Cristea who headed the Orthodox at the *Great National Assembly of all Romanians from Transylvania, the Banat and Hungary* which met at Alba Iulia (1918) and led to the formation of Greater Romania. He was therefore a member of the delegation of Transylvanian Romanians which formulated the Act of Union with Bucharest. In 1919, Cristea was chosen Metropolitan of Bucharest and Primate of Romania. In 1925, he became the first Romanian patriarch. Cristea was a prime mover in the unification of the Romanian Orthodox Church after the acquisition of territories after World War I. He was instrumental in transforming the Romanian church into an autocephalous patriarchate and in promulgating the new statute (1925) regulating the organisation and functioning of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Cristea revived or began the publication of religious periodicals (*Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, *Apostolul*), encouraged the translation and publication of a Romanian Bible and a separate edition of the New Testament, founded an Orthodox seminary at Câmpulung for war orphans and an Academy of Romanian Religious Music at Bucharest. Cristea was active in the ecumenical movement of the day, working for better relations with other Orthodox and western, mostly Protestant (especially Anglican), churches. For this purpose, he visited the Holy Land (1927), England (1936) and Poland (1938) as well as received foreign religious delegations. He supported the participation of Romanian Orthodox theologians in congresses and ecumenical meetings outside the homeland. Likewise, he promoted the convocation of two such meetings on Romanian soil: the *Regional Conference of World Alliances for the Fraternity of Peoples through the Church* (Bucharest 1933) — of which he was chosen honorary president — and the *Romanian-Anglican Conference* (Bucharest 1935). Similar indications only confirm the supposition, that, for whatever reasons, Cristea was interested in exploring the question of Christian unity at the time Pangal contacted de Régis. After the death of Ferdinand I in 1927, Cristea served as one of three members of the regency which ruled during the abdication of Carol II and the minority of Mihai I. In 1938, he was appointed Minister President by Carol II, after the latter's return to power and after the monarch had abolished the constitution and set up his own dictatorship with men whom he could trust as members of his private government council. Cristea died at Cannes (France), where he had gone on doctor's advice to take a cure. He is buried in the cathedral of Bucharest. Cristea was known for his skill in speaking foreign languages — he spoke fluent German and Hungarian besides Rumanian — and knowledge of the history of art. He was also adept in journalism and publishing activity. His theological background, however, was much more limited and he had to rely on the advice of counsellors. He was also known as more a man of politics than of the cloth. Even Orthodox authors criticise his role in the government of Carol II as unbecoming to a bishop. He was also not free of a somewhat unsavoury reputation in his private life especially in his dealings with the opposite sex. Strangely, Romanian followers of the old calendarist movement accused Cristea of having a Uniat past (Compare Dimitri Brady – David J. Melling,

According to de Régis, Pangal came to Rome in order to carry out a real — but still unofficial — mission. He was to act as the representative of King Carol II⁵ of Romania who whole-heartedly approved

“Old Calendarists”, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (Oxford 2001), 355 — according to them he was a Uniat bishop who became Orthodox. But perhaps this is a reflection of the introduction of the partial Gregorian calendar in the Romanian Orthodox church which occurred during his patriarchate in 1924 (they accused Cristea of even celebrating Easter according to the Gregorian reckoning) and which they rightly associated with the western church as well as the fact that he was formerly bishop of Caransebeș in the Banat, a region with a Uniat population and with historical ties to Austria-Hungary. The fact that Cristea was also a Transylvanian i.e. originating from a region known for its religious and ethnic pluralism, who was given the reins of the entire Romanian church, could not have endeared him in hyper-Orthodox eyes. Compare Păcurariu, Mircea, “Cristea Miron”, *Dictionarul teologilor români* (București 1996), 133-134; Ernst Christoph Suttner, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte der Rumänen* (Wien/München 1978), 84-86.

⁵ Carol von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1893-1953), king of Romania from 1930-1940, was born the son of Ferdinand I and Marie Saxe-Coburg of Romania at the royal palace of Sinaia. He was the great-grandson of Queen Victoria and of Aleksandr II of Russia, both through his mother. Intelligent but volatile, many of his problems stemmed from his inability to subordinate his emotional drives to a sense of duty or common sense. He was married three times: 1) to his first mistress Ioana-Zizi Lambrino (1918) — a morganatic and unsanctioned union; 2) to Princess Elena of Greece (1921); 3) to his second mistress Elena Magda Wolf-Lupescu (1947). His scandalous affairs of the heart cost him his popularity as well as much of his credibility as king. His unsavoury reputation, his seeming neglect of duty and dictatorial behaviour while on the throne lead even Romanian monarchists to a mostly negative assessment of his reign. But at the same time, he cannot be held responsible for all the ills which beset the country before, during and after World War II. Carol II was actually the first Romanian king to have been born within the country and was baptised in accordance with the constitution in the Orthodox church. As a youth, Carol was intelligent and demanding, combining a sense of order and a love for the pomp of the military with an erratic and tyrannical personality. At twenty-one, he became heir apparent to the throne after the accession of his father, Ferdinand I. But during World War I, he deserted the army and absconded with his mistress across the Russian border, where he married her in secret at Odessa. Upon his return to Romania, Carol was sent to do penance in a monastery and the marriage was declared void. A year later, Carol married Elena of Greece who during the same year gave birth to their son, Mihai. But the marriage was a failure and Carol was soon smitten with Elena Lupescu, the daughter of a Jewish apothecary who had converted to Orthodoxy, with whom he ran away to Paris, assuming the name of Carol Caraiman. Faced with open scandal, Ferdinand I withdrew Carol's rights as heir apparent and named his grandson Mihai successor to the throne. After Ferdinand's death in 1927, a regency was formed to rule during Mihai's minority which consisted of Prince Nicolae, Patriarch Miron Cristea and Gheorghe Buzdugan, president of the high court of justice. But in 1930, Carol returned to Romania and two days later was proclaimed king as Carol II. His succession was made possible by the disintegration of traditional political allegiances and the economic crisis. Carol II was thought to be the only person capable of creating national unity and ending political instability. This proved an historical first since a father succeeded his son on the throne. His reign of ten years saw the growth of right wing ex-

Pangal's project — and even offered financial backing. According to Pangal, Carol II had spoken to him in person regarding a plan for church union with Rome. The King addressed the question in the following terms:

... I am above all this and officially not aware of everything that will be discussed. But you should know that I am a very warm supporter of all matters which bear upon the union of the churches. I think that it is my duty to fulfil the testament of my father, who dreamt of religious unity in Rumania and I will know no rest until I have completed that great work within my kingdom...

The Patriarch, Metropolitan Nicolae (Bălan)⁶ of Transylvania and other highly placed hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church also

tremist groups within Romania, the most important of which was the Legionary Movement led by Horia Sima and Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu as well as the international situation and the rise of Hitler's Germany which brought Europe to the brink of war. Either in accord with German pressure or as a reaction against the German threat — historians are divided about the king's real motivation — Carol II declared a royal dictatorship (1938), crushed the rightist movements, outlawed secret societies as well as all political parties except his own and proclaimed himself *King of the National Resurrection*. But his efforts at initiating a national renaissance were in vain especially since the king surrounded himself with a camarilla of dubious individuals, introduced to court by Lupescu, on whom he relied for advice and support. After a treaty between the USSR and Germany in 1940, Romania lost Bessarabia and northern Bucovina to the Soviet Union and north-western Transylvania to Hungary. Carol II found himself without political support with rallies throughout the country demonstrating against him. In September 1940, Carol II relinquished most of his real powers to General Ion Antonescu who became head of state. The following day Antonescu forced Carol to abdicate in favour of Mihai I, who at the age of nineteen, for the second time became king of Romania. But Antonescu retained the actual power. A day later, Carol II abandoned his country together with Lupescu in a special train. He lived in exile in Mexico and Brazil, before returning to Europe. During this time, he made several completely unsuccessful attempts to regain his throne. He lived the last years of his life at Lisbon (Portugal) where he died of cancer and was buried in the crypt of the chapel of the Portuguese kings at Estoril. His last marriage (1949) to Lupescu was held at his villa in Portugal and blessed by Martinian Ivanovitch, an Orthodox priest from Paris, after a civil ceremony had been contracted two years previously in Brazil.

⁶ Metropolitan Nicolae (Bălan) (1882-1955) was born at Blăjenii de Sus (Bistrița-Năsăud) in what was still Hungarian Transylvania. His career spanned half a century, began in Austria-Hungary and finished as the Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania with residence at Sibiu in Socialist Romania. He was a noted ecumenist of his time, had studied both Protestant and Roman Catholic theology at a German university and attended ecumenical congresses at Stockholm (1925) and Bern (1926), besides leading a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (1925). Bălan was likewise active in politics and delivered several speeches in the Romanian Parliament. The son of a priest, Bălan obtained a doctorate (1905) from the Theological Faculty at Czernowitz (Černovcy-

seemed to approve of these plans. Patriarch Miron (Cristea) even admitted to Pangal that he would personally be able without any difficulty to accept the papal primacy and that he was in favour of union. But he did have one reservation:

... what do you think, if the Union is actually proclaimed, who will be named Cardinal — I or the Latin Archbishop?⁷ Shouldn't one fear that it

Cernăuți), simultaneously leaving Austria-Hungary to study at Breslau (Wrocław) (Silesia) for a year. Immediately after, he began teaching as a lay professor at the Theological Institute of Sibiu, where he remained until 1920 as professor of dogmatics. But at the same time, Bălan began to play a role in church politics. He was appointed member of the National Church Council of the Metropolitan of Transylvania. In 1918, he was dispatched by the Romanian government to Iași as a member of the National Romanian Council of Transylvania to work for the incorporation of Transylvania within the Romanian state. At the same time, Bălan organised the publication of a theological journal at Sibiu (*Revista Teologică*) and was on the editorial board of the more secular *Gazeta Poporului*. Ordained a priest in 1919, he was named Metropolitan of Transylvania less than a year later (February 1920) and consecrated in May of the same year. It does not seem that Bălan spent time in a monastery or took monastic vows before his consecration. He remained metropolitan until his death. Bălan was an honorary member of the Romanian Academy as well as a member of the senate in virtue of his high office. As metropolitan he was known as a fighter for the autonomy of the Romanian Orthodox Church. He devoted much of his energy until the Communist takeover to supporting educational institutions: secondary schools, specialised schools for young girls, schools for church singers as well as an inter-diocesan boarding school. Bălan also directed several Romanian religious periodicals in Sibiu (*Telegraful Român*, *Revista Teologică*, *Lumina Satelor*) as well as a number of scholarly collections of articles with religious content (*Seria Teologică*, *Seria Didactică*, *Popasuri Duhovnicești*, *Biblioteca Bunului Păstor*). During a session of the Royal Council (29/30.8.1940), Bălan protested vigorously against the Vienna Demand by which Romania lost northern Transylvania to Hungary. Throughout the war, he continued to fight for the restoration of lost territories to Romania. Bălan was the author of many theological and historical studies, articles, homilies, pastoral letters, parliamentary interventions and book reviews. It is indeed surprising to hear of Bălan as a supporter of the proposal for union with Rome, since he was the principal opponent of the Concordat between the Vatican and Romania. On the Romanian religious situation, he published, among other articles, the following studies: "Problema religioasă în timpul de azi", *Anuarul XXII al Institutului teologic-pedagogic din Sibiu* (1905-1906), 3-52; *Chestiunea bisericească din România și autonomia Bisericii noastre* (Sibiu 1910); *Biserica luptătoare. Considerațiuni asupra drepturilor Bisericii și asupra chemării preoțești* (Sibiu 1910); *Biserica neamului și drepturile ei* (*Discurs în Senat*) (Sibiu 1928); *Biserica și viața* (Sibiu 1947). Compare Păcurariu, Mircea, "Bălan Nicolae, mitropolit", *Dictionarul teologilor români* (București 1996), 35-36.

⁷ The Latin archbishop of Bucharest at the time was Alexandru Cisar (Āisar) (1880-1954). Son of a Czech father and Swabian-German mother, he was born at Craiova in Oltenia. He attended schools at Craiova and at Bucharest and later at the Roman Propaganda de Fide while resided at the Collegio Greco. Ordained priest in 1903, he was appointed bishop of Iași in 1920. In 1924, he was named archbishop of Bucharest and given Romanian citizenship. In 1949, he was forced to resign by the

might be him? Mr. Pangal assured the Patriarch that it would certainly be he who would be appointed Cardinal. This seemed to please the Patriarch...

Metropolitan Nicolae (Bălăn), on the other hand, did not seem ready to sacrifice his career for an ideal — although he appeared much more energetic and motivated than Miron. According to Nicolae, the question of bishop's appointments in an hypothetical Romanian Catholic Church remained a particularly thorny one. He was right to think that the Romanian Church would wish to conserve the right to directly appoint its own bishops and would resent Roman interference. Perhaps it might allow Rome to confirm those bishops whom it already had nominated. But only with great difficulty would it consent to have them appointed directly by the Vatican.

De Régis went on to inform Ledóchowski that Pangal had arrived in Rome in order to fulfil a specific mission. He was, above all, the bearer of three individual proposals to further a future Union. The first came from Patriarch Miron, the second from Carol II and the third was his own.

At the time, the situation of Patriarch Miron was far from ideal. Maligned by his detractors for having reacted in a cowardly and sycophantic way to the provocations of the Hungarian authorities during the First World War, he was now subject to open criticism. He asked that, as a condition for his participation in the project for church union, all attacks against his person cease — from both the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic side. He himself suggested the creation of a wide-ranging organisation which would act as a common defence of the faith against both atheists and sectarians.⁸ Both

Vatican and remained from 1950-1954 under house arrest. He died at Bucharest. His predecessor, Archbishop Raymund Netzhammer, considered Cisar a tool of the state, since he had been appointed with the approval of King Ferdinand, whose candidate he was.

⁸ On at least two occasions, Cristea publicly spoke out against the danger of atheists, sectarians and members of rival, well-organised western religious groups, which had flooded Romanian intellectual life after World War I and the creation of Greater Romania. At the opening of a church consistory in Bucharest (6.6.1922), he mentioned the fact that in contrast to the situation in the old, solidly Orthodox Romanian Kingdom, the new Romania included well organised non-Orthodox churches, headed by learned intellectuals, endowed with ample funds and possessing well developed cultural, humanitarian and economic institutions. He was no doubt referring to the Protestant and especially Roman Catholic churches of Transylvania. He added that in addition to these spiritual rivals of Romanian Orthodoxy, Romanian society was likewise confronted with anti-Christian, atheist currents and especially with various sects, who were using all means of propaganda to poison Romanians against

Orthodox and Roman Catholics could, in the meantime, become members of the organisation, leaving behind their religious differences and promoting that which they held in common.

King Carol II, for his part, was a great admirer⁹ of the Knights of Malta.¹⁰ He had even invited them into Romania. The King asked if

Christian ideals and altruism. Similarly a few years later, at a synod of the monasteries of the Bucharest arch-diocese (25.4.1925), Cristea once again touched on this subject. On this occasion, he stressed the fact that the Rumanian Orthodox church felt threatened by the sects who *attacked in every shape and form*. It fell especially to celibate monks — Cristea spoke several times in favour of celibacy as opposed to the married clergy who were too often consumed by worldly cares — to defend the true teaching of Orthodoxy. If only, Cristea continued, the Romanian church had twenty or thirty monks with a higher theological education, they could form the basis of a group of monastic missionaries who could win back souls already seduced by error to the truth. It is obvious that Cristea was thinking of the Roman Catholic religious orders and especially the Jesuits without specifically mentioning them. But the Romanian prelate does mention them, albeit in a slightly different context. Although the Romanian Orthodox church occupies a privileged position, since it conserves intact the entire apostolic dogmatic heritage, it is, according to Cristea, in an inferior position when compared with the western Churches since it lacks the numerous well organised religious orders and celibate priesthood of Catholicism. The Roman Catholic church serves as the best example of what can be attained with an army of selfless priests and monks. During the sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic church survived the onslaught of the Protestant catastrophe chiefly thanks to the Jesuits. What happened to the *church of the papists* during that century, Cristea notes, is now occurring in Romania with the rise of the sects. Compare Suttner, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte der Rumänen*, op. cit., 28, 85. Other Romanian Orthodox authors enumerate the various sects which sprang up around this time and began to exert their influence among the Romanians. Their teachings were spread mostly by non-Romanian preachers (Saxons and especially Hungarians) but Romanian immigrants returning from a prolonged stay in North America had also fallen under their influence and spread these teachings after they returned home. The sects included Baptists, Nazarenes, Schnitter, Mormons, Evangelisten, Pentecostals, Bibelforscher and Seventh Day Adventists. In Bessarabia, *Inochentismus* had arrived from tsarist Russia while *Tudorism* was a particularly Romanian sect which evolved in Bucharest. Compare Mircea Păcurariu, *Geschichte der Rumänischen Orthodoxen Kirche* (Erlangen 1994), 555. But the future patriarch was probably also thinking of free-masonry, free-thinking, secularism and socialism when he spoke of the various atheistic currents threatening Romanian society.

⁹ For most of his life, Carol II loved military parades, ceremonies and decorations with all their pomp and circumstance. He was often pictured with a baton in his hand leading a regiment of guards. His biographers do not hesitate to attribute this predilection to his Teutonic ancestry. His interest in the Knights of Malta probably stemmed from his love for elaborate orders and decorations rather than from religious motives — in general Carol was gleefully negligent of performing his religious duties and attended to them more for state reasons or just to be seen rather than out of a sense of personal piety.

¹⁰ The Knights of Malta or more properly Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem trace their origin to the bull of Pascal II (1113) addressed to a certain Gerard, the

the superiors of the Knights could be induced to become more generous in awarding their crosses to worthy Romanian Orthodox. It would appear that Carol II dreamt of one day becoming a protector of his knightly order — a role to which Pavel I of Russia — another nominally Orthodox monarch — had also aspired¹¹ at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹²

founder and superior of a network of hospices for pilgrims to Jerusalem. Gerard's successor, Raymond of Provence, dictated a religious rule to the group of hospitallers who tended the institutions. Eventually, members of the order, who later became known as knights, began providing armed escort for pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land and the order was transformed into a military foundation with a type of religious rule. Under Islamic pressure, the knights were forced to transfer from Palestine to Cyprus and later to Rhodes and Malta (1530). They survived the Turkish siege (1565) of the island, but capitulated to Napoleon (1798) and left Malta. The departure of the knights from Malta resulted in a splintering of the order with various groups claiming descent from the original foundation. Knights of Malta were divided into eight separate *tongues* (= *langues*), more or less according to national language. Each tongue had its own prior and was responsible for specific duties. All priors were in turn responsible to a Grand Master who had absolute rule of the order, but was subject directly to the Pope. They followed a form of the Augustinian rule and took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Only Roman Catholics were accepted as members. The knight wore a black habit and a coat of black camel-hair. His breast was adorned with a white eight-pointed cross known as the Maltese cross.

¹¹ The Order of Malta was in financial ruin as a result of the French Revolution with severely reduced revenues and secularised properties. A solution was negotiated by Count Giulio Litta-Visconti-Arese, a military adventurer of Milanese origin, who came to Russia during the reign of Ekaterina I and was named the representative of the Knights of Malta to the court of Saint Petersburg. Both Petr I and Ekaterina II had held the Knights in esteem, sending a few Russians to Malta in order to train as sailors. But Pavel I, fascinated by the order since he read a history of the knights as a young boy, hoped to become their sponsor and organise a branch of the order in Russia. On 4/15 January 1797, Litta concluded negotiations with Saint Petersburg creating the noted *convention* — a treaty which established the Russian branch or *Grand Priory of Russia* of the order, encouraging future foundations of the order on Russian territory and determining an annual contribution of three hundred thousand florins to the treasury of the order from Russia. After the election of Ferdinand von Hompesch as Grand Master, he approved the *convention* with Russia and offered Pavel I the title *Protector of the Order of Jerusalem*. The emperor accepted and proposed the creation of a special section of the order — the *Tongue* (= *langue*) of Greek rite with seventy-two commanders. This plan was approved by the knights on 1 June 1798. But a few days later, French knights capitulated to the *Grande Armée*, Malta fell to Napoleon and von Hompesch was forced to leave for Trieste. On 6 September 1798, members of the Russian *Grand Priory* met at Saint Petersburg and denounced the French knights for having surrendered as well as von Hompesch for incompetence. On 21 September, Pavel I issued a manifesto deposing von Hompesch and proclaimed Saint Petersburg the new centre of the order. On the following 7 November, Pavel I was named Grand Master of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem (Malta). The Russian emperor in turn created a special branch of the order for Russian Orthodox members — the *Russian Tongue of schismatic rite*. But von Hompesch refused to

Pangal himself suggested the formation of another association — this time under the direction of the Jesuits — a point on which he laid particular importance. Resolute and devout individuals would be called to join. They would be bound by a promise of obedience to the Holy See and would agree to work decisively and purposefully for the cause of church union. The organisation would resemble in some of its external aspects to a knightly order and the Pope would grant it a special coat of arms and other heraldic standards.

De Régis finished his account by noting that many of Pangal's suggestions were mere generalities and lacked precision. He went on to present, in the form of a second *allegatum*, his own programme in

abdicate and thereby created a schism within the order. After Pavel I requested the Austrian emperor, in whose territory von Hompesch resided in exile, to force the latter's capitulation, he did. But Pius VI, at the mercy of Napoleon and in dire need of Russian assistance, refused on principle to recognise Pavel as Grand Master. According to the pope, the Russian sovereign was a non-Catholic and a non-Catholic could not head a Catholic order since it negated the constitutions given to the knights by Gregory XIII in 1582. Pavel I, however, remained Grand Protector of the order until his assassination in 1802. His successor Aleksandr I, retained the title of Grand Protector but did not wish to interfere in the election of a new Grand Master. On 16 September, Bartolomeo Ruspoli was elected but he refused. In his place, Pius VII finally named Giovanni Battista Tommasi da Cortona on 9 February 1803. In the meantime, the British occupied Malta and the Russian intervention in the affairs of the order practically ceased except for the continued existence of a splinter group. This group called itself the *Order of Saint John of Jerusalem* in contrast to those knights who reconstituted themselves at Rome under the protection of the Pope in 1803 under the name *Sovereign Military Order of Malta*. The Order of Saint John still considered the Tsar of Russia its supreme protector, but in 1908 they transferred to North America where they made up the *American Priory*. Since the Romanov dynasty declined after the Revolution, they were left without a protector until 1964 when Peter II of Yugoslavia — the monarch was naturally in exile but was related collaterally to the Romanovs — agreed to fill the role. In 1999, a certain Victor Xuereb was named their Grand Master. A Protestant group of knights or *Evangelical Johannites* also came into being in 1852 under the protection of the kings of Prussia, but was mostly devoted to caritative work in hospitals. Gottardo Bottarelli, *Storia politica e militare del sovrano ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme detto di Malta. L'ordine a Malta, Tripoli e in Italia* (Milano 1940), 206-228; P. Pierling, *La Russie e le Saint-Siège. Études diplomatiques* 5 (Paris 1912), 192-203.

¹² Finally, it should be recalled that Carol II was himself — through his mother, a grand-daughter of Aleksandr II — a direct descendent of Pavel I. Pavel I was, in fact, his great-great-great grandfather. But besides Russian blood, Carol was likewise the descendent of Protestant Prussian and Roman Catholic Portuguese as well as Anglican British aristocracy. A well written, but popular biography of Carol II (Paul D. Quinlan, *The Playboy King. Carol II of Romania* (Westport/London 1995) makes much of the more salacious details of the king's extra-marital affairs but does not mention the Knights of Malta. It is interesting to note that Carol II's mother, Queen Marie, spent a prolonged period of her childhood as a British princess living in a Maltese villa.

order to correct these shortcomings. His plan appeared as a series of much more specific proposals made to the Jesuit Superior General. The following represents a brief outline of the French Jesuit's plan, which keeps to the order of his principle points.

At the very beginning of his resume, de Régis provided for the founding of an organisation in concrete terms, much more pragmatic and practical than the dreamy musings of either the Rumanian King or even Jean Pangal:

An association or pious confraternity should be organised which will work for the realisation of the union of the churches in Romania...

The Aim of the Organisation: Above all, de Régis felt that the organisation needed a definite purpose. Its aim should in any case not be a simple or vague longing for church unity. Such a desire should be part and parcel of the prayer life of every truly devout Christian. This wish should be concretised in a definite time and place. The union of the churches should be seen as a very real possibility in the not too distant future and on Rumanian soil. The confraternity should work actively, not passively, for church union. The projected union of the churches should not be considered as merely one of the aims of the organisation. It was not one among many, but rather the sole and unique aim of the association. This aim should not be kept secret but proclaimed openly. Some individuals might well disagree with this aspect of candour and clarity. They might well be disinclined to join such a public association and the future membership of the organisation might well suffer. Many Orthodox and perhaps even not a few Roman Catholics might feel compromised and decline to join. *Tant pis!* The pious confraternity has no need of casual well-wishers and spiritual tourists. It needs real workers, active members, devoted in the very marrow of their bones to the realisation of a great ideal and determined to do everything in order to make it happen.

The Members of the Organisation: Future members might be recruited either among Roman Catholics or Orthodox. They might be churchmen or lay Christians, men or women. De Régis in a rare moment of spiritual whimsy even thought that children might be enrolled. No member should in any way be forced or constrained to change his religion or to work against his own religion. The only requirement was to make a real commitment to the cause of religious union.

The Central Committee: De Régis reasoned that a well constituted central committee was of capital importance for the planned organi-

sation to succeed in its work of fostering church union. It should be composed of men, both prudent and dynamic, well informed of the current ecclesiastical situation. Moreover, they should be well above average in their knowledge of theology and history. He thought that the pious organisation could be directed by about five or six individuals of this high calibre. De Régis suggested the name of Jean Pangal, practically the initiator of the movement, as one of those capable of directing it in the future. But an Orthodox counterpart was also necessary, preferably at least one Orthodox cleric with ties to the Patriarch and the Romanian Orthodox hierarchy. A lay professor of Orthodox theology would also work nicely. A Roman Catholic churchman was also needed. De Régis thought that a secular priest or even better a Jesuit or an Assumptionist would fit the bill. Theological sagacity and caution were called for, but at the same time members should be equipped with a sense of broad vision and creativity.

Publicizing and Disseminating the Message: In the work of spreading the word, de Régis was able to rely to a certain degree on his own personal experience. After all, he was the son of a newspaper publisher and journalist. He recommended organising a series of conferences. Articles should likewise appear in the religious press as well as even in secular newspapers which would popularise the ideal of church union in Romania, demonstrating that the union of the churches in Rumania was not only feasible but perhaps even an imminent possibility. A type of bulletin should also be initiated. It would not be destined for the masses, but only for members and initiates. It should be used as a guide for the work at hand, offering some instructions to members regarding the way to proceed in accomplishing their mission, perhaps a study plan, as well as an outline of subjects to be discussed. All articles destined for the press should avoid two extremes. A lack of fraternal charity and a polemical tone should of course be avoided. But the opposite tendency should likewise be eschewed — attempting without any theological foundation or reason to conceal the very real differences which still divide Catholics and Orthodox. De Régis insisted on charity — but charity enlightened by temperance and illumined by prudence.

Spiritual Life: According to de Régis, future members of the organisation should without a doubt be devout Christians, convinced that the spiritual world holds sway over the temporal and that one should rely on the ways of the Spirit in disseminating the message of church union and accomplishing the mission of the society. But since Orthodox-Roman Catholic relations of the time had still not pro-

gressed beyond a certain point,¹³ de Régis thought it more prudent to insist that Orthodox and Catholics should not be forced to attend public religious services in common, given the difference of religion. He urged instead that each group organise its own public prayers for church union — Orthodox and Roman Catholics separately. Members of the future organisation should nevertheless try to pray for the Pope as the spiritual head of all Christians — at least in private or as de Régis put it *in foro interno*. Orthodox clerics who would enter the confraternity as members should moreover be obligated to commemorate the Pope in the liturgy — obviously not aloud and in public, but silently in private.

The External Organisation of the Pious Association: De Régis opined that it was still premature to plan the actual shape the proposed pious association would take in the real world. This was in keeping with his character. A Frenchman, despite his Russian training, he was usually a model of Cartesian simplicity: pragmatic and practical. Nevertheless, he reasoned that one could at least think about establishing at Rome a type of *organe de liason* or contact bureau which would present relevant subject matter concerning the future association to the Holy See or to the Oriental Congregation for their approval.

¹³ The proposal for union must also be viewed within the framework of the programme of Pius XI for dealing with non-Roman Catholic Christians. Although Pius XI was deeply interested in his version of Christian Unity — the pope wished to lead all dissenting Christians back into the bosom of Rome — his interest could hardly have been considered completely benign by those without the Catholic fold. Pius XI was considerably less open to the Christian East than a few of his immediate predecessors, Leo XIII among the most prominent. He consistently refused to refer to the dissidents as *churches* but rather as individual wayward brethren (*fratres deerrantes*). After talks with the Anglicans stalemated, he issued his *Mortalium Animos* (1928) which specifically forbade Roman Catholics to subscribe to anything like the Anglican *branch theory* and much more significantly denied them the right to participate in the Protestant dominated nascent ecumenical movement — a decision which guided Catholic policy almost until Vatican II and at least until the end of the Second World War. It was partially abrogated by Pius XII in 1949, when he formally recognised the ecumenical movement and allowed Roman Catholics to discuss matters of faith with their non-Catholic counterparts. Compare Christophe Dumont, Estratto da “Pio XI e i cristiani separati”, *Pio XI nel trentesimo della morte*.

IN THE WHIRLWIND: THE CONVOLUTED BACKGROUND OF ROMANIAN INTER-CHURCH POLITICS

These plans for a Romanian church union, hypothetically involving the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church of both rites in the Kingdom of Romania on the eve of the Second World War, should be examined against the long and difficult history of religious conflict and accord specific to this Balkan realm and the whirlwind of rising and falling political regimes and parties. Nineteenth century and early twentieth century Romania had been dominated by the conflict between two of these political parties: the conservatives who wished everything to remain at status quo and the liberals who urged social and economic reforms. But neither party could be said to be open to non-Romanian religious experience or in favour of the national minorities. Later other political parties were founded, some representing peasant interests, but the majority advocating a rather extreme form of nationalism. Secondly, the documents may be compared with the observations of two noted Roman Catholic prelates — Raymund Netzhhammer and Michel d'Herbigny,¹⁴ both of whom lived or visited the country, about fifteen years before the meeting of Pangal and de Régis, but whose comments, although in a certain sense at diametrical odds, foreshadow the formulation of the project and allow the reader to examine the testimony of living witnesses to the church situation in Romania between the world wars.

A Confessional Tightrope

Romanian Christianity before the Second World War was dominated by an overwhelming Orthodox majority which still had not shaken off the fetters of state control. In some quarters, it represented an insular and even hostile mentality towards other believers — a specific which betrayed its rural rather than urban roots. But it was not alone. In addition, it was confronted by a significant Roman Catholic minority of the Latin rite of mostly Hungarian origin — a nation which many Romanians perceived as inimical to their own. A third element consisted of the small but significant group of Romanian Greek Catholics which Orthodox Romanians both favoured above their Latin counterparts since they shared the same ethnicity but who, at the same time, were viewed as dissenters if not traitors to

¹⁴ For biographical information and other details about both these prelates, see the following pages of this study.

their ancestral religion and who should gradually be brought again into the fold. The Catholics thought the same but in the other direction. The government — officially parliamentary in character until the coup of Carol II by which he granted himself dictatorial powers — was headed first by two Roman Catholic kings and later by a king of Orthodox baptism and education but who himself descended from a line of staunchly Roman Catholic aristocrats, themselves of Germanic background and culture and aligned by marriage to many of the ruling Protestant houses of Europe. Carol II's predecessors were forced to walk a precarious confessional tightrope, balancing their own faith and beliefs as well as their religious duties and obligations with those of the Orthodox majority. Finally, nineteenth and early twentieth century Romanian politics lay under the influence of the dual currents of free-masonry and secularism — a heritage which it shared with most other Balkan monarchies of the time. The political atmosphere was of extreme complexity, while Romanian society was prey to both age-old prejudices as well as almost revolutionary changes. A relatively prosperous westward-looking era which stretched through the first two decades of the last century was followed by a severe economic depression and a desperate attempt to avoid losing foreign trade and funding. Economic depression caused political factionalism as political parties multiplied during the nineteen-thirties throughout the reign of Carol II, some of which flirted with fascist inspired ideologies. Although Romanians shared strong linguistic and cultural ties particularly with the neo-Latin west, rivalry with the Catholic church on the home-front and fears of Orthodoxy losing its privileged place in the kingdom, caused some Romanians to retreat to a xenophobic isolationism and the spread of an ideology which may best be described, to use an expression of the time, as *Orthodoxism* — a position which equated Romanian nationality with Orthodox identity and deprecated or ignored the existence of their Romanian Catholic co-nationals of both rites.

Historical Interpretation and the Minorities

A further difficulty lies in historical interpretation. Many assertions defended by official Romanian historians of the Ceausescu era are denied by at least some of their non-Romanian colleagues and vice-versa. An attempt has been made to present both sides of these controversial matters without committing oneself for or against in the interest of avoiding a never ending polemic — although this in itself is difficult if not impossible.

Roman Catholics of the Latin rite within Romania were traditionally members of non-Romanian ethnicities: Hungarian Magyars and Szeklers in Transylvania and Csángók in Moldavia, German Saxons and Swabians in Transylvania and the Banat, groups of Poles, Germans, Hungarians and Greek rite Ruthenians in Bucovina, together with smaller pockets of Czechs, Bulgarians of the Latin rite, Austrians, French, Italians, Swiss and Uniat Armenians. But larger groups of Roman Catholics were incorporated into the Romanian Kingdom only after World War I, when Transylvania, Bucovina and Bessarabia were annexed. Before that time, the number of Roman Catholics in the so-called *Old Kingdom* or *Vechiul Regat* was much smaller — in 1899 they numbered only about one hundred fifty thousand — about 2.5% of the population — and were mostly of non-Romanian ethnicity: Germans and Hungarians. This caused Romanians to emerge out of this period with the conviction that true Romanians could only be Orthodox and that all other groups owed their existence to foreign influence.

Latin Rite Catholics and Romania

Romanian animosity towards Roman Catholics of the Latin rite was usually based on ethnic rather than religious factors. Since Romanians came to view themselves as belonging to a Latin ethnicity, they could certainly not disdain French, Italian or Spanish culture even though it comprised a strong Catholic element. Romanian nineteenth and twentieth century authors and poets almost exclusively used French and Italian models for their work. Indeed, the Romanians felt a strong affinity with these cultures which penetrated into politics — there existed a strong inclination to remove Romania from the Germanic sphere of influence into which it had fallen by reason of its geography, history and current reigning monarchy and replace it with a Gallic orientation — or in the Catholic church with an Italian outlook — but this *latinophilia* did not enter the Orthodox religious sphere. But most Roman Catholics with whom Romanians came into contact were not members of these nations. They were Hungarians and Germans. Unfortunately, the attempted suppression of everything Romanian in Hungarian ruled Transylvania had given Magyars a bad name in the Romanian kingdom.¹⁵ Public opinion was strongly

¹⁵ On the other hand, Hungarians complained of the treatment of Magyar speaking Csángók in Moldavia, part of the *Vechiul Regat*, where their priests were forced to preach sermons and teach religion in Romanian. Hungarian could also not

against Hungary and viewed Hungarians, especially the aristocracy and landed gentry, as persecutors of the Romanian people. Around the time of the First World War, anti-Magyar sentiment was so potent that it incited Romania to break its alliance with the Hapsburg empire — in spite of the Germanic descent and orientation of its king and its upper classes — and join the Entente in an ultimately successful bid to gain possession of Transylvania. It was common that Roman Catholics were disliked not because they were Catholics but because they were Hungarians.

GREEK CATHOLICS AS NATION BUILDERS

The case of Greek Catholics or Uniats was somewhat different since they were mostly ethnic Romanians, with the exception of some Hungarians in Transylvania and a larger Ruthenian contingent in Bucovina. In the old Romanian Kingdom they were very few — only about five thousand but the Latin archbishop of Bucharest, Raymund Netzhammer, had braved many obstacles in order to given them a church in the capital.¹⁶

Most of them were brought only later into the kingdom after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. Until that time, they had been subject to Magyar princes, under whom they mostly floundered, and later to the Hapsburgs, under whose rule they were finally able, at least relatively, to prosper. In Austrian Transylvania, Romanians accepted union with the Holy See by means of a formal act ratified on 4 September 1700. Through this move, their spiritual leaders hoped to avoid the danger of exposure to an aggressive and more erudite Protestantism as well as gain significant civil, social and cultural privileges which were denied them as Orthodox. For defenders of the union, these represented significant advantages, values important enough to compensate in full the loss of ecclesiastical independence. For its Orthodox opponents, however, union with Rome represented defection. Although at first most Transylvanian Romanians accepted union, an Orthodox counter-movement began under the direction of the Orthodox monk Visarion. It led to the reluctant establishment of an Orthodox bishopric by Maria Theresa and the return to Orthodoxy of about half the number of Transylvanian Romanians. During the

be taught in the seminary and this would lead to a lack of Magyar speaking priests in the Moldavian parishes.

¹⁶ Compare the following section which handles Netzhammer in detail.

Revolution of 1848 and the resulting *springtime of peoples*, Transylvanian Romanians, both Greek Catholic and Orthodox, pressed the Austrian government for the equality of the Romanian nation and of the two Romanian Churches. Orthodox Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna¹⁷ drew up his *Sixteen Points* which demanded independence from the Serbian hierarchy in the Austrian Empire, since until then the Orthodox in Austria depended upon Sremski-Karlovci (Carlowitz) just as the Greek Catholics did upon Esztergom. But in 1865, equality was withdrawn and two years later Transylvania passed to the direct administration of Hungary, much less sympathetic to the Orthodox or to Romanian national demands.

A novel opinion would propose that Maria Theresa's son, Emperor Joseph II, adopted the Ottoman *millet* system, by which evolving ethnicity was channelled into or rather equated with religious affiliation, as a model for the still un-evolved peoples of the Austrian Empire.¹⁸ On this basis, Romanian Greek Catholics, imbued by the spirit of the Josephite Enlightenment were able to transform their religious affiliation into a fulcrum for nation-building. Representatives of the Greek Catholic intelligentsia, clergy and a few laymen, educated in the west, were able to contribute disproportionately to the formation of a national culture and literature throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They constituted the so-called *școala ardeleană* or *Transylvanian School* of national awakeners. It was they who began to use the Romanian vernacular in church services, adopt the Latin alphabet for their native tongue which had previously been written in Slavonic letters, and later initiate the process of developing a national literature. The Uniats had likewise fought, under the leadership of their gifted hierarch Inochentie Micu-Clain (Klein), for the constitutional rights of their church and gained significant experience in the domain of ecclesiastical politics, working as they did in

¹⁷ In 1868, Șaguna likewise composed the *Statutul organic al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române din Transilvania* which regulated the status of the Romanian Orthodox within Hungarian ruled Transylvania. It later served as a model — it was unique in that it guaranteed the Romanian Orthodox church a definite degree of independence vis-à-vis the state — after the annexation of Transylvania into modern Romania for the revised statutes of the entire Romanian Orthodox Church within the newly enlarged kingdom (*Statutul de organizare a Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*), a project undertaken under the direction of Patriarch Miron Cristea in 1925.

¹⁸ This idea is attributed to Ivo Banac, who developed it in a course given in *Balkan Nationalism* delivered at the Central European University (Budapest) in 1998. Compare Constantin Iordachi, *Politics and Inter-Confessional Strife in post-1989 Romania. From Competition for Resources to Redefining National Ideology*, Internet Source.

the atmosphere of a — albeit heavily Roman Catholic — pluralistic empire as opposed to a state dominated Orthodox polity.¹⁹

In 1853, a metropolitan see was established for Greek Catholic Romanians at Făgăraş-Alba Iulia with the bishop's residence at Blaj (Balázsfalva) by Pius IX. Blaj, with its bishop's house, cathedral and seminary became an important symbol of Romanian national identity throughout the epoch of Austro-Hungarian Dualism when cultural life in Transylvania was dominated by the ruling Magyars.

But the situation had been and remained far from rosy. Until the establishment of a separate metropolitan see, the entire ecclesiastical organisation of those Romanians which accepted union, had simply been incorporated into Esztergom, the see of the Latin rite Hungarian primate. A Jesuit theologian, usually of Magyar ethnicity, was appointed to guide the bishop in making all important decisions. In practise, it was he and not the hierarch who controlled the diocese and all official affairs of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church. Since the Uniats were usually still better off than their Orthodox counterparts in Transylvania, they did not immediately benefit from the state subsidy or *congrua* distributed by the Hungarian government to clergymen of the various recognised confessions. The *congrua* was awarded first to the Orthodox beginning in 1899, before it was ever given to the Greek Catholics.²⁰ Miron Cristea, the future Romanian Patriarch had been instrumental in obtaining the *congrua* for the Transylvanian Orthodox. The Greek Catholics, instead, were traditionally subsidised by a separate *Religious Foundation*. On the one hand, this allowed Romanian Uniats a certain measure of autonomy vis-à-vis a mostly antagonistic Hungarian government. Because of this factor, Romanian Orthodox in the *Vechiul Regat* tended to view the struggles of their Uniat co-ethnics in Hungary with pride and consider them Romanian heroes even if they had abandoned Orthodoxy. The Orthodox in Transylvania, more economically dependent on the regime, were viewed, on the contrary, as almost totally in the thrall of the Hungarians. But in many respects, Romanian Greek Catholics still remained second-class citizens, were never fully eman-

¹⁹ Not all historians are equally kind to Micu-Clain (Klein) and the Romanian Latinist school. Critical voices point to the movement's innate conservatism and to the fact that the bishop and his supporters campaigned only for the rights of the bourgeoisie, intellectuals and higher clergy, leaving out the majority of Transylvanian Romanians who were peasants. See Stephen Fischer-Galati, "Romanian Nationalism", *Nationalism in Eastern Europe* (Seattle/London 1969), 374-375, 388.

²⁰ Compare Sándor Biró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania 1867-1940* (New York 1992), 166-167.

cipated and never attained all of the goals to which they aspired at the time of the signing of the union with Rome. In addition, their numbers remained rather exiguous. Even during their heyday after the formation of a Greater Romania after the First World War, they were clearly a minority church in a mostly Orthodox state. In 1934, Romanian Greek Catholics totalled about a million and a half believers and represented only about 7.9% of the entire population. Observers visiting Transylvania even at the end of the nineteenth century — one prominent visitor was Władysław Michał Zaleski, future titular Patriarch of Antioch — were appalled at the poverty and living conditions of Romanian Greek Catholics. At Blaj, students often came to classes barefoot, while at the seminary of Gherla the beds were so squeezed together that they touched each other.²¹

Romanians claimed the existence of a secret agenda during the heyday of magyarisation in 1907. It supposedly called for the incorporation of Greek Catholic Romanians into the Latin rite and the complete liquidation of the Orthodox in Transylvania, who were held responsible for promoting Romanian national demands.²²

ROMANIAN ORTHODOX IN THE *VECHIUL REGAT*

At the same time, the Orthodox in the Romanian territories constituting the *Vechiul Regat* were beset with their own set of problems. Romania, as a political entity in the modern sense, emerged out of Ottoman tutelage from the union of Wallachia (Țara Românească) and Moldavia in 1862, under the leadership of Prince Alexandru Ion Cuza, popularly known to the Romanians as Lord Cuza or *Cuza Vodă*. While Cuza was himself an Orthodox, he was also a leading freemason like the great majority of the Balkan nation builders and later

²¹ "Nulle part, autant qu'à Blasendorf, je n'ai vu de soins et d'efforts pour relever, instruire la jeunesse. Ils sont des pauvres, mais de cette pauvreté qui commande le respect, inspire la sympathie. Je regardais défiler devant la cathédrale ces garçons qui allaient au gymnase, bien souvent les pieds nus. On voyait la misère empreinte sur leur visages. Le plus souvent, leurs parents apportent quelques provisions de bouche de la campagne. Chaque semaine, l'archevêque distribue le pain à 245 de ces pauvres étudiants. Parmi les 65 élèves du petit séminaire, j'ai vu beaucoup d'enfants de prêtres, vêtus comme des petits paysans et qui avaient toutes les apparences de paysans.... À Armenopolis, les dortoirs sont tellement encombrés, que tous les lits se touchent." Unpublished manuscript of Ladislao Zaleski, *Coadjuteur de la S. Congregation de la Propagande* (Władysław Michał Zaleski, 1885 (Roman Archives).

²² Alan Walker, "Romanian Christianity", *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (Oxford 1999/2001), 409.

non-Roman Catholic monarchs. Much of his legislative activity was inspired by the dogmas of western secularism mediated by the ideals of freemasonry and the enlightenment — an utopistic belief in the right to individual and national self-determination. Cuza reorganised the legal system on the basis of the Napoleonic code and gave peasants the right to own land and abolished the remnants of serfdom. He provided the rudiments of a system of public education but also secularised church and monastic properties.²³ Over the centuries, these estates had been granted by previous rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia as gifts to the Ecumenical Patriarchate or to monasteries on Mount Athos. They represented one fourth — others say one third — of the new nation's land. To make up for the loss, Cuza arranged that priests be paid by the state.²⁴ Naturally, this also placed the Orthodox Church in a position of greater dependence and caused bad blood between Romania and the Ecumenical Patriarchate — a situation which later may have worked to the advantage of Rome. Cuza and his successors regularly appointed higher church officials and interfered in the administration of the Orthodox Church.

For centuries the Orthodox Church in the Romanian lands had remained under the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, under whose Greek bishops and phanariot rulers the Danubian provinces languished throughout the eighteenth century. But on 3 December 1864, the church proclaimed itself autocephalous — or rather it was proclaimed independent by Cuza — a move which was recognised by Constantinople only in 1885 — some twenty years later. On 11 January 1865, a month after the unilateral declaration of autocephaly, Metropolitan Nifon of Ungrovlachia was raised to the dignity of Metropolitan Primate. The Greeks did not take Romanian autocephaly completely lying down. In 1870, Gregorios VI attempted to recover a portion of jurisdiction over their church, insisting that Romanian hierarchs have their elections confirmed by Constantino-

²³ In 1864, Cuza secularised and confiscated all monastic property in Romania, part of which belonged to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, Mount Athos and Mount Sinai, all of which possessed metochia in the Danubian Provinces. As indemnity, the government offered twenty-seven million francs to the owners, but this money was refused as an insult to the proprietors who stated that the government had no right at all to touch what was theirs. The offer was withdrawn and ironically the money was used to finance Romanian anti-Greek propaganda among the Aromunians of Macedonia. Compare Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (New York 1907), 330.

²⁴ Alina Mungiu Pippidi, "The Ruler and the Patriarch: The Romanian Eastern Orthodox Church in Transition", *East European Constitutional Review* (7/2 - Spring 1998), 4.

ple before their consecration and directing that his name be commemorated in all liturgies. But three years later, Anthimos VI, his successor, withdrew all these demands and acknowledged Romanian independence. The Romanian Skite on the Holy Mountain also put forward its independence — an arrangement which was alternately granted and repealed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Rumours were circulated among the Greeks that the Romanians were shifting towards the secularised west, attempting to introduce the Gregorian calendar, baptism by infusion, the abolition of monastic head dress for clerics, the second marriage of priests and the burial service for suicides. In 1882, the Romanians began to prepare their own chrism (all Orthodox churches except that of Russia were always given already prepared chrism by Constantinople) and the right to prepare one's own was a clear sign of full autocephaly. Constantinople rebuked the Romanians in 1882 but received a rebuff. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, fearing another Bulgarian schism, swallowed its pride and allowed the innovation. The Romanian church became the second national Orthodox community, after that of Russia, to be allowed to confect chrism.

The constitution of 1866, modelled in other respects on that of Belgium, established the Romanian Orthodox Church as the state church and as the sole recipient of state aid. Nevertheless, all other religious confessions present in the country were guaranteed freedom of worship and the state declared that it would not interfere in the appointment of their clergy. In 1872, the *Legea Organica* provided for the establishment of a Holy Synod as the supreme legislative body of the church. It was to function under the presidency of the Metropolitan Primate of Bucharest together with the Metropolitan of Moldavia, six bishops and eight titular archpriests. The country was divided into eight dioceses. But state control of the Orthodox Church continued to increase. The *Law for the Selection of Metropolitans and Diocesan Bishops and the Composition of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church* (1872) ordered that all appointments to the Holy Synod would be processed by an electoral college composed of synod members together with all Orthodox senators and deputies in the national legislature. Another *Law Governing Clergy and Seminaries* (1893) put clergy salaries and seminaries under the control of the Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction. A central church administration was established by the ministry in 1902 and soon indulged in intrigue and favouritism until its abolition in 1921. After 1909, hierarchs were voted in by all members of both houses of parliament. Of course, this procedure was contrary to Orthodox church canons.

When Bishop Gherasim called upon the Ecumenical Patriarchate to intervene, he was simply deposed by the state. The appointment and dismissal of the highest church officials proceeded in tandem with the current political atmosphere.²⁵

At the same time, the constitution of 1866 guaranteed freedom of worship to all other religious confessions represented within the country besides the Orthodox and declared that it would not interfere in the appointment of their clergy. In 1883, a Roman Catholic archdiocese of Bucharest was erected for Latin rite Catholics in Romania.²⁶

ROMAN CATHOLIC SOVEREIGNS IN AN ORTHODOX REALM

The political-religious climate changed slightly after a Roman Catholic monarch came to the throne of the newly constituted Kingdom of Romania. While Cuza Vodă was a native Romanian and a baptised Orthodox, his successors on the throne were of mostly German blood. Like other Balkan states which came into being after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the Romanians too searched for a king among the lesser, mostly Germanic princely houses of Europe. The remnants of the Romanian nobility or *boieri* which remained after the long Ottoman conquest were too factionalised and partisan to come up with a desirable candidate. After Count Philippe of Flanders, brother of Leopold, King of the Belgians, re-

²⁵ Compare N. Iorga, *Istoria bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor* 1 (București 1928), 288-300.

²⁶ The archdiocese of București (Bucarestiensis) was erected as a an archdiocese by Leo XIII on 27 April 1883. It was elevated to the status of a metropolitan province on 5 June 1930, shortly after the signing of the concordat. Today, it has four suffragans: Iași, Oradea Mare, Satu Mare, Timișoara. Before the founding of the diocese, Bucharest became the residence of the Latin Catholic bishops of Nikopol-Nicopolis (Bulgaria), who also functioned as administrators apostolic of Wallachia and lived at Rușchuk (Rustschuk/Rusçuk/today = Ruse) in Bulgaria across the Danube from Giurgiu in Romania). At the end of the eighteenth century, the bishop left Rușchuk and moved to a Franciscan monastery at Bucharest. His successor established himself at Cioplea, a village near Bucharest, mostly colonised by Bulgarians and today incorporated within the city limits, but was unable to transfer his residence to Bucharest due to the opposition of the Orthodox bishop. In 1847, the Catholic bishop finally succeeded in establishing an official residence within the capital. After Romania became a kingdom, the government asked that Catholics within Romania be granted their own bishop. In 1883, Leo XIII complied and erected the dioceses of Bucharest and Iași. The first bishops living at Bucharest or thereabouts were almost all of Italian (Passionists) or Swiss ethnicity. The cathedral was erected in 1884 and dedicated to Saint Joseph. It was the largest Catholic church in the old kingdom of Romania.

fused the offer, Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was elected hereditary prince at the urging of Napoleon III in 1866. After Romania became completely independent of Ottoman vassalage in 1878, Karl was crowned king of Romania as Carol I²⁷ in 1881. Although he was of the same family as the Protestant Hohenzollerns who ruled Prussia, Carol I descended from a Roman Catholic branch of the line.

A clause of the constitution of 1866, the substance of which reappeared in that of 1923, provided for the monarch and his descendants. The king's powers were defined as hereditary in direct and legitimate descent from Carol I of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. They were to be transmitted only through male heirs in order of primogeniture — all female heirs and their descendants were automatically excluded. The constitution stipulated that the descendants of the monarch were to be raised in the Orthodox faith — a mere concession, according to some, to Orthodox Russia and its supporters among the Romanians.²⁸

But the marriage of Carol I and Elisabeth of Wied, a Protestant princess,²⁹ produced no male heirs. Carol I was followed on the throne by his nephew Ferdinand,³⁰ a more pious Roman Catholic than his uncle,³¹ although he too married Protestant in order that the

²⁷ Karl Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1839-1914) reigned as Carol I, Romania's first king from 1866-1914.

²⁸ Compare Ion Scurtu, *Contribuții privind viața politică din România. Evoluția formei de guvernământ în istoria modernă și contemporană* (București 1988).

²⁹ Pauline Elisabeth Ottilie Louise von Wied (1843-1916) was the scion of an old and aristocratic, but morbidly un-balanced German family. She became Queen Elisabeth of Romania (the *Old Queen* in opposition to Queen Marie, her popular daughter-in-law). Eccentric but highly artistic in temperament, she spearheaded — under her pen-name of *Carmen Sylva* (= *Forest Song*) — the Romanian national cultural renaissance of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. But she was likewise admired for her social commitment and caritative work among Romanian war victims — an activity which earned her the title *Mama Ranitilor* (*Mother of the Wounded*).

³⁰ Ferdinand Victor Albert Meinrad von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1865-1927) was born at his ancestral seat of Sigmaringen (Baden-Württemberg — Germany), the son of Leopold von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen and Antonia Saxe-Coburg, the Portuguese Infanta, herself a daughter of Maria II (Maria da Gloria) of Portugal. His mother, a devout even fanatical Catholic, was a Portuguese princess. Ferdinand reigned from 1914-1927. At his coronation in Alba Iulia (Transylvania) (1922), he received the by-names *Intregitorul* (= *Unifier*), since he was the first to rule over a Greater Romania which had incorporated Transylvania, and *Leal* (= *Loyal*) since he eventually entered World War I on the side of the Entente faithful to his country's interests (= the annexation of Transylvania) against family loyalties in Germany.

³¹ Ferdinand seems to have inherited his devotion to Catholicism from his mother Antonia, Infanta of Portugal, who was described as *hedged in by her church*. Ferdinand himself was said to be devoted to three major pursuits throughout his life — Roman

problem of baptising his own heir in the Orthodox faith be made easier. His wife was the future Queen Marie (Regina Maria)³² of Romania, a colourful figure who easily won the admiration and love of her people in spite of, or perhaps precisely because of, her romantic excesses. Ferdinand and Marie were wedded in a triple ceremony — civil, Roman Catholic and Anglican (for the benefit of Ferdinand, the Roman Catholic service was the most lengthy and pompous) — at his ancestral seat of Sigmaringen in Swabia (southern Germany). The marriage of Ferdinand to a Protestant and the constitutional obligation binding the future king to raise his successor Orthodox strained relations with the Vatican and a delegation was sent to Rome to mollify the Pope, but it failed. Later Marie attempted to convince the king of her right to practice a form of birth control, but the Catholic monarch would have none of it. Ferdinand was crowned king of Romania in a non-denominational, secular ceremony.³³

Such was his private devotion to his own religion that Ferdinand secretly planned a Roman Catholic baptism for his son — in defiance of the law of the land — but he was forced to abandon this project in view of the constitutional premise. Ferdinand himself was an exception to the rule, since his was an indirect succession confirmed by his

Catholicism, his books and his hobby — the science of botany. Compare Hannah Pakula, *The Last Romantic. A Biography of Queen Marie of Roumania* (London 1984), 54, 61.

³² Marie (Missy) Alexandra Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1875-1938) was born at Eastwell Park (Kent-Great Britain), the oldest daughter of Alfred and Marie, Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, a member of the British royal family. She was the granddaughter of Queen Victoria through her father and the grand-daughter of Tsar Alexander II of Russia through her mother. Marie was baptised an Anglican, the faith in which she died, although she often attended the German Lutheran church in Bucharest.

³³ The ceremony was planned for the specially constructed Orthodox *coronation cathedral* at Alba Julia (Gyulafehérvár) in Transylvania to celebrate the *re-unification* of the province after World War I with the Old Kingdom. But the Vatican refused Ferdinand permission to be crowned by an Orthodox hierarch during a non-Catholic ceremony in a non-Catholic church. So Ferdinand crowned himself and his Protestant queen in a ceremony held outside the cathedral in a public square. The excuse was given that this arrangement was made for the benefit of the crowds who attended the rite and were thereby given a better view — but the reality was otherwise. There was no anointing with holy chrism and the crowns which were used for the ceremony were not blessed by the Orthodox primate since they had already been used — and previously blessed — for the crowning of Carol I and his consort. The coronation itself took place during the singing of the *Te Deum*, which was chanted half inside and half outside the church. The Orthodox prayed inside the church and processed outside for the crowning. The Catholics remained outside on specially constructed tribunes in rainy weather for the entire time.

uncle only after he himself had reached the age of maturity. The Romanian situation was in many respects like that in neighbouring Bulgaria whose modern kings were likewise of a Roman Catholic line, but who swore to baptise their descendents in the Orthodox state religion.³⁴ Ferdinand's son, the future Carol II, much against the per-

³⁴ In neighbouring Orthodox Bulgaria, where another Catholic Coburg had been called to the throne, the situation was even more involved. In 1893, Ferdinand of Bulgaria married Maria Luisa, the daughter of Robert, Duke of Parma. The Duke demanded that the children of the marriage (both parents were themselves practising Roman Catholics) be brought up as Catholics in spite of a provision in the Bulgarian constitution which ruled that the heir to the Bulgarian throne be baptised Orthodox. At a time of anti-Russian feeling in Bulgaria, Prime Minister Stefan Stambolov managed to amend the constitution to allow a Catholic heir. The new heir born nine months after the contraction of Ferdinand's marriage was the future Boris III of Bulgaria. He was christened a Roman Catholic by the papal legate in a ceremony held in the royal palace at Sofia and was given the names Boris Clement Robert Maria Pie Louis Stanislas Xavier. But there was much popular resentment in the country to his Catholic baptism as well as a desire to regain the good will of Russia. Ferdinand tried sending Dimitri Stancioff as an envoy to Leo XIII to secure the Pope's permission for an Orthodox baptism but the pope was infuriated and excommunicated Ferdinand, even after the king travelled personally to the Vatican to appease the pontiff. In response to the protests of Ferdinand, the pope advised him to abdicate. Ferdinand refused, kept the throne, re-baptised Boris as an Orthodox (Nikolaj II of Russia was his god-father) but later arranged a Catholic baptism for his three other children upon their birth, since the heir was the only one who needed to be Orthodox. The Vatican seemed appeased after Ferdinand made amendment by raising his younger children Catholic, although Rome was much angrier with the Bulgarian monarch than with his Romanian counterpart, since Boris was brought into the Orthodox church exclusively for political reasons after already being baptised the first time as a Catholic and was the son of a *good Catholic mother*. Ferdinand of Bulgaria, however, continued to practice his faith and even had two Catholic chapels in his palace and another at Euxinograd. In 1930, Boris married an Italian Catholic like his own mother — Giovanna was the daughter of the Italian king Vittorio Emanuele III and Queen Elena, herself a Montenegrin princess raised within the Russian Empire and originally of Orthodox faith. Giovanna became *Carica Ioanna* of Bulgaria after her marriage to Boris in a Roman Catholic ceremony at Assisi. But the Orthodox hierarchy insisted at least on a blessing ceremony when the bridal pair returned to Sofia. Pius XI heard about the *second marriage* and severely rebuked the papal nuncio, who at the time was Angelo Roncalli, the future John XXIII. John XXIII referred to the incident in his famous *Journal of a Soul*. There was also controversy surrounding the provisions for Boris' children. The pope demanded that Boris write him a handwritten letter stating his promise to raise his children as Catholics. When the Italian king interceded, thinking the pope overly harsh, Boris was only asked to countersign his wife's declaration to that effect. But the situation exploded yet a third time when Giovanna gave birth to Princess Maria-Luisa who was baptised Orthodox in a private ceremony in the palace chapel to satisfy Bulgarian national feeling. The Bulgarians asked both Mussolini and the Italian king to intercede with the Vatican, but both thought the matter of little consequence. The Vatican issued a protest and Roncalli wrote a formal letter complaining of outrages (*soprusti*) to the human conscience. The queen, however, was not excommunicated but only asked to attend mass privately in Roncalli's chapel rather

sonal preference of his father, was baptised and educated as an Orthodox. This decision, in turn, alienated Ferdinand, much against his will, from the Roman Church, since he earned an automatic excommunication and was debarred from taking communion for refusing to bring up his children in the Roman Catholic faith. This interdict was only rescinded towards the end of Ferdinand's life and was the cause of great personal anguish.³⁵ Just before his death, the dying

than in Sofia's Catholic church. Compare Stephane Groueff, *Crown of Thorns* (Lanham 1987), 29-31; 172-178; 180-185.

³⁵ Ferdinand was partially pardoned in 1920, one year after Barbu Știrbey, a noted Romanian statesman, had visited Rome and pleaded the case of the king, but actually the affair still went on. It had a long history, beginning with Ferdinand's marriage to Marie and the dual Roman Catholic-Protestant ceremony. In spite of the fact that Ferdinand agreed to bring up his children as Catholics, in accord with the strict Catholic policy of the times, they were all later baptised Orthodox. In 1900, Rome forbade Ferdinand to take his Easter communion, thus imposing a *de facto* excommunication. In solidarity with his nephew, Carol I also ceased taking communion. In 1906, Pius X, at the request of Dimitrie Sturdza, ordered a new investigation of the case. In the same year, Rome explained to Ferdinand that divine law obligated him to raise his children as Roman Catholics, something from which even the pope could not dispense him. Catholic Archbishop Raymund Netzhhammer of Bucharest received a list of conditions — they included providing a Catholic education for his children, apologising to them on account of their Orthodox baptism, making just amendment for his failure and publishing the fact of his Easter communion, once absolved, in the Romanian newspaper — for the reconciliation of Ferdinand with the Roman Catholic church. But all this was to no avail — Ferdinand continued to raise all his children Orthodox. In 1910, Ioan Brătianu personally asked the pope to change his mind, but was refused. Ferdinand's younger children Ileana and Mircea were given an Orthodox baptism in the throne room of the palace accompanied by much pomp. During World War I, another attempt at reconciliation was made from Iași, where the king was staying. Ferdinand gave his word (an oral promise) that he would fulfil the conditions demanded by Rome. In January 1920, he was absolved by Ulderich Cipolloni *in foro externo* and at Easter his confessor, Josef d'Ester, absolved him *in foro interno* and finally gave him communion. But during that year, Ferdinand still did not keep his promise to at least raise his daughter, Ileana, as a Catholic and d'Ester again refused him communion at Easter 1921. Ferdinand appealed to the papal nuncio, Francesco Marmaggi, who obtained easier conditions from the pope. Ferdinand was again absolved and publicly took Easter communion in the Bucharest cathedral on Trinity Sunday. Ileana was given a Roman Catholic Italian teacher who actually did nothing to teach her his religion. Instead, an Orthodox priest gave her one and a half hours weekly of religious instruction. In 1922, Cardinal Merry del Val asked Archbishop Netzhhammer to give an account of Ileana's religious instruction. Netzhhammer explained the situation, but Marmaggi was infuriated and denounced the archbishop to Constantin Banu, the Roman minister of education. Banu warned Netzhhammer that Marmaggi was attempting to ruin him but Netzhhammer defended himself as having correctly handled the situation. But in fact, this was probably one of the circumstances which led to the archbishop's dismissal and recall. Ironically, Ileana, whose defective Catholic religious education had caused everyone so many worries, was the only one of Ferdinand's children to take her Orthodox religion seriously. After

monarch of a predominantly Orthodox land received extreme unction from a Roman Catholic priest. But the funeral which followed was an Orthodox one.

His son, Carol II, grew up a rather indifferent Orthodox. In later life, he was lax in his religious duties and obviously not above causing moral scandal and flouting Christian teachings. He attended church and the sacraments only on occasion and was hardly a devout believer. But he did formally practise Orthodoxy and used the Orthodox Church as an instrument in his own political designs.³⁶ Both Carol I and Ferdinand I headed a government constituted by the Romanian liberal party which earned the criticism of official Orthodox historiography. A moment of prolonged conflict between government and church as well as between Romanian Orthodoxy and Catholicism of both rites occurred during the long preparations and the eventual signing and ratification of a concordat between Romania and the Holy See in 1927.

GREATER ROMANIA: AN ALTERED RELIGIOUS STATUS QUO

After the First World War and the creation of Greater Romania,³⁷ the number of Romanian citizens belonging to national minorities, as well as the number of Roman Catholic faithful, dramatically increased within a still primarily Orthodox, ethnically Romanian state. Every third Romanian citizen was now a member of an ethnic minority — Hungarian, German, Bulgarian, Serb or Russian. Together with a dramatic rise in total population — from seven point two to eighteen million inhabitants (75% Romanians, 8% Hungarians, 5.6% Jews, 4.3% Germans, 3% Russians and other eastern Slavs) — an increase

two failed marriages, she died as Maica (= Mother) Alexandra, the abbess of an Orthodox convent in the United States. Raymund Netzhammer, *Bischof in Rumänien. Im Spannungsfeld zwischen Staat und Vatikan* (München 1996) II, 1330-1333 (see also the book review published in OCP 69 [2003] 523-530).

³⁶ One author described Carol II' superficial religiosity: Carol was not a religious man and usually did not go to church, but he wrote that he felt *like a Christian*. Once after going to confession he stated: "I feel that this symbolic communication between God and man cannot but help man." Paul D. Quinlan, *The Playboy King. Carol II of Romania* (Westport/London 1995), 198.

³⁷ In 1919, the physical space of Romania was increased from 137.000 square kilometres to 294.000 square kilometres with the addition of several new territories: Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transylvania, as well as parts of eastern Hungary, the Banat and Dobrugea. Compare Gabriel Adriányi, *Geschichte der Kirche Osteuropas im 20. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn 1992), 125.

of more than fifty per cent³⁸ — Romania's Catholic population also rose. Some two million souls were added to the previously insignificant figure of one hundred fifty thousands. Catholics composed slightly less than a third of the total population or about twenty-nine per cent as compared with the larger Orthodox element (57%) and small group of Protestants and Jews (14%). But the Catholic majority was centred in Transylvania and the Banat, with only small enclaves in Moldavia and at Bucharest. State policy differed sharply in its treatment of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic minorities during the nineteen twenties.³⁹

LATIN CATHOLIC DISCONTENT

Latin rite Catholics in Transylvania were mostly ethnic Hungarians and were in general very dissatisfied with the new Romanian administration. Of course, they were first and foremost infuriated by the new political situation in which they were no longer masters in what they felt was their own homeland, but were forced to obey Romanian overlords whom they traditionally disdained as culturally and socially inferior. They lamented that the policies of the Romanian liberal party officially treated Hungarian land owners in Transylvania as foreigners, expropriated their property and robbed them of their long accumulated wealth. Roman Catholic church officials suffered along with their brethren in the world.⁴⁰

³⁸ Adriányi, 125.

³⁹ Roman Latin Catholics dioceses in Romania were the following: Bucharest, Iași in Moldavia and the following in Transylvania and Banat: Alba Julia (Gyulafehérvár-Erdély), Satu Mare (Szatmár), Oradea Mare (Nagyvárad) and Cenad (Csanád). In 1930, Satu Mare was combined with Oradea Mare and Cenad (Csanád) with Szeged in Hungary while the diocese of Timișoara (Temesvár) was created for the area which remained in Romania. Greek Catholics had Făgăraș-Alba Julia (Blaj), Oradea Mare, Lugoj, Cluj-Gherla and Maramureș, the last founded in 1930.

⁴⁰ Soon after the establishment of the new government, several Roman Catholic clergymen were ill treated or deported to Hungary. In 1919, Bishop Majláth of Alba Julia, his cathedral chapter and the town clergy were placed under house arrest. In September of the same year, the bishop complained to the Paris peace conference asking that an international commission be sent to Transylvania to investigate conditions, since he claimed the government was interfering in the administration and pastoral work of his diocese. In 1921, Roman Catholic officials claimed the Romanian government's agrarian reform favoured Orthodox and Romanian interests in Transylvania but penalised the Latin church, stripping it of most of its property. They accused the government of assuming the old role of patronage exercised by Hungary and its successors, placing church property under the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, in order to exploit rather than defend it. Roman Catholic private schools

The articles of the Romanian Orthodox publicist and polemicist Onisifor Ghibu, professor at Cluj University, helped to fire tempers in an already eruptive atmosphere. Ghibu insisted on the abrogation of the special *Status Catholicus* or system of legal and economic guarantees particular to the Roman Catholic Church structure in Transylvania, on which it had depended since the seventeenth century.⁴¹ According to Ghibu and some other official Romanian Orthodox historians, the *Status* amounted to a set of autonomous legal rights which transformed the Roman Catholic church of Transylvania into a type of *state within the state*, a structure which could not be tolerated within a modern democratic system. In 1924, Ghibu's charges caused Ioan Bianu, an Orthodox senator, to demand a state investigation of the *Status*. Romanian government officials began to harass Roman Catholic bishops and question the appropriateness of the entire system. In some places, Roman Catholic churches were confiscated by the authorities. At the same time, the government hoped by means of a projected *Accordo* with the Vatican to alter the distribution of Latin rite Catholic properties which were administered by Hungarians and place them in the hands of Greek Catholics, regarded more favourably by the government since they were of Romanian ethnicity. Greek Catholics, on the other hand, claimed that the Latin rite bishops were seeking to incorporate their own properties within the disputed *Status*. An agreement with Rome was reached in 1932, but in the face of renewed polemic, Romanian courts refused to recognise it and the project was shelved. Meanwhile, Latin rite Catholics were forced to relinquish several properties to the Uniats, including the Minorite

were also denied government subsidies. Voluntary contributions by the faithful in support of the foundations were also forbidden by the state. This signalled the beginning of government action against the schools of the ethnic minorities: transferring Romanian teachers to Hungarian and German schools, obliging students to take final examinations exclusively in Romanian, suppressing Roman Catholic schools — tactics which had been previously used against the Romanians themselves by the Austro-Hungarian regime in Transylvania. On 14 November 1924, Majláth objected to these measures in Parliament with little success. A year later, he protested together with Protestant groups to the League of Nations in Geneva, claiming that Romania had violated the treaty signed in Paris in 1919 guaranteeing the rights of national minorities. But this only exacerbated the situation. In 1922, the government relieved Bishop Glattfelder of Timișoara of his jurisdiction. A year later, he was forced to transfer his residence to Szeged (Hungary), where he continued to govern the portion of his diocese which was under Hungarian administration. Compare Adriányi, 126-127.

⁴¹ The *Status Catholicus Transylvaniae* was founded in 1698 and functioned as the juridical manager of the wealth of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania. Roman Catholic Hungarians claimed that its property was to a large part expropriated by the Romanian state after the annexation of Transylvania.

church and the church at Monastir. In 1938, just after the proposal of Pangal's project to de Régis, Romanian authorities agreed once more to examine the *Accordo* and it was finally signed three years later.

Meanwhile, other legislation also disturbed the Latin Catholics. In 1928, the *Law on Religion* was promulgated by the government. Favourable to the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches, which it explicitly recognised as ecclesiastical bodies or *churches*, it characterised all other religious groups in Romania including the Roman Catholic church of Latin rite as mere *cults*. Latin rite Catholics complained that this law subjected the activities of all non-ethnically Romanian churches to a type of police control. It prevented them from accepting aid from their co-religionists outside Romania, limited members' donations and allowed state authorities to interfere in inner church life. Latin Catholics were not the only ones to lament. Hungarian Protestants also claimed that some of their own properties had been unjustly requisitioned by the state and handed over to the Romanian Greek Catholics. Finally, Latin Catholics and Protestants asserted that the *congrua* or government subsidy of clergy was no longer distributed equally by the Romanian administration. Until 1932, Bucharest distributed it fairly, treating all clergy equally. But after these first ten years, it made it contingent on the number of faithful — a measure which favoured the Orthodox and penalised the smaller churches and their clergy which were condemned to dire poverty. Sometimes, clerics were deprived of their *congrua* on the charge of Hungarian irredentism — accusations which were never thoroughly investigated. Hungarian children were sometimes forced to attend Orthodox or Uniat liturgical services. In 1930, the government began to press for the conversion of the Székely minority to a Romanian national church. After 1937, all missionary work by churches dubbed *non-traditional* became impossible.⁴²

⁴² For this section regarding the reaction of Hungarian Roman Catholics to Romanian rule, I have depended on Sabrina P. Ramet, "Holy Intolerance: Romania's Orthodox Church" *Nihil Obstat. Religion, Politics and Social Change in East-Central Europe and Russia* (Durham/London 1998), 187-189 who repeats the accusations made by Sándor Bíró, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania 1867-1940* (New York 1992). Naturally, this represents the Hungarian point of view. The Romanian interpretation is summarised in the following section.

OFFICIAL ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE

Official Romanian ecclesiastical historiography saw the situation in a completely different light. The government which ruled from 1922-1926 is categorised as secularist and guided by the interests of the *liberal* party. The Roman Catholic *problem* was viewed as particularly delicate since the vast majority of Latin rite Catholics were of non-Romanian ethnicity and depended on the Pope — the head of their church who resided outside the frontiers of the Romanian state. The changing borders had split dioceses which were formerly integrally Hungarian. In some cases, bishops now residing in Romania had parishes still located in Hungary. Furthermore, Raymund Netzhammer, the Latin Archbishop of Bucharest was himself a Swiss-German, a non-Romanian who had shown pro-German sympathies during the First World War when Romania, in spite of its Hohenzollern monarch had fought on the side of the Entente. Since 1920, the government had been dialoguing with Rome and succeeded in establishing a Romanian legation to the Vatican and a nunciature at Bucharest. Two projects for a concordat, both very favourable to Rome, had been proposed by the Romanians to the Holy See but were rejected. Finally, the exasperated government was itself forced to repudiate them. Throughout all this time, the Roman Catholic church enjoyed a full exercise of its rights — a situation which led to chauvinistic abuses harmful to Romanian sovereignty. Francesco Marmaggi (1876-1949), the nuncio, interfered in state business — an affair which caused the government to demand his removal. Bishop Julius Glattfelder de Mor of Timișoara released a pastoral letter, in which he expressed sentiments *tinged with jingoism* regarding Romania. The Romanian administration urged his expulsion. A delegation calling itself a *People's Union of Transylvanian Roman Catholics* organised a pilgrimage to Rome where they defended the cause of Latin Catholics in Transylvania and pleaded that Bishop György (Gustáv) Károly Majláth of Alba Iulia be given a cardinal's hat. Roman Catholic clerics from within Romania addressed numerous petitions to the Vatican complaining of the way they were treated by the government. But officials of the liberal party installed at Bucharest did not react to these provocations in any decisive way. On the contrary, and with the approval of Ferdinand I, a confirmed Roman Catholic, it attempted to renew contacts with the Vatican and worked toward the signing of a concordat.⁴³

⁴³ The Romanian view-point is taken from Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 3 (București 1981), 398-399. It should be noted that this monumen-

GREEK CATHOLICS IN A NEW ROMANIA

The situation of Romanian Greek Catholics during these years of mercurial ecclesiastical politicking is unusual. Unlike the situation in other countries with an Orthodox majority, Uniats were generally not a persecuted minority, fighting for their very existence. On the contrary, they enjoyed the status of a protected, if not privileged, contingent, who because of their shared ethnicity with the Orthodox, were consistently favoured over their Latin counterparts — a situation which continued until the coming of Communism and the whole-scale destruction of their communities.

But they were too miniscule and isolated in Romanian society to actually promote Catholicism within the Orthodox majority. Instead, they soon found themselves in danger of absorption and soon had to fight to be heard. At the time of the incorporation of Transylvania into Greater Romania, both Greek Catholic and Orthodox groups in Transylvania were without a metropolitan on the throne and lesser bishops took their place at the unification conferences. This caused Greek Catholics to hope that a common metropolitan for both groups could be elected, after resolving their theological differences. Feelers were sent out to test the readiness of the Orthodox for dialogue. All hopes for any sort of union were soon dashed after the publication of an article in the Orthodox press which called for amalgamation of the Uniats within the Orthodox fold. A sharp refusal on the part of the Greek Catholics sealed the issue. Orthodox and Greek Catholics were to remain separate, rival bodies within the new Romania.⁴⁴

This did not eliminate all friendly feeling towards the Greek Catholics. The new constitution of 1923, which guaranteed freedom of religion and conscience, declared both the Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church to be national *Romanian Churches*. The former was once again defined as the dominant religious confession in the land while the latter was considered to have precedence over all other religious groups. All Greek Catholic bishops were given seats in the senate. During this era, the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Greek Catholic churches were often referred to as *sister churches* or even *Romanian national churches*. The *Law on Religion* promulgated in 1928 aimed at regulating the existence of those *national churches* associated with particular ethnic groups and in-

tal work was published during the Communist regime and cannot be free from ideological prejudice.

⁴⁴ Suttner, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte der Rumänen*, op. cit., 32-33.

cluded the Romanian Greek Catholics. It instituted legislation assuring them protection from the incursion of *foreign sectarians* — a deliberately ambiguous term which included indigenous Baptists and Adventists.

A CONCORDAT

It was against this complex background of internal ecclesiastical politics that plans for signing the concordat between the Holy See and the Romanian government continued. Romanian Orthodox official historiography asserts that the initiative derived from the Romanian government led by the liberal party — during the brief period from 1924-1928 three different cabinet ministries held power, all with a similar political agenda — rather than with the Vatican which was already more than content with the status quo which already awarded Roman Catholics sufficient advantages.⁴⁵ In 1924, Angelo

⁴⁵ Actually, it would seem that Demeter Radu, Greek Catholic bishop of Oradea Mare, as early as January 1920, suggested in the name of the Romanian government the idea of a concordat to the Vatican. But the demands of the government were seen as excessive (the assumption of patronage over Roman Catholic church property and the nomination of bishops — rights which previously belonged to the apostolic kings of Hungary, and the merging and consequent reduction of Roman Catholic dioceses in Transylvania) and the first project was shelved especially after the protests of the Hungarian bishops' conference. At the beginning of 1921, a second attempt at a concordat was made, inspired this time by the Uniat priest-activist Vasile Lucaciu. But the Hungarian bishops' conference judged it even worse than the first and urged Rome to reject it. In March 1922, Brătianu's government sent its minister of education to Rome in order to negotiate an accord, but after initial success, it was decided that it was impossible to proceed further, given the fundamental divergence of opinion. Finally in 1924, a third try met with more success. The Vatican wished to reach an accord with the Romanian agrarian reform, agreed to place all the dioceses under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop-Metropolitan of Bucharest and allowed the state the right of arbitration in the administration of Roman Catholic church property (= *Patrimonium Sacrum*) as well as provided the government the authority to guarantee the rights of the private schools. Majláth and the Hungarian bishops were prepared to accept these terms but the Romanian government and Orthodox church were not, since they claimed that they were too favourable to the Catholic and Hungarian side. A campaign by the Orthodox church against the concordat followed accompanied by protests and demonstrations which in turn led to contra-protests and contra-demonstrations by the Catholic side. Negotiations for and against the concordat led to the recall of the German born Archbishop of Bucharest, Raymund Netzhammer, and his replacement with Alexandru Cisar in 1924, but eventually came to a halt. They were resumed in January 1926 by Dimitri Pennescu, Romanian envoy to the Vatican. It was hoped to reach an agreement within three months but further demands from Bucharest made this impossible. Finally in April 1927, the minister of education of the Avarescu regime was able, despite the renewed protests of the Orthodox, to prepare a

Dolci, apostolic nuncio at Bucharest, presented the Romanians with a plan for a concordat. Constantin Banu, minister of education and culture, as well as Zenovie Piclișanu, an official who happened to be a Greek Catholic, were dispatched to Rome for negotiations. According to the Orthodox, the new programme conceived at Rome amounted to little but a series of concessions to the Roman Catholic Church. In the meantime, the cabinet ministry of Ion I. C. Brătianu suddenly crashed and was replaced with a new more conservative government led by General Alexandru Averescu. During this time, the king exerted his influence in favour of the concordat. Discussions resumed from 27 April 1927 until 10 May of the same year and ended finally with its signing. The Romanian government was represented by Vasile Goldiș, the new cultural minister. Pietro Cardinal Gasparri signed the document on behalf of the Holy See.

But a press campaign led by conservative Orthodox newspapermen had already begun to turn a hot headed public violently against the concordat. Nichifor Crainic had already linked Romanian popular religiosity with the spirit of the provincial village, definitively opposed to foreign and especially western, democratic influences. The only true path for modern Romania to follow, according to this ideology, was an isolationist distortion of Byzantine Orthodoxy. Unfortunately, these xenophobic tendencies later bore fruit in the spread of anti-Semitism and the ideology of quasi-fascist groups such as the Iron Guard. Onisifor Ghibu, whom we have already seen as critical of the Latin church in Transylvania, now examined the concordat which he virulently denounced. For many Orthodox polemicists of the time, the concordat was clearly un-constitutional. Relations between religious bodies and the government were, according to their opinion, to be regulated from within the Romanian legal system. The concordat, on the other hand, attempted to grant the Roman Catholic church — in reality nothing more than a *minority cult* — the status of a *state within a state*. Relations between the state and the Orthodox church as well as with other Romanian religious bodies were dictated by Romanian law. Only the Roman Catholic church presumed to be an exception since it had been granted equal status to that of the state and was given the status of an entity outside of Romanian law. One cannot but suppress a smile at the fact that the Romanian Orthodox

satisfactory variant of the text of the concordat in Rome. On 10 May 1927, this text was signed in private by the Romanian minister and Cardinal Gasparri. Adriányi 128-129.

clearly seemed jealous of the status attained by their Catholic opponents through the concordat.⁴⁶

Orthodox official historiography dates the opposition to the concordat to an article which appeared on 8 February 1928 in the *Telegraful Român*, a newspaper based at Sibiu in Transylvania, which greatly influenced public opinion against the decree. But much more decisive were the allocutions made in the Romanian Senate rejecting the concordat both before and after the signing of the document by Patriarch Miron Cristea and especially by Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan.⁴⁷ Especially vehement was the latter's rhetoric in a discourse delivered on 27 March 1928, denouncing the newly proposed *Legea Cultelor* or *Law on Religion*, designed by the government as a first step to pave the way for the concordat.⁴⁸ Even after the concordat was signed, Bălan continued his tirades. On 23 May 1929, he again addressed the Senate and characterised the concordat as anti-constitutional, bestowing exceptional and exclusive rights on the Roman Catholic *cult*, injurious to the Romanian Orthodox Church, troubling

⁴⁶ The text of the concordat was organised into twenty-four paragraphs and regulated church-state relations in Romania. Among other points, it guaranteed freedom for the public practice of the Roman Catholic faith within the country. It established a new hierarchical structure, separated dioceses from former territories which found themselves outside the borders of the country, guaranteed Catholic bishops freedom of contact with the Holy See, recognised episcopal autonomy of jurisdiction, guaranteed jurisdictional personality to *all canonically established organisations of the church*, and established an inter-diocesan fund of church property (*Patrimonium Sacrum*) which would be subject to the administration of a bishops' council, composed of all the bishops. The concordat guaranteed the function of seminaries, private church-run schools, religious education and the religious orders. The Vatican allowed the revised organisation of dioceses in accord with the will of the government, gave the state the right of veto in the case of the nomination of bishops as well as the right to supervise questions of property and the schools. It obligated the bishops to pronounce an oath of obedience to Romania — this last to acquiesce a particular demand of the government. Although the Orthodox considered the concordat much too favourable to Roman Catholics, the latter found a number of clauses unsatisfactory, especially those which too vaguely delineated the role of the government in church affairs and which could be interpreted in a contradictory sense. They pointed out that schools, church organisations and religious orders were allowed to exercise their freedom *in as much as this corresponded to the laws of the state*. Finally, the *Status Catholicus* or independently administered property fund of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic church was never mentioned *expressis verbis* and came under the general heading of canonical organisations — a loophole which allowed the government to attempt its disestablishment. Adriányi, 129-130.

⁴⁷ Bălan made his opinion known in print in his brochure *Biserica neamului și drepturile ei* (București 1927).

⁴⁸ Compare the speeches in *Biserica noastră și cultele minoritare. Marea discuție parlamentară în jurul Legii cultelor* (București 1928).

the peace among religious confessions within the country and finally, essentially un-patriotic.⁴⁹ Neither was the Transylvanian Metropolitan a friend of Romanian Greek Catholics. After having become Orthodox Metropolitan of Sibiu, he declared as one of his prime objectives the return of Romanian Greek Catholics into the Orthodox fold. Known in government circles for being difficult — *heftig und ein Streithahn*⁵⁰ — he was one of the prominent voices after the Communist take-over to seek the suppression of the Uniat Church.⁵¹

Around the same time, Romanian Greek Catholics manifested their own discontent to recently instituted religious legislation — but for entirely different reasons. The *Law on Religion* of 1928 directed that in the case of a mass conversion of the members of a parish to another religious confession (Greek Catholic to Orthodox, for example), the property of the parish would immediately pass to the religious confession whose members were now in the majority. Greek Catholics claimed this arrangement to be completely contradictory to Catholic canon law which holds that the property of a Catholic parish belongs exclusively to the bishop. To oppose the bill, Greek Catholics organised mass demonstrations in several Transylvanian cities, often accompanied by ugly confrontations with local police. At the same time as Orthodox leaders spoke out against the concordat in the Senate, the Greek Catholic bishop Iuliu Hossu denounced this controversial clause. As a result, the article was dropped from the definitive text of the law.⁵²

But in spite of all controversy, the government seemed determined to bring to fruition the final ratification of the concordat by the state.

⁴⁹ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 3 (București 1981), 401.

⁵⁰ These are the words of King Ferdinand as cited by Archbishop Netzhhammer. Netzhhammer 1440.

⁵¹ Following the coup of August 1944, Bălan wrote Aleksij, future patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church but at the time still Metropolitan of Leningrad, that the Romanian nation had grown weak because of Uniat defection during the eighteenth century. Compare Michael Shafir, *Romania. Politics, Economics and Society. Political Stagnation and Simulated Change* (Boulder 1985), 153. But even earlier, his negative opinion of the Uniats was well known. Netzhhammer reported that he objected to the presence of Uniat clerical representatives in an Orthodox church to celebrate a Romanian national holiday: "Es ist bekannt dass er (Bălan) auf die unierten Rumänen nicht gut zu sprechen ist; er habe auch in Avrig erklärt, dass die Unierten in der orthodoxen Kirche nichts zu suchen haben." Netzhhammer 1267.

⁵² Compare Constantin Iordachi, *Politics and Inter-Confessional Strife in post-1989 Romania. From Competition for Resources to Redefining National Ideology*, Internet Source.

But there was hesitation. Nicolae Titulescu,⁵³ who at the time was still foreign minister, was one of those who wished to delay the issue. He demanded more complete explanations of certain clauses regarding the issue of the Catholic Church as a legal person and that of religious education as well as attempted to further extend the rights of the government. On 28 July 1928, Titulescu asked the Vatican to limit the autonomy accorded by the concordat to include only those institutions specifically mentioned in the document's text, thereby obviating the *Status Catholicus* of the Transylvanian Latin Catholics. He likewise asked that a clause permitting private church schools to choose their language of instruction be extended only to those schools in which Romanian had still not been introduced. Not wishing to create further complications, Rome acceded to both proposals. But by the end of 1928, the cabinet ministry again fell and was replaced by another, headed by a Greek Catholic. A man of high personal morality but an avowed opponent of Hungarian interests in Transylvania, Iuliu Maniu was chief of the conservative Nationalist-Peasant Party (*național-țărănist*) and had previously been employed as the lawyer of the Uniat Metropolitan. It was under his leadership that the concordat was ratified by the Romanian Senate during May 1929 and became law on 7 July 1929. It was promulgated by the Vatican on 2 September 1929 by the apostolic constitution *Solemni conventione*.

But discordant voices within Romanian society and the Orthodox church continued to demand the immediate dismemberment of the *Status Catholicus* which they insisted had not been specifically mentioned in the concordat and whose existence was therefore uncanonical. The government unilaterally suspended the existence of the *Status* and began to sue for the confiscation of property belonging to Catholic religious orders, whose legal personality had likewise not been specifically mentioned. Negotiations dragged on in Rome, but the Vatican, this time, refused concessions. Finally on 30 May 1930, Valer Pop, another Greek Catholic minister, signed another agreement with Rome which more or less legalised the existence of the

⁵³ By December 1937, Nicolae Titulescu — a leading figure on the Romanian political scene who guided the country through the hazardous interwar period, had already been forced to retire and lived as an ex-patriot in comfortable exile in France. Future research, preferably in Romanian national archives, must determine whether Titulescu played any role in the formulation of this project for the union of the churches which is the subject of our study. On Titulescu and his career compare I.M. Oprea, *Nicolae Titulescu's Diplomatic Activity* (Bucharest 1968).

Status Catholicus.⁵⁴ This was the so-called *Accordo* or *Roman Accord* which has already been mentioned and which appeared as a supplement to the concordat.⁵⁵ Critics⁵⁶ pointed out that Pop hoped by means of the *Accordo* to effect a transmutation of properties belonging exclusively to the Latin rite community into general *Catholic properties*, an arrangement which would benefit the Greek Catholics at the expense of the Latins. An official Orthodox historian claimed to this effect, that the holdings of the Latin Catholic church in Transylvania amounted to an immense fortune.⁵⁷

In spite of Orthodox opposition and perhaps envy, the Catholic Church was indeed granted exceptional status by the concordat and allowed to control its own schools and institutions. Orphanages, hospitals and schools were all supposedly free from state control but this only added fuel to the Orthodox argument that the Catholic church enjoyed the status of a state within a state. Likewise, they accused the government of employing a proportionally greater number of Catholic priests and advisers and giving them better salaries than their Orthodox counterparts.⁵⁸

Did this supposedly *privileged* situation of the Catholic Church of both rites in pre-World War II Romania — at least as the Romanian Orthodox themselves imagined it — play a role in spurring the Orthodox to hope for a better position for their own community in case they accepted union with Rome? The question is intriguing but the answer unresolved.

⁵⁴ Actually the name of the *Status* was altered to the *Council of the Transylvanian Dioceses*, but its existence was approved together with its property, although it was placed under the supervision of the Romanian government. Adriányi 131.

⁵⁵ Soon after the conclusion of negotiations, extremists began a campaign demanding the abrogation of the *Accordo*, just as they had already fought against the concordat. Ratification of the *Accordo* was delayed. It was neither signed by the king nor did its text appear in any official Romanian publication. In 1938, those who were charged with the administration of the estate of the *Status* were summoned before a military tribunal and accused of "embezzlement and abusive handling of state property". But the general political situation in Europe eventually forced the Romanian government to give way. On 2 March 1940, Carol II ratified the *Accordo* and recognised the Catholic religious houses as juridical persons. But one of the first measures of Romania's Communist regime was the definitive breaking of the concordat (17 July 1948). Adriányi, 131.

⁵⁶ Compare Sabrina P. Ramet, "Holy Intolerance: Romania's Orthodox Church" *Nihil Obstat. Religion, Politics and Social Change in East-Central Europe and Russia* (Durham/London 1998), 187.

⁵⁷ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 3 (București 1981), 401.

⁵⁸ Constantin Iordachi, *Politics and Inter-Confessional Strife in post-1989 Romania. From Competition for Resources to Redefining National Ideology*, Internet Source.

A ROYAL DICTATORSHIP

The nineteen-thirties saw the rise of the fascist inspired *League of the Archangel Michael (Iron Guard)* under the leadership of Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu. Essentially anti-semitic and extremist in character, it encouraged Orthodox Christian identity and the practice of the faith while turning a blind eye to moral practice definitely not in line with Orthodox doctrine. Since many guardists were favourable to the state church, Orthodox authorities, at least at first, saw no reason to oppose their leaders or their ideology. Miron (Cristea) himself often demonstrated an ambiguous attitude toward fascism and peppered his sermons with anti-semitic polemic. Carol II, on the other hand, radically changed his position on the guardists from one of limited support to definitive opposition (and back again!), mainly because he saw them as a threat to his own gamble for absolute political power. On 29-30 November 1938, a year after the proposal for Roman union, the king allowed the assassination of Codreanu and his principle associates. Patriarch Miron (Cristea) withdrew all support from the now prostrate *Legion* and later justified the action as regrettable but necessary "if one recalled that those who died were themselves assassins and murderers who threatened the tranquillity of the entire state."⁵⁹ Hitler was enraged and commanded German officials who had been awarded medals by Carol II to immediately return them to the Romanian king. Soon after in December, Carol II succeeded in disbanding all political parties, proclaiming his own *Front of National Rebirth* and establishing a royal dictatorship.⁶⁰ It is a moot point

⁵⁹ Paul D. Quinlan, *The Playboy King. Carol II of Romania* (Westport/London 1995), 193.

⁶⁰ But Carol II's dictatorship was not completely totalitarian in character and cannot be compared to Nazi Germany. Moreover, Carol employed several tactics in order to avoid falling into a position totally subservient to Hitler's Germany and kept on the side of England and France in case of a conflict. In the words of one expert: "But Carol was not a Hitler and Romania was a Balkan country, not Germany...The royal dictatorship was neither a tyranny nor a totalitarian regime. On paper, Carol was practically supreme. He even adopted numerous fascist trappings for the Front of National Rebirth, such as special uniforms, ceremonies, slogans and even the Roman salute. But it was mostly window dressing; few took it seriously. In typical Romanian fashion what existed legally and what existed in reality were often quite different. Essentially the government's terror tactics were only directed against the Legion, not the other political parties. Although illegal, the political parties continued to exist, and Carol even consulted with their leaders. The Cabinet, the army, and various government agencies remained centres of power and influence. Even the censoring of the press was only half-hearted. In reality, the royal dictatorship was little more than a ramshackle authoritarian regime. And while the royal dictatorship did mark the end of what little was left of democracy in Romania, it also could boast of some accom-

whether this move had been secretly projected by the king, in some form, and as early as autumn 1937. Did the king hope to weaken Orthodox church influence, so fervently defended by certain members of the Iron Guard — which he might already have planned to overthrow and oppose — by proclaiming a union with Catholic Rome?

TWO CATHOLICS OBSERVERS: RAYMUND NETZHAMMER AND MICHEL D'HERBIGNY

Two Roman Catholic clerics may be called upon to assess the religious climate in Romania between the two world wars. Both left accounts of their stay in the country and both were familiar with questions regarding the Christian East and were personally acquainted with higher dignitaries of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox worlds. Coincidentally, both the Benedictine and the Jesuit ultimately shared a similar fate, justly or unjustly dismissed from their eminent posts and dying in exile.

I. *Raymund Netzhammer*⁶¹ in Romania: A Moderate Pessimist

Raymund Netzhammer, Benedictine Roman Catholic archbishop of Bucharest before, during and for a few years after the First World War, knew Romania much better than d'Herbigny. He had mastered the language, was a well known figure in government circles and en-

plishments." Quinlan, *Playboy*..., 194. Also compare Paul D. Quinlan, "King Carol II and Germany", *Romanian Culture and Nationalism: a Tribute to Radu Florescu in East European Monographs* (New York 1998), 58-69.

⁶¹ Albin (Raymund was his monastic name) Netzhammer (1862-1945) was born of peasant parents at Erzingen (Baden), Germany near the Swiss border. He attended the classical gymnasium and the boarding school of the Benedictines at their abbey of Maria Einsiedeln in German speaking Switzerland, where he later entered the novitiate (1880), was professed (1884), and was ordained priest (1886). Netzhammer showed a marked interest in mathematics and the sciences and taught physics and chemistry. At the age of twenty-seven, he published his first book — a textbook of trigonometry. He developed interests in photography, radiology, spelunkery, topography, cartography and geography. In 1901, he published a study of Paracelsus, a mediaeval scientist and philosopher. In addition, he helped with building the new electrical organ of the abbey, during which time he first met Carol I of Romania and his consort who had come to Einsiedeln on a visit. In 1899, he was sent to Romania for the first time as superior of the seminary at Bucharest and as a math and science teacher. During this time, he began his study of Romanian, learned about Romanian culture and visited Orthodox monasteries and churches. He wrote a study of the Dobrogea, a region of Romania, in ancient times. In 1902, he was recalled to Einsiedeln,

joyed amicable relations with Carol I and Ferdinand. He took a vital interest in the history and geography of his adopted country and was one of few Catholics at the time to possess an intimate knowledge of Romanian Orthodox and Greek Catholic church life. Fortunately, Netzhhammer left detailed memoirs in the form of a diary for almost the whole of his time in Romania.⁶² In 1924, he was recalled — more than ten years before Pangal's visit to de Régis. The situation in Romania under Ferdinand was quite different to that under his successor Carol II, who seems to have been a guiding force in the proposal of 1938. But many of Netzhhammer's basic observations regarding religious affairs remained true until the coming of Communism after the Second World War. His comments deal primarily with two topics: Romanian Orthodoxy and Romanian Greek Catholicism.

Netzhhammer: The Romanian Orthodox

Netzhhammer met Miron Cristea on several occasions. He spoke of a mutually cordial if not friendly rapport with the future Romanian Orthodox patriarch and remarked on the latter's mastery of German which he had learned in Transylvania and which he liked to speak with Netzhhammer.⁶³ Netzhhammer also visited Orthodox monasteries and churches both in Bucharest as well as in the provinces and served as a guide to visiting Catholic clergy, a prominent example of whom was the princely scholar Max von Sachsen, who came to the Romanian capital in 1906. Netzhhammer was happy to present this

but a year later was sent to San Anselmo in Rome, where he assumed the duties of professor and minister (= *cellularius*). In 1904, he was appointed rector of the Collegio Greco. A year later, he was nominated archbishop of Bucharest. Netzhhammer did not wish to leave his abbey and Bucharest was viewed as a trying assignment, but he agreed only out of direct obedience to the pope who insisted. The monastic chapter was likewise against the appointment and wished to retain Netzhhammer. Netzhhammer remained in Bucharest for almost twenty years, during the reigns of Carol I and Ferdinand I. As archbishop, his accomplishments were many but he eventually came into conflict with the papal nuncio Francesco Marmaggi. On 12 June 1924, Netzhhammer was dismissed from his post for reasons which remain unclear and recalled. After a short time spent in Rome, he returned in 1927 to Einsiedeln, where he lived as a semi-hermit on the island of Werd, a possession of the abbey, until his death.

⁶² These were recently published in the form of two volumes as Raymund Netzhhammer, *Bischof in Rumänien. Im Spannungsfeld zwischen Staat und Vatikan*, I-II (München 1995-1996). The review of the volumes appeared in OCP 68 (2002) 523-530.

⁶³ Netzhhammer II, 963.

expert on all things eastern and Orthodox to the Romanian Orthodox bishops and took him to see the Cernica monastery near Bucharest.⁶⁴ Unlike other Catholics of the time, Netzhammer had few qualms about visiting Orthodox places of worship even during the times of services.

In his memoirs, Netzhammer recorded a few conversations with members of the Romanian intelligentsia who felt closer to Catholicism than to Orthodoxy. One of these was Nicolae Coculescu (1866-1952), a Bucharest astronomer who had studied in France and had attempted to introduce the Gregorian calendar under the auspices of premier minister Dimitrie Sturdza. Coculescu felt that Romania should unite with Rome as soon as possible so that after Romania would gain control of Transylvania — the conversation took place in 1915 — the country would fall completely in the western orbit. In the meantime, politicians and statesmen should spread the idea of union with Rome among the people. Coculescu, although he officially remained a member of the Orthodox church, has little respect for his co-religionists. Since the time of his studies, he had not been inside an Orthodox church building and attended Roman Catholic services when outside the country.⁶⁵ Coculescu's views, according to the archbishop, were somewhat typical for the westernised and to a certain degree secularised fringe of Romanian higher society.⁶⁶

During a papal audience with Pius XI in June 1922, Netzhammer described his own Catholic diocese and the way Catholics were viewed by the Orthodox. Romanian Latin rite Catholics were almost all members of ethnic minorities and were consequently treated as foreigners. But at the same time they were in peril of complete assimilation by the Orthodox especially in Bucharest and in the larger cities. Their loss of separate religious and cultural identity was well under way in the second generation and was completed by the third — and it occurred in spite of the fact that in Roman Catholic churches and schools everything was done to hinder it and even

⁶⁴ Netzhammer I, 106.

⁶⁵ Netzhammer I, 556.

⁶⁶ Others expressed similar sentiments. Even Nicolae Iorga, one of the greatest Romanian historians but usually no friend of Catholics, noted: "se i romeni avessero abbracciato il cattolicesimo almeno da quando i francescani erano venuti nei Principati nella prima metà del sec. XIII, da molto tempo avrebbero avuto una civiltà uguale a quella dei polacchi e degli ungheresi; ed anche oggi il clero ortodosso, se fosse capace di emulazione, non potrebbe che guadagnare dalla vicinanza del clero cattolico..." N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, xlvii-xlviii, cited by Pietro Tocanel, *Storia della chiesa cattolica in Romania. III Il vicariato apostolico e le missioni dei frati minori conventuali in Moldavia* (Padova 1965), 833.

though there was little formal pressure on the part of the Orthodox to convert. Latin rite Catholicism was making no progress and the faithful were only decreasing. But this notwithstanding, the Roman Catholic church as an institution was highly esteemed by many Orthodox. Attendance at mass and sermons was good and even the Orthodox came. On the other hand, the Orthodox really only attended in order to hear the music and the fancy rhetoric of the homilies, as they would at a concert or at the theatre — no conversions were produced. For this reason, the high Romanian aristocracy assisted at the florid Lenten and May-tide sermons of the renowned preacher Father Olivier — but once again with no practical result.⁶⁷ Netzhhammer did note the conversions of a few highly placed Romanian women, almost all of whom had attended Roman Catholic boarding schools. But once Catholic, they wished to have nothing to do with their native eastern rite and distanced themselves from any project involving church union. Their conversion stirred up resentment among the Orthodox while simultaneously fanning false hopes about the predispositions of Romanians to Catholicism in Roman curial circles.⁶⁸

The content of another conversation with a certain Tomolescu, a prominent lawyer of the liberal party, was reported to Netzhhammer and duly annotated in his diary. Tomolescu claimed that Romanian Uniats needed no bishop of their own in Bucharest since Uniats and Orthodox were being merged through negotiations currently (1919) taking place in Paris. The Romanian government demanded that Rome would cease to enjoy direct jurisdiction over the Uniats, but in return the Romanian state would acknowledge the dogmatic and canonical unity of the Romanian church with Rome — Rome being the axis not only of the entire church but of the entire world of Latin culture (*Latinität*). In the Romanian constitution, the place of Constantinople would be taken by Rome, but the Romanian church would preserve its basic autocephaly and consequently remain for all intents independent of both Constantinople and of Rome — an enviable position. The Metropolitan of Bucharest would be named patriarch of all Romanians and would assume rights over the entire Romanian church.⁶⁹ But many other more conservative Orthodox did not share the pro-Catholic sentiments of the elite astronomer or of this more politically astute lawyer.

⁶⁷ Netzhhammer II, 1156.

⁶⁸ Netzhhammer II, 1568.

⁶⁹ Netzhhammer II, 890.

A notable scandal had ensued in April 1910 when Joseph Baud (1859-1917), parish priest of the Roman Catholic cathedral of St. Joseph, announced a sensational *discovery*. Metropolitan Calinic Miclescu (1822-1886), Metropolitan of Moldavia (1865-1875) and later of Bucharest (1875-1886) and the first autocephalous metropolitan primate of the entire Romanian Orthodox church as well as the first Romanian prelate to confect chrism, had supposedly died a Catholic. At the same time, Baud denied rumours that Iosif Gheorghian (1829-1909), Calinic's successor in Bucharest, had similarly converted to Catholicism during his lifetime — there were rumours supporting even this claim. For his part, Netzhhammer noted that although Gheorghian had studied at the Sorbonne, a Catholic institution, and enjoyed a good rapport with him, the Orthodox prelate was no friend of Catholicism. But the case of Miclescu was much more serious and incited the conservative Orthodox of Bucharest to launch a fierce press campaign against the Catholics: meetings, demonstrations and even a public *Te Deum* celebrating the victory over the papists (*papistași*) and their Catholic propaganda (*propaganda catolică*) at which even the children of the Catholic Ferdinand assisted. Baud quickly published a retraction but was forced to leave Bucharest. But the whole affair was somewhat suspicious. Baud claimed that Calinic had become a Catholic on his deathbed, after he had been absolved by Catholic bishop Josef Palma. But he could produce no written proof of the incident. Later, however, a letter of Palma was discovered in which the Catholic prelate attested that he had not seen Calinic during the latter's last illness, but that he had seen him before the metropolitan departed to take the waters at a spa in 1886. Palma allegedly visited Calinic at his residence. Calinic wised to delay his profession of Catholicism until after his return from his cure, but Palma insisted he do it immediately and Calinic spoke the formula of Catholic profession repeating it after the Catholic bishop.⁷⁰

In spite of his usually friendly rapport with Orthodox prelates and parish clergy and his admiration, if not love, for the dignity and pomp of Orthodox worship, Netzhhammer was no precursor of contemporary ecumenism. His prejudices were typical of Catholics of his time. In a letter dated 1917, addressed to the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister Count Ottokar Czernin, he wrote of the dangers of *Orthodoxism* and *Orientalism*, the absolute necessity of stopping them in their tracks and the desirability of extending union with

⁷⁰ Netzhhammer I, 252-261. Document of Palma in French signed by Alexandre Guascu in Netzhhammer I, 763-764.

Rome even with the aid of political force. In Romania, he noted, the most intelligent statesmen are aware that the Orthodox church is in need of reform and that a renewal of such proportions would be only able to evolve from the outside with the help of Rome and of Austria-Hungary. If after the war, Romania fell to the sphere of interest of Austria-Hungary — as we now know, it did not — the Orthodox church should be oriented no longer towards Russia or Constantinople but to Vienna and Rome.⁷¹

Netzhhammer: The Greek Catholics

Netzhhammer devoted several pages of his diary to the activities of Romanian Greek Catholics and especially to the church of St. Basil which he built and personally consecrated (in the Eastern rite but vested as a Latin bishop) for them in the *strada Polonă* in 1909. As Archbishop of Bucharest, he was personally responsible for the seven thousand Greek Catholics who lived within the precincts of the capital, and who until his initiative did not possess a church of their own or even a chapel. But Netzhhammer, in spite of his sense of accomplishment for having provided his small Uniat flock with a place to worship, thought his efforts had a deeply adverse effect in Romanian government and Orthodox circles. In order to erect the church, the archbishop had to counter the tacit opposition of Carol I, although the king was himself a Roman Catholic, as well as the more strident opposition of Dimitrie Sturdza,⁷² the prime minister and a devout Or-

⁷¹ Netzhhammer II, 1525-1533.

⁷² Netzhhammer more fully described the equivocal attitude of Orthodox statesmen like Sturdza who admired certain external aspects of Catholicism but were deeply against Catholic inroads in Romanian society or projects attempting to unite the Orthodox Romanians to Rome: "Gar rasch sind wir geneigt, bei orthodoxen Prälaten oder bei gebildeten orthodoxen Laien, welche ohne Ruckhalt die Schäden und Mängel ihrer Kirche aufdecken und welche sich gleich darauf in Lobeserhebungen über die Vorzüge der katholischen Kirche ergehen, auf geheime Unionswünsche zu schliessen. Wer war mehr berechtigt gewesen als ich, annehmen zu dürfen, dass der greise Ministerpräsident Demeter Sturdza mir zur Seite sein würde, wenn in Bukarest für die Unierten etwas begonnen würde? Nach meiner Ernennung für Bukarest hatte er mich in Rom aufgesucht. Zweimal war er beim Papst Pius X. gewesen, entzückt kam er von Audienzen bei Kardinälen zurück, in St. Athanas sah ich ihn vor Rührung bei der orientalischen Liturgie weinen, begeistert war er von der orientalischen Abtei des heiligen Nilus in Grottaferrata bei Rom und nicht genug konnte er die unierten Rumänen Siebenbürgens rühmen, welche an der Propaganda studiert hatten. Er sann darüber nach und sprach oft davon, wie man möglichst viele rumänische Theologen nach Rom in die päpstlichen Institute schicken könnte. Als ich aber ein Jahr später von dem Bau einer unierten Kirche in Bukarest sprach, nahm Sturdza eine sehr ernste, ja

thodox, as well as that of the Orthodox primate Atanasie Mironescu, who officially protested against the building to the government.⁷³ Ion Brătianu, another state official, confronted Netzhammer face-to-face accusing him of driving a stake into the heart of the Romanian nation by building a Uniat church in Burcharest: "Build as many Latin churches as you want, but not a single Uniat one..."⁷⁴ Netzhammer thought it odd, that the Orthodox resented the Uniats more than they did Catholics of Latin rite although the former both shared the same rite and traditions. But this was naïve. He had but to compare Romania with Russia or Greece to witness a similar but much harsher state of affairs where Uniats were treated not only as aliens but as traitors to the cause.

But Netzhammer had his own problems with the Greek Catholics and his comments regarding the Uniats are not all positive. In a papal audience with Pius XI in 1922, Netzhammer accused the Greek Catholics of presenting themselves in Rome as the only truly Catholic representatives of the Romanian nation, the starting point of any meaningful discussion and responsible for the whole of Catholicism in their country. In this way, they subordinated the Latin rite church in Romania to their own needs and demands and used their own nationality against the Latins, themselves Hungarians and Germans and therefore of non-Romanian ethnicity, and as such treated as foreigners within their own country. To cite Netzhammer's pointed expression underlining the deep rift dividing Greek and Latin Catholics — "sie (Greek Catholics) marschieren nicht gemeinsam mit uns (Latins)".⁷⁵ During the drafting of the constitution of 1923 which gave the Greek Catholic church precedence *over all* cults, Latin rite observers noted how the Greek Catholic bishops fought to push forward the

drohende Miene an und seine Rede Sinn war: "Dass Sie sich nich unterstehen, eine solche Kirche zu bauen!" Erst als dieser alte Herr aus Krankheitsrücksichten vom Ministerpräsidium zurücktreten musste und in Surenes bei Paris im Verlauf eines Kuraufenthaltes Heilung suchte, konnte der Bau der unierten Kirche in Bukarest in Angriff genommen werden. Sturdza war ein religiös eingestellter, sehr ernster Mann. Manche glaubten, dass dieser hochstehende und mit Rom sympathisierende Rumäne Unionsgedanken hatte. Er hatte keinen solchen. Ihm hätte der katholische Kirche einfach helfen sollen, die orthodoxe Landeskirche auf eine zeitgemässe höhere Stufe zu heben. Sturdza war und blieb orthodox und er wollte nich, den er liebte und bis zu seinem Lebensende als Freund behandelte, darüber nicht in Zweifel lassen, sondern bekannte bei unserer vorletzten Zusammenkunft seinen orthodoxen Glauben, in dem er auch zu sterben hoffe." Netzhammer II, 1568-1569.

⁷³ Netzhammer I, 231.

⁷⁴ Netzhammer, II, 1156.

⁷⁵ Netzhammer II, 1280.

rights of their own community based on Romanian national interests. Metropolitan Suciú and bishops Hossu and Nicolescu made speeches of thanks together with Orthodox church leaders, noting that their church had been prominently mentioned in the constitution, but saying nothing to defend the interests of the Latin rite community, which had been cast into the same kettle together with mainstream Protestants, Baptists, Jews and Muslims.⁷⁶ Shortly after, however, the Uniats were once again on the defensive when the bill was proposed which we have already mentioned and which aimed at dividing parish property should a section of the parishioners decide to abandon their faith for another confession. Netzhhammer considered the law as threatening the very existence of the Greek Catholic church in Transylvania, since it would allow Orthodox agitators to bribe Greek Catholic parishes into the fold of the dominant state church by turning the parishioners against each other and seizing their churches.⁷⁷

After Romanian unification and the annexation of Transylvania, Vatican diplomacy was faced with a *fait accompli* which had already determined that significant groups of both Latin and Greek rite Catholics were no longer subjects of Catholic Austria-Hungary but were now incorporated into part of the Eastern Orthodox world. Rome was concerned with defending their common interests, but the centre of equilibrium had switched and an eastern Christian orientation had replaced an almost entirely western one. These anti-Latin rite tendencies were noted by other Catholic scholars who pointed to a tendency within the Roman curia embraced by anti-Germanic Italians like Francesco Marmaggi, papal nuncio to Romania and chief adversary of Netzhhammer, to deliberately ignore the problems of Romanian Latin rite Catholics, as members of a minority church in danger of extinction through total assimilation, and orient Vatican policy around the situation and needs of the better integrated Greek Catholics.⁷⁸

The two most vocal advocates of such a policy were Prince Vladimir Ghica, today a candidate for beatification after he died interned in a Communist concentration camp, who wished to break Romania's Germanic connections and replace them with links to France, and the more aggressive priest activist Vasile Lucaciu. Apparently, they achieved their purpose since their ideas enjoyed con-

⁷⁶ Netahammer, II, 1227.

⁷⁷ Netzhhammer, 1572.

⁷⁸ Netzhhammer II, 1735-1738.

siderable popularity in Vatican circles and were eventually championed by the influential Eugène Cardinal Tisserant, always sensitive to the rights of eastern Christians.⁷⁹ According to Netzhammer, many Vatican officials backed the Uniats against the Latins since they felt the former would act as catalysts in converting the whole of the Romanian nation to Catholicism. But this hope, opined Netzhammer, was completely unfounded since it was not the Uniats who were converting the Orthodox but vice-versa.

After the First World War, several Uniat intellectuals from Transylvania came to Bucharest where Netzhammer hoped they would act as Catholic leaven among the Orthodox in a westernising movement which would lead to mass conversions. Instead they were themselves assimilated into the Orthodox world. All was accomplished without coercion and without any propaganda campaign on the part of the Orthodox to gain the Uniats. In Transylvania, three Greek Catholic dioceses had already surrendered their schools to the state. This signalled the beginning of their absorption into Orthodoxy since Orthodox teachers would eventually be sent into the villages to staff the schools.⁸⁰

In a private conversation with Dr. Seipel, Austrian *Bundeskanzler*, Netzhammer described the Greek Catholics as exercising no influence over their Orthodox brethren and certainly not in guiding the latter towards Rome. The Uniats were happy when they could preserve their status quo and suffer no losses from the Orthodox.⁸¹ According to Netzhammer, Uniat statesmen at Bucharest did nothing to promote the Catholic cause and only the Uniat bishops were worthy of admiration for their steadfastness. Greek Catholic priests, on the other hand were a different matter.

A Latin priest from Iași had complained to Netzhammer about the lax situation and philo-Orthodoxy in Blaj, a centre of Transylvanian Greek Catholicism. Many Uniat priests were con-celebrating together with the *schismatics* and communicating *schismatic* school children. In addition, Uniat priests were not preaching at mass and celebrating only on Sundays when and if bread and wine were brought to them. Netzhammer could only agree that much of this was true also of Bucharest.⁸² At a centenary celebration to honour the Orthodox theologian Gheorghe Lazăr held in the village of Avrig by Metropolitan Ni-

⁷⁹ Adriányi, 128.

⁸⁰ Netzhammer II, 1019.

⁸¹ Netzhammer, II, 1279-1280.

⁸² Netzhammer II, 998.

colae Bălan, two Romanian prelates, Marcu and Rusu, stood in the sanctuary of the church during the Orthodox liturgy dressed in violet cassocks. When they were reprimanded and told they should leave the church since they were only making themselves ridiculous they answered they would remain since otherwise they could not fulfil their Sunday obligation!⁸³

Netzhhammer felt these incidents symptomatic of many Romanian Greek Catholics who felt closer to the Orthodox to whom they were related by blood — than to the Latin Catholics, their brothers by faith but adversaries by race. A great bone of contention was the presence of the Greek Catholics at the coronation of Ferdinand I at Alba Julia in 1922. Prevented from joining their Romanian Orthodox brethren inside the church by the papal nuncio, they were forced to take up their ranks outside along with the Latin rite hierarchs of Hungarian and German origin. Netzhhammer described how the Greek Catholic bishops, arrayed in violet robes, arrived late, and ascended the tribune along with the papal nuncio, to take their place at the side of their confreres, the Latin bishops, vested in black. They seemed noticeably ill at ease since they were, according to Netzhhammer, separated from their fellow Romanians and placed among churchmen of foreign extraction.⁸⁴ Greek Catholic bishop Iuliu Hossu was deeply displeased by the incident and expressed his fears to Netzhhammer that whole villages would leave the Uniat church because the Uniat faithful did not understand why their bishops could not enter the coronation church. The government would surely take severe measures against the Uniats.⁸⁵ His words were prophetic since this is what later happened under Communism.

But if many Greek Catholics felt closer to the Orthodox than to the Latins, this amicable attitude was usually not shared by members of the Orthodox hierarchy. Netzhhammer noted how Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan, later mentioned by de Régis in his plan for union, was known for his negative view of the Uniats about whom he had nothing good to say. During the celebrations in Avrig, Bălan objected to the presence of Greek Catholics in the Orthodox sanctuary. On another occasion, Marmaggi mentioned a higher Orthodox prelate, probably Bălan, who wrote that he would give his bones no rest ("seinen Knochen keine Ruhe gönnen werde") until the last Uniat would be re-united into the bosom of the Orthodox church and who

⁸³ Netzhhammer II, 1266-1267.

⁸⁴ Netzhhammer II, 1187-1195.

⁸⁵ Netzhhammer II, 1196.

predicted the demise of the Uniat church in a speech pronounced in the Senate.⁸⁶ Orthodox laity sometimes expressed similar opinions. The gossipy Alexandrina Catacuzino, an Orthodox laywoman, published an article in which she stated that the Greek Catholics did not belong in the formulation of the concordat with the Vatican. This opinion was seconded by Tudor Popescu who added that by accepting the Uniats into the concordat, the state was implicitly recognising the Union. Such a thing, however, was clearly impossible, since according to Popescu, the union with Rome came into being through "treachery and falsehood."⁸⁷

Some Orthodox claimed the Romanian Greek Catholics themselves did not always distinguish between their own faith and the Orthodox faith, both of which they called the *Romanian religion*. This was supposedly true of the less sophisticated masses. When a group of Romanian Greek Catholic physicians were called to take their oath before an Orthodox priest, they refused and demanded to swear it together with their Hungarian colleagues before a Roman Catholic clergyman. But Romanian Greek Catholic soldiers during the First World War often refused to take communion under one species from the hands of a Latin priest before a battle. They preferred the services of an Orthodox priest who offered them communion in the form to which they were accustomed — under both species.⁸⁸ For simple souls unencumbered by theological nuance, ritual imposed on dogma.

Other Orthodox spoke more positively but not unambiguously of a possible alliance with the Greek Catholics. If the Uniats wished to remain with Rome they could, otherwise they could always return to the faith of their fathers, the adherents of which would welcome them back with open arms. After article twenty-two of the constitution offering the Uniats second place after the Orthodox in the religious configuration of Romania was discussed and accepted, Constantin Banu, government minister of culture and education, greeted the Greek Catholic representatives:

Wenn ihr bei Rom bleiben wollt, dann bleibet und erwirkt aus dieser Verbindung für die rumänische Nation vielen Nutzen; wollt ihr aber zum alten Väterglauben zurückkehren und die rumänische kirchliche Einheit

⁸⁶ Netzhammer II, 1233.

⁸⁷ Netzhammer II, 1296.

⁸⁸ Netzhammer II, 1574.

herstellen, dann werden euch euere Brüder mit offenen Armen aufnehmen!⁸⁹

Netzhhammer noted ironically: "Diese Sprache des Ministers lässt tief blicken."⁹⁰

But the real attitude towards the Greek Catholics of the Orthodox polemicist Onsifor Ghibu, already mentioned in reference to his negative stance to the Transylvanian *Status Catholicus*, seemed even more difficult to penetrate. Netzhhammer had read Ghibu's publication *Catolicismul unguresc în Transilvania și politica religioasă a statului român* (Cluj 1924), in which the author drew swords with the Hungarian Catholic establishment in Transylvania, and became convinced of Ghibu's hostility towards Catholicism. But an acquaintance visited the archbishop and painted a more nuanced picture of Ghibu's Catholic views.⁹¹ It was true that Ghibu hated the Hungarians and especially bishop Majláth. But Netzhhammer's friend had met Ghibu at Stâne de Vale, a sanatorium where the author was curing his nervous depression. Ghibu attended services at the local Greek Catholic church every Sunday and spoke of an audience which he had enjoyed with Benedict XV. Netzhhammer's friend tried to convince him that Ghibu, through his polemical writings, was trying to convince the Romanians that he was a convinced nationalist and fanatical Orthodox. But this was but a sham and after he succeeded in making this impression, he would turn an about face and try to unite the Orthodox with Rome by promoting his ideas of Catholic unity. Netzhhammer was unconvinced and probably correct. But a short while later in Rome, he met Michel d'Herbigny — whose meeting with Miron Cristea we shall shortly examine — who was equally impressed by Ghibu in whom he also saw a friend of Rome and favourable to union.⁹² But d'Herbigny's first impressions were frequently erroneous and Netzhhammer's encounter with d'Herbigny took place only after the publication of Ghibu's more enigmatic brochure *Infîntare a patriarhatului românesc. Habemus papam*. (Cluj 1925) and the elevation of Miron Cristea to the patriarchate. Ghibu ambiguously wrote that the Romanian patriarchate was destined for all Romanians and should become a *pan-Christian patriarchate*. To achieve this purpose, the patriarch should bravely go forward with the support of

⁸⁹ Netzhhammer II, 1227.

⁹⁰ Netzhhammer II. 1227.

⁹¹ Netzhhammer II, 1285-1286.

⁹² Netzhhammer II, 1417.

the government. Both Uniats and Latin rite Catholics desire the union of the churches. But *union* is not the same thing as *capitulation* or the *subjugation* of the Romanian church to Rome. Even Rome does not demand this — here Netzhhammer inserted a question mark in his account of Ghibu's argument — since the Council of Florence had only insisted on the bonding (*Verbindung*) of church hierarchies. Since, Ghibu continued, only a question of jurisdiction separates the Roman Catholic from the Orthodox churches, only an *irenic* link with Rome is needed to achieve the union of all the Romanian churches. But the Romanian patriarch is head of Christians of both rites within Romania — Orthodox, Uniats and Latins — just as the Roman patriarch is responsible for all Christians within his own domain of jurisdiction. Therefore the new Romanian patriarch should inform two key ecclesiastical personages of his new office — the patriarch of Rome and the Metropolitan of Blaj, the head of the Greek Catholics in Romania, who, by reason of the act of union, should belong to him and be subject to him.⁹³ Netzhhammer, a stickler for Catholic dogma, was clearly not fooled by Ghibu's convoluted and eccentric ecclesiology. For Ghibu, the Romanians clearly possessed their own pope who, while switching his formal and essentially meaningless allegiance from Constantinople to Rome, would enjoy uncontested jurisdiction over Christians of both rites on Romanian territory. Not a bad deal — but a compromise completely at odds with Roman Catholic ecclesiology which demanded something more than a formal and rather inconsequential link with the apostolic see. Ghibu's proposal is however one of the most interesting related by Netzhhammer since it allows us to understand how Romanian officials may have envisioned the proposal for church unity offered to Rome and mediated by Philippe de Régis some fifteen years later.

Netzhhammer: A Sober Conclusion

But one of the chief reasons for Netzhhammer's pessimistic outlook regarding the future of Catholicism in Romania was his deep disillusionment with Romania's nominally Roman Catholic kings. Both Carol I and Ferdinand I were given Orthodox state funerals without the direct participation of Catholic clergy and both found their final resting place within the walls of an Orthodox monastery church at Curtea-de-Argeș, although both had lived and died as Catholics. More seriously, Netzhhammer considered Ferdinand guilty of perjury and an

⁹³ Netzhhammer II, 1399.

oath breaker, since the king had his children brought up Orthodox in defiance of his promises to Rome and ignoring the archbishop's suggestion to raise them as eastern rite Catholics. These and other points of disagreement caused the archbishop to view Catholic unity projects involving Romania with deep scepticism:

Rumäniens beide Könige, Carol und Ferdinand, waren bekanntlich katholisch. An ihre Namen knüpft sich in Rumänien kein katholisches Werk. Ängstlich gaben sie darauf acht, der katholischen Kirche öffentlich weder Wohlwollen noch Missfallen zu bezeigen, nur als reine Privatpersonen katholisch zu sein und weder die eigene Familie noch die Krone zu irgend etwas Katholischem zu engagieren. Diese Auffassung gestattete beiden Königen den sonntäglichen privaten Besuch der heiligen Messe in einer katholischen Kappelle, denn im Königsschloss gab es für keine der verschiedenen Konfessionen, welchen Mitglieder der königlichen und der kronprinzlichen Familie angehören, eine Schlosskapelle. Die Kinder wurden consequent orthodox getauft und orthodox erzogen, auch das jüngste, die Prinzessin Ileana. Wegen des Verhaltens, von welchem König Ferdinand bis zu seinem Lebensende nicht abging, waren die Schwierigkeiten mit der katholischen Kirche nicht zu beheben. Man glaubte Wohlwollen und Entgegenkommen zu beweisen, indem man dem Hofe vorschlug, die Kinder der rumänischen Dynastie uniert zu erklären. Dabei wurde vorausgesetzt, dass es den Rumänen in erster Linie auf die Befolgung des orientalischen Ritus ankomme. Auf den Vorschlag ging man gar nicht ein, denn uniert hätte, so paradox es klingen mag, im "orthodoxen Lande" noch antinationaler und antirumänischer geklungen als katholisch! Das Bauen einer unierten Kirche in Bukarest bezeichnete König Carol als ein gefährliches Unternehmen. Nach vollendeter Tatsache gestattete er zwar das Überreichen von photographischen Aufnahmen der Kirche, aber weder er noch sein Nachfolger König Ferdinand betraten die Kirche. Von seiten des Hofes war nie etwas zugunsten einer Unionsbewegung zu erwarten. Die ausgesprochene Ansicht des Königs Ferdinand war, dass die Union wie von selbst kommen *müsste*!

Allen führenden rumänischen Staatsmännern war es schon aus politischen Gründen, namentlich im Hinblick offizieller Besuche des Hofes in Rom, unbequem, dass ihr König zum Heiligen Stuhl nicht in normalen Beziehungen stand. Auf alle Arten versuchten sie die Aussöhnung herbeizuführen. Zu verschiedenen Malen erschienen diese Herren in Rom, um es beim Papst persönlich durchzusetzen, dass der Heilige Stuhl die orthodoxe Erziehung der königlichen Kinder, wenn auch nicht billige, so doch als eine absolute politische Notwendigkeit anerkenne und dulde. Das war das Ziel der Kniefälle, welche Sturdza vor Pius X. gemacht hat, das der Zweck der Audienz Brătianus beim gleichen Heiligen Vater.

Bei allen derartigen Erörterungen liess man einfließen, dass Bukarest Rom sehr nahe sei, dass die Rumänen der lateinischen Rasse angehören und dass sie schon deshalb dem Gefühle und der Volksseele nach im Grunde katholisch seien. Diese Phrasen, welche richtig das Unverständliche besagen, dass das rumänische Volk die Verbindung mit seinem natur-

lichen Zentrum in Rom verloren und den Weg ins Schisma gefunden hat, vermochten den Sinn des Heiligen Stuhles nicht zu ändern und die Anwendung seiner Prinzipien auch Königen gegenüber nicht hintenzuhalten. Fernstehende aber, welche von der völkischen Verwandtschaft der Rumänen mit den Lateinern und vom Zuge der rumänischen Intellektuellen nach Rom hörten, waren leicht geneigt, als Zielpunkt dieses Zuges den Stuhl Petri anzunehmen, während er nur die Säule des Kaisers Trajan auf seinem Forum in Rom war!⁹⁴

II. Michel d'Herbigny⁹⁵: An Enthusiastic Optimist

Raymund Netzhammer was about as pessimistic as Michel d'Herbigny was optimistic about Rome's prospects in Romania. But the French prelate based his views on his short visit to Bucharest and his

⁹⁴ Netzhammer II, 1570-1571.

⁹⁵ French Jesuit Michel Bourguignon d'Herbigny (1880-1957) was the leading Vatican expert on Russia for at least a decade (1922-1932) during the pontificate of Pius XI. He was born at Lille in the north of France, of a large and devout Catholic family of means. On 29 August 1910, he was ordained a Jesuit priest and a year later he obtained his doctorate in theology. He had already begun to study Russian and the same year he published his controversial but novel study of Vladimir Solov'ev: *Un Newman russe, Vladimir Soloviev (1853-1900)* (Paris 1911). Henceforth he was to be come associated with Russian questions. His arrival in Rome, however, marked the beginning of d'Herbigny's brilliant career in Russian and eastern Christian affairs. On 23 December 1923, d'Herbigny was appointed advisor to the Congregation for the Eastern Church. After the creation of the Pontifical Commission *Pro Russia*, he was named special advisor to the commission by the Pope. In 1922, shortly after an aborted attempt at viewing first hand the prospects for Catholicism in the new Soviet Russia, d'Herbigny was appointed *president* of the newly created Pontifical Oriental Institute. The institute was in crisis when d'Herbigny assumed its direction, but the French Jesuit was able to instil new verve. He renewing the institute's commitment to the Russian question, assured its independence from the Gregoriana and the Pontifical Biblical Institute (Biblicum), as well as founded the prestigious *Orientalia Christiana* series of publications (1923). The years 1925-1932 saw the apex of d'Herbigny's power in Rome. His great plan for renewing Catholicism in Russia included re-establishing a Catholic hierarchy on Soviet territory as well as training future Russian Catholic priests in the West. On 29 March 1926, Eugenio Pacelli consecrated him a clandestine bishop (to the titular see of Ilion/Ilium = Troy), in the chapel of the apostolic nunciature in Berlin. Immediately, he left for the Soviet Union where he reconstituted the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The French Jesuit continued to act as personal advisor to the Pius XI on Russian questions and the Pope's faith in him seemed unshaken. Since it was no longer possible to enter the Soviet Union, d'Herbigny turned his attention to the Orthodox, who still were not under the shadow of Communism. In 1927, he was in the Near East, Romania, the Balkans and on Mount Athos undertaking a grand tour of the Eastern Orthodox patriarchates and studying their attitude towards Catholicism. In 1932, d'Herbigny was relieved of his post at the Oriental Institute. On 2 October 1933, d'Herbigny left Rome for minor surgery in Belgium. Few

ninety-minute audience with Miron Cristea,⁹⁶ while Netzhammer based his on years of experience.

D'Herbigny: A Patriarchal Audience

Michel d'Herbigny visited Bucharest's patriarchate as part of his *grand tour* to the *patriarchs of the orient* which he undertook as a fact-finding mission to gauge the propensity of the Balkan and Middle Eastern Orthodox to union with Rome.⁹⁷ He passed through Romania, Bulgaria (Sofia), Constantinople, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. His first stop was at Oradea Mare, where he arrived on 26 July 1927 from Budapest, and learned of the death of Ferdinand I. Orthodox Romania was mourning its Catholic king:

... j'apprends que les autorités civiles et orthodoxes ont tout fait pour cacher au peuple que son roi, catholique de naissance et resté catholique, est mort catholique. Il a pourtant reçu plusieurs fois la sainte communion durant sa maladie; sur sa demande, un prêtre catholique allait assez souvent dire la sainte messe devant lui au palais, mais son peuple n'avait le droit d'en rien savoir. De son testament furent coupées — matériellement arrachées — les paroles où, il disait que, fidèle à sa foi, il mourait en enfant de l'Église catholique. Le télégramme du Saint Père, ses condoléances ne furent pas publiés, parce que le peuple y aurait appris que son roi,

would have suspected that his ecclesiastical career had abruptly ended, least of all the French Jesuit himself. Three weeks after leaving Rome, d'Herbigny was asked by the Pope to relinquish his post as president of *Pro Russia*. Until 1937, d'Herbigny travelled freely throughout the French speaking world. This period of relative freedom, however, ended in 1937 when his travels were sharply restricted and he was condemned to almost total seclusion by both the Jesuits and the highest Church authorities. In a very brief time, he was successively deprived of the right to exercise his episcopal powers, of the right to communicate either orally or in writing with anyone except members of his immediate family, and he was finally forbidden to make use of his priestly ministry except for saying mass. He died in a Jesuit house in the south of France (Baume-Ste-Marie near Aix-en-Provence) twenty years later in obscurity, without a mention of the fact that he was an ordained bishop. It is unknown how much of the project submitted by de Régis may have indirectly been inspired by impressions gathered years earlier by d'Herbigny.

⁹⁶ Later d'Herbigny's account of his interview with Cristea was contested by the Romanian newspaper *Neamul Românesc*, which claimed it did not faithfully reproduce the encounter. Compare Netzhammer II, 1573.

⁹⁷ D'Herbigny's account of his trip was first delivered in the form of a conference at Rome (11.12.1927) before numerous bishops and higher churchmen as well as the ambassadors of France, Spain, Belgium and Poland and the minister of Romania to the Holy See. See Michel d'Herbigny, "Une Visite aux patriarches orientaux," *Études* 194/5 (20.1.1928), 131-153.

vénéré comme l'unificateur de la nation, avait été un grand serviteur de la Roumanie, tout en gardant sa foi catholique.

Comme je l'ai su positivement, le malade, l'agonisant souffrit profondément de ces dissimulations; elles l'humiliaient... Mais sa volonté, depuis assez longtemps, ne pouvait plus s'imposer, même dans le cercle intime de la famille. En cette détresse, le malheureux souverain voyait pieusement une expiation; il pria pour ses enfants. «Une éducation catholique et pieuse, répétait-il à quelques intimes, eût armé contre le scepticisme et contre les passions d'une jeunesse inexpérimentée, elle eût servi le pays et la dynastie, mieux que toutes les faiblesses. Repentant, pardonné par l'Eglise, ce père offrait chrétiennement ses souffrances, en union avec la passion de Notre Seigneur, spécialement pour le bien spirituel de ses enfants. La prière catholique suivit la pauvre âme outre tombe, mais le clergé catholique dut s'abstenir de toute participation aux cérémonies religieuses des funérailles; Les dissidents, n'ayant pu l'avoir vivant, l'accaparaient mort...»⁹⁸

D'Herbigny's audience with the Romanian patriarch took place a few days later in the afternoon of 31 July. He was accompanied by Alexandru Cisar, Nezhammer's successor as Latin archbishop of Bucharest. The French Jesuit was impressed by the Romanian *patriarhia* or patriarchal palace which he likened to a Vatican in miniature with its own honour guard — "vrai palais d'acropole, au milieu d'une enceinte aisément fortifiable, précédée d'une avenue de beaux arbres frais et faisant face dans la même enceinte à sa cathédrale...."⁹⁹

D'Herbigny: A Church under Siege

Miron Cristea greeted his guests, vested in the prototypical lily white robes of the Romanian patriarch, wearing neither cross nor panaghia. Instead, an icon of the Saviour, ensconced with diamonds, dangled from a chain suspended around his neck. His cassock was, however, stained with sweat — the day was hot. The patriarch was only fifty-two but his beard already matched the colour of his dress. Cristea began with a formal discourse in Romanian, before switching to German in which both he and d'Herbigny were fluent. The patriarch spoke "d'abondance, avec une bonhomie spontanée." He began by deploring the secularism, atheism, communism and amoral philosophy rampant in Romanian society. Two years ago the best alumni of the theological academy had passed to the service of the sects —

⁹⁸ d'Herbigny, 131-132.

⁹⁹ d'Herbigny, 134.

“incrédules, apostates, ils fanatisent leurs adeptes contre l’ordre chrétien...” This anti-sectarian tone again accompanied the appeal of the patriarch reported by de Régis in his own account of his meeting with Jean Pangal. Many Orthodox were being taken in by Protestant sects — Adventists, American Methodists, the Salvation Army and the Russian *Duchobory* were among the most active. Armed with enormous sums of money — forty million dollars — they had, according to Cristea, bribed four of his priests who were caring for children and in need of funds, and convinced them to join them. Another danger derived from Orthodox extremists themselves. Under the direction of the patriarch, the Romanian Orthodox church had recently adopted the Gregorian calendar. But as we have already noted, this change prompted groups of old-calendarists to accuse Cristea of being a former Uniat and a Roman sycophant. With d’Herbigny, the patriarch himself discussed the situation. According to him, the old-calendarist movement in Romania was led by a few monks who had arrived from Athos. Several times during the conversation, d’Herbigny noted, the patriarch inveighed against the nefarious influence of corrupt Greek monks and bishops. According to Cristea, the trouble in Romania was nothing like that in Greece where a group of enraged monks and nuns had shaved the beard off an Orthodox bishop just as he was entering to perform the liturgy at the church of St. Constantine at Piraeus. But the person responsible for this outrage was himself a Romanian Athonite monk, Arseny Kottéa, who had been expelled from his native country after he had publicly denounced “the heresy of the new calendar” during the solemn Paschal liturgy in the Bucharest cathedral. The church seemed condemned to walk a precarious tight-rope between Orthodox extremism and secularism. Several clerics had been trained in Protestant theological institutions and had been infected by the spirit of doubt and worldliness, which could only lead to their eventual apostasy. “Where could Romanian Orthodox candidates for the priesthood be sent for a sound theological formation?” Cristea asked. The only solution was to send them to Roman Catholic universities which still preserved healthy doctrine. This suggestion was naturally music to the ears of the French Jesuit, who had already been instrumental in arranging the education of Russian student-émigrés:

Interrompant cet exposé, le patriarche reprend: «Le problème est clair pour nous. Nos Facultés de théologie ne suffisent pas, elles ne répondent pas à leur mission. Où former d’autres professeurs? Dans les Facultés protestantes? En Allemagne, en Angleterre? Ce serait coopérer à la destruc-

tion du christianisme. Nous ne pouvons d'ailleurs songer actuellement à l'Europe centrale. A notre race, il faut le génie et l'esprit de la Rome antique. En Italie pourtant, la Rome pontificale semble partout trop proche. Reste la France; Strasbourg, avec ses deux Facultés théologiques, nous accueille volontiers. Nos étudiants ont essayé de suivre les cours des professeurs protestants. Impossible. Tôt ou tard tous ont déserté soit la Faculté protestante, soit la carrière ecclésiastique. Plusieurs spontanément nous ont demandé de suivre les cours de la Faculté catholique. Après essai, ils ont exprimé toute leur satisfaction. Hier même, une lettre officielle du Quai d'Orsay m'apprenait qu'une maison de famille pour nos théologiens serait aménagée, distincte de tous les immeubles catholiques: pour les cours, ils iront ou ils voudront... Notre choix est fait...

La suite de l'entretien montra que le patriarche roumain enverra un bien plus grand nombre de ses théologiens, si les Facultés catholiques des universités libres pouvaient décerner, elles aussi, un diplôme reconnu par l'État. «Impossible, dit-il, d'enseigner ou d'étudier sainement la dogmatique et l'Écriture sainte avec des idées protestantes ou modernistes... Intervenez pour nous près des Facultés catholiques...¹⁰⁰

D'Herbigny: An Espoused but Ignorant Clergy

Cristea attributed many of the problems of his church to the ignorance of the lower clergy — a condition which hinged on their married state. Unlike the celibate clergy of the west who found time to train themselves in priestly discipline and other-worldly spirituality, Orthodox Romanian priests were too pre-occupied with the material good of their wives and families, too concentrated on this earth to find heaven. Once again, d'Herbigny could have hardly believed what he was hearing. In fact, he was quick to remind the patriarch, whatever he personally thought about celibacy, that Romanian Greek Catholic clergymen were also married:

C'est — poursuit le patriarche — un des mauvais effets du mariage des prêtres. — Je l'interromps pour lui faire remarquer que l'Église catholique n'impose pas le célibat à son clergé de rite oriental. Beaucoup de prêtres catholiques roumains sont mariés. — Oui — reprend le patriarche — mais ils ont reçu chez vous une solide formation ascétique. Chez nous, ils sont trop absorbés par la vie de famille. Même s'ils acceptaient pour eux-mêmes une vie plus austère, ils ne voudraient pas l'imposer à leur femme, à leurs enfants. Il leur faut donc de l'argent, beaucoup d'argent, car la vie est chère, et il faut nourrir puis éduquer les fils, les filles, leur créer une situation, les pousser en avant dans le monde, — tout cela coûte beau-

¹⁰⁰ d'Herbigny, 136-137.

coup... L'autre jour, un officier de notre armée roumaine vient me voir. Il me demande d'autoriser un de mes prêtres à porter la ceinture rouge. — Mais à quel titre? — C'est mon père. — Bien. Mais qu'a-t-il fait pour Église — Il a eu vingt-huit enfants ! Et d'une mère naturellement, puisqu'un prêtre ne peut se remarier. — Oh ! C'est à la mère que je donnerai la ceinture rouge.¹⁰¹

Cristea went on to deplore the circumstances which led to exclusive state control of the Orthodox church and recounted a few vignettes detailing his fight to regain its autonomy:

... le patriarche, toujours plus cordial, nous explique alors son effort. pour affranchir l'Église: Autrefois, nous étions sous la dépendance absolue de l'État. Maintenant, la religion a son autonomie. J'ai dû lutter beaucoup. Quand fut discutée la Constitution de la Grande Roumanie, j'ai parlé durant quatre jours de suite, expliquant indéfiniment que l'Église ne pouvait dépendre de députés incroyants ou anti-chrétiens. Pendant quatre jours, on résistait à mes arguments. A la fin, cinq minutes avant la clôture des débats, Brătianu me dit: Soit, je me range de votre côté, je consens à ce que vous demandez. Rédigeons ensemble le texte. Le texte fut voté. Mais il ne plut pas à tout le monde.¹⁰²

The patriarch was profuse in praising the virtues of the Transylvanian peasantry. This is understandable when we recall that he himself was a displaced Transylvanian:

... il (Cristea) rend un hommage ému — et que je m'explique après mon passage en Transylvanie — aux qualités de logique, de sagesse, d'ordre du paysan roumain, à son éloquence spontanée, à sa dignité naturelle. — Ils sont vraiment, me dit-il, les héritiers des sénateurs romains: ils savent mener une discussion, exposer leurs arguments, s'incliner devant les raisons d'un adversaire, venir aux conclusions pratiques...¹⁰³

But more atypically for the head of an Orthodox church, he singled out for special praise the accomplishment of the Greek Catholic Transylvanians, his ecclesiastical rivals, and pointed out their copious national and religious accomplishments, especially their disproportionate role in the formation of the Romanian nation:

¹⁰¹ d'Herbigny, 138-139.

¹⁰² d'Herbigny, 139.

¹⁰³ d'Herbigny, 139.

... Surtout, ajoute-t-il — et ce témoignage du patriarche est bien intéressant — les catholiques des diocèses roumains de Transylvanie sont admirables par leur esprit d'organisation, leur développement intellectuel, leur moralité, leur souci du bien commun, leur esprit religieux, la culture du clergé ... c'est à ces patriotes roumains des diocèses catholiques que, notre langue et notre nation doivent d'avoir reconquis leur place au soleil... L'avenir de notre pays est magnifique si partout le niveau spirituel et intellectuel peut être relevé. Nous disposons de tous les biens matériels...¹⁰⁴

Cristea ended with another tirade against the Greek *phanariots* and bishops:

... Nos richesses naturelles sont inépuisables et suffisent à tout... Coupés de toute relation avec l'étranger, nous pourrions encore vivre indéfiniment: nous avons tout, culture, industrie, pétrole, charbon, minerais... sauf le capital pour les exploiter. Car ce capital, il a été emporté par les deux catégories de tyrans qui nous ont opprimés durant des siècles, par les turcs, mais plus encore par les évêques grecs...¹⁰⁵

Even d'Herbigny thought this rather excessive:

... jamais en Occident, je n'en ai entendu parler avec cette sévérité, soit du clergé grec, soit de certains moines grecs d'Athos...¹⁰⁶

During a recent voyage in the Christian Orient, the patriarch had tried to interest the mainly Greek speaking hierarchs in a project for a pan-orthodox council to be held at Bucharest under the protection of Romania — in vain. He ended by commenting bitterly that the Greeks would rather call together their own council under the presidency of one of their own... Were these anti-Hellenic and pro-Catholic comments of the patriarch only a charade to persuade the French Jesuit of his good intentions and perhaps win some material help from the Catholics as well as a few places in Catholic universities to train students. Evidently, d'Herbigny did not think so. Kneeling in prayer before the reserved sacrament on the altar of the Bucharest Orthodox cathedral, he allowed his imagination, as it frequently did,

¹⁰⁴ d'Herbigny, 139.

¹⁰⁵ d'Herbigny, 139-140.

¹⁰⁶ d'Herbigny, 140.

to run wild. What did the Sacred Heart of Jesus expect of the souls of the Romanians with whom he had met? Did they not have a special role, assigned to them by Divine Providence, *Romanian* souls but impregnated by *Roman* traditions — the pun was intentional — in interpreting these Roman traditions to their Greek and Slav neighbours? Could they not, in an active spirit of fidelity to the graces received, act as powerful allies in the divine work of uniting the whole of the Christian East to the see of Peter?

AN EVALUATION

Both Raymund Netzhammer and Michel d'Herbigny, in spite of some of their almost diametrically opposed conclusions, help to explain how and in what sort of atmosphere, the plan for Christian unity proposed to and by Philippe de Régis was prepared and formulated. Although Netzhammer's general verdict about the success of any such plan would probably have been quite negative, he described several similar suggestions bandied about by Romanian intellectuals of his time as well as elucidated the complex historical circumstances both binding and dividing Catholics of both rites and Orthodox in Romania. Disregarding d'Herbigny's tone of excessive optimism, the *compte rendu* of the influential and erudite French Jesuit and director of the Pontificio Instituto Orientale, mentions several details which are later implicitly or explicitly repeated in the project described by his confrere de Régis: the need to combat the sects and secularist movements within Romanian society — a notion, which as we have seen, was stressed by Cristea on at least two other occasions, the patriarch's admiration for Roman Catholic celibate clergy, the need to emancipate the Romanian Orthodox church from under the tutelage of the state, as well as the desire and need to send candidates for the Orthodox priesthood to study in the Catholic theological faculties of the west.

But all this aside, what can we say about the formulation and fate of the project involving Philippe de Régis, the content of which forms the core of this study? Since the project was never carried out, it seems superfluous to enumerate the very obvious obstacles standing in its way. Nevertheless, a few points beg further elucidation.

Was the benevolently conceived but never implemented plan for church union only the fruit of political machination? In the case of the final reception of the project and the elaboration of a more concrete programme by Philippe de Régis, such considerations carry less

weight. De Régis was sometimes criticised for his all too trusting nature and political credulity, rather than for an excess of worldly guile — a quality in which he was often lacking.¹⁰⁷ Since the project was never officially adopted by the Vatican, it would be superfluous here to discuss the *Ostpolitik* of the time and what Rome thought could have been gained from the catholicization of Romania. On the other hand, it would be naïve to exclude all political motives from the Romanian side.

The Rumanian collaborators of de Régis, both men of government and of the church, with the possible exception of Metropolitan Bălan who was active in the ecumenical movement, were deeply involved in politics and really beyond reproach. Pangal was a former free-mason who appears to have temporarily shed his affiliation with this organisation known for its blatant anti-Roman Catholicism for various motives, some of which perhaps bordered on personal disillusionment with the society. But the chief reason remains the fact that Carol II ordered him to disband the lodges. Patriarch Miron was himself heavily involved in contemporary Romanian politics. For a time, he even later functioned as prime minister after Carol crushed his opposition. The Romanian King was both a prime mover and perhaps the weakest link in any plan for church union which had any hopes of succeeding. His dissolute personal life is well known and one need not delve into its grim trivialities. But personally licentious monarchs and even popes in the past have at times been conscientious rulers and even served the will of Providence in furthering the cause of religion. His inconsistency, duplicity, craft as well as a characteristic mix of pusillanimity and petty tyranny are another matter and boded ill for the future of any plans for furthering religious unity in his kingdom — especially during the time of Pius XI, who was himself no spiritual featherweight and was often both insistent and unreasonable. But at the same time, Carol II was not simply a playboy king, a

¹⁰⁷ De Régis was often over-trusting in his estimation of the qualities of students placed under his care at the Russicum. In pre-World War II Poland, he also did not realise the extent of government manipulation in the nationalities question and believed in the success of the Jesuit *Missio Orientalis*, despite its political overtones and a lack of popular support. Likewise, he over-estimated the needs of the rather exiguous Russian emigration in South America, attempting to set up a base for future operations in Argentina. On the other hand, his basic sincerity and enthusiasm for the cause of church union and later Christian unity is above reproach. When he did sense political manipulation in the ecclesiastical domain — as he did in the question of the Polish government's plan to undermine the Orthodox by appropriating their churches during the 1930's — he unconditionally refused to collaborate.

creature of Viennese operetta, whose escapades were lionised by the boulevard press and the scandal sheet. He was, when he did rule his country, quite the hands-on monarch with a real if rather despotic political programme. Was he at all sincere? In hindsight, it is impossible to judge the inner workings of the king's mind. But his emphasis on awards and the Order of Malta hardly lead one to suspect that the King was really preoccupied with higher spiritual realities. Detractors of the Romanian monarch are quick to point out the influence of German National Socialism and anti-Semitism in the kingdom and on the king himself. Today's masons claim that in disbanding the lodges, the king was yielding to Nazi pressure. But advocates of Carol II disclaim these notions and point to the fact that by crushing the political opposition and proclaiming a personal dictatorship in Romania, Carol was actually banning the more extreme, pro-fascist and anti-Semitic factions.

Actually, as we have seen, Carol had two models on which to base a longing for union with Catholicism and the West: Ferdinand, his Catholic father and predecessor on the throne, and the Romanian Greek Catholic Uniat communities in his realm which seemed to thrive during his reign. Ferdinand, as we have already pointed out, had actually planned a Roman Catholic baptism for his son, but was later persuaded to baptise Carol in the Orthodox faith since it had been declared the dominant religious confession of the kingdom under the Romanian constitution of 1866.

Nevertheless, the Catholic Church of both rites was granted exceptional status by the concordat. But on a local level, relations between Orthodox and Greek Catholics as well as between Greek Catholics and Catholics of the Latin rite were far from ideal. Pressure was exerted on Greek Catholics to return to Orthodoxy and both the government and the Orthodox Church tended to encourage tensions between Greek Catholics and their Latin counterparts. But although Greek Catholics continued to be stiffly opposed by their Orthodox adversaries, they were a significant presence in Romanian society, especially in their native Transylvania, until their suppression by the Communist regime. It is, however, significant that the Orthodox Patriarch Miron referred only to his Latin counterpart as the possible recipient of a cardinal's hat and not to a Greek Catholic hierarch. Even in hypothetical situations, the Orthodox were clearly not ready to concede equality with their Uniat brethren of the cloth. It goes without saying that both Patriarch Miron and Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan were native Transylvanians and well aware of the existence and history of the Greek Catholic Church in their homeland. Both,

especially Bălan — as we have seen — opposed the concordat and the influence of Roman Catholicism in the Romanian kingdom!

But a much more profound difficulty rests in the very conception of the proposed union itself. Like the Unions of Brest, of Ungvár-Užgorod, and that of the Romanians themselves, the proposed project was definitely a union *from the top* or proceeding from the higher ecclesiastical and social echelons downwards. Like its predecessors, it had little popular support among the Orthodox masses and at best would have probably resulted in a union on paper only, at best in a partial amalgamation and at worst into a nasty feud. But was de Régis, the circumspect observer and friend of eastern Christians, unaware of this fact? In point of fact, it would seem he was not. For this reason, he dismissed many of the ideas of his Romanian collaborators as so much political dross and proposed a much more concrete and pragmatic programme — one that, incidentally, followed a more natural course — reform and retrospective reflection *from the bottom up*. Hence his insistence on popular support for the plan, spreading the message in the press and mass media of the time and accepting for membership in his proposed association men and women from all classes of society, churchmen and laity, Orthodox and Roman Catholics. But even de Régis could not forebear from adding a note of inequality in his programme. Future Orthodox members of the society were in the case of laymen to pray for the Pope and in the case of clerics to commemorate him in the liturgy — albeit in *foro interno*. But Catholics were not invited to pray for or commemorate the competent Orthodox authorities — the Romanian Patriarch and his bishops — who were still viewed, at least for the time being and even by the progressive Jesuit, as under the shadow of schism.

A final obstacle in any serious research of this question is that, *volens-nolens* we are left with but one half of a correspondence. The response of Ledóchowski, like that of Eugène Cardinal Tisserant and that of the Romanian authorities is still unknown. Tisserant's answer is probably in the files of the Roman Congregation for Eastern Churches and has still to become public while that of the Romanians reposes in the archives of that government or church.

The political climate of the nineteen-thirties was hardly conducive to the development of involved projects of the type which has just been discussed. Violent conflict and radical political change were the order of the day and did not favour their realisation, which demanded calm and harmony. This Romanian plan for the union of the churches as well as the response of a Jesuit, prudent but visionary, both of which were discovered in the Roman Archives of the Society

of Jesus, prove that, even in such a trying and turbulent time, a few individuals still gave serious thought to the problem of Christian Unity.

Pontifical Oriental Institute

Constantin Simon, S.J.

APPENDIX

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Pontificium Collegium Russicum
Via Carlo Cattaneo, 2
Roma

Roma, li 15.XII.1937
Telefono 44-848

Mon Très Révérend Père,
P.C.

J'envoie ci-inclus à Votre Paternité, sous le numéro I, le résumé de mon entrevue avec S.E. Monsieur Pangal, comme Votre Paternité me l'avait demandé, et sous le numéro II, un projet plus concret de l'organisation d'une association que M. Pangal avait en vue, — projet que nous avons rédigé ensemble après plusieurs échanges de vue.

M. Pangal a revu le Cardinal Tisserant, à qui il a dit que je l'aidais, et qui a manifesté le désir de nous recevoir ensemble chez lui mardi prochain. A cause de cela, j'aurais l'intention, vendredi matin, d'aller à la Congrégation Orientale voir son Eminence et lui soumettre d'avance le projet (car je sais qu'il aime, avant tout échange de vues, voir par écrit l'objet de ce qui doit être traité). C'est pour cela que je prie Votre Paternité de vouloir bien, si Elle le juge à propos, me faire savoir si Elle approuve les grandes lignes de ce projet ainsi ébauché. Si vous désirez me voir demain pour me demander des explications ou me transmettre des suggestions relativement à ce projet, je serais à votre entière disposition et il suffirait de me le faire savoir par le Frère.

Je me recommande instamment à vos SS. SS. et reste, mon très Révérend Père

de votre Paternité
le serviteur indigne en N.S.

Ph. De Régis s.j.

Pont. Coll. Russ. 15.XII.1937. Roma
P. de Régis

Mittit exemplaria ideae organisationis ad unionem ecclesiarum in Romania praeparandam, un cum Min. Pangal elaboratae, pro Congr. Orient. et observationes APRN. expect.

Allegata

Allegatum ad litt. P.de Régis, d.15.12.37

I. QUESTION DE L'UNION DES EGLISES EN ROUMANIE

Son Excellence, M. Jean Pangal, ancien ministre d'Etat en Roumanie, homme politique influent, ancien chef de la franc-maçonnerie, qui, sur le désir exprimé par le patriarche Miron, eut le courage de dissoudre publiquement la franc-maçonnerie, est venu à Rome, le 12 décembre 1937, uniquement dans le but de traiter de la question d'union des églises.

Il ne vient pas en son propre nom seulement, mais il a une véritable mission, bien que évidemment pas officielle. Le Roi de Roumanie, qui l'honore d'une amitié particulière, est parfaitement au courant du but de son voyage et l'approuve entièrement. Il lui a dit avant de partir: «Ne m'engagez pas imprudemment; je suis au-dessus et officiellement pas au courant de ce qui se traitera. Mais sachez bien que tout ce qui se fera dans le sens de l'union des églises trouvera en moi un très chaud partisan. Je considère comme mon devoir d'accomplir le testament de mon père, qui rêvait de l'union religieuse en Roumanie, et je n'aurai de repos que lorsque j'aurai accompli cette grande œuvre dans mon royaume.» Dans une autre circonstance, M. Pangal parlait avec plusieurs autres personnages politiques, parmi lesquels était le grand maréchal de la cour, de l'union religieuse, et ils disaient qu'il serait bon d'avoir une certaine somme, p. ex. 10 millions de lei, pour faire la propagande en ce sens et préparer le terrain. Alors le maréchal de la cour intervint et dit très catégoriquement: «Non, 10 millions, c'est très insuffisant. Soyez bien persuadés que pour une telle œuvre, Sa Majesté serait toute disposée à allouer au moins 100 millions.»

Le patriarche Miron et le métropolite Bălan (et plusieurs autres évêques également) sont au courant de ces projets et marchent pleinement dans ce sens. Le patriarche a dit à M. Pangal qu'il n'aurait aucune difficulté à admettre la suprématie du pape et désire positivement l'union; il reconnaît qu'il faut déjà faire quelque chose en ce sens pour préparer la chose. Parlant un jour avec M. Pangal de ce sujet, il lui livra sa préoccupation. «Que croyez-vous, si l'Union se fait, qui sera nommé Cardinal, moi ou bien l'archevêque latin? N'est-il pas à craindre que ce sera ce dernier?» M. Pangal lui affirma que ce serait très certainement lui patriarche qui serait nommé Cardinal, ce qui sembla plaire au Patriarche...

Le métropolite Bălan, lui, est encore plus favorable et surtout plus énergique. Car, pour le patriarche, M. Pangal a l'impression qu'il désire la chose, ne fera aucune difficulté, mais ne sera jamais un homme qui se compromettra pour une idée. Il faut préparer la chose et la lui présenter toute faite; il l'acceptera avec joie, mais il ne semble pas qu'il faille attendre quelque chose de plus de lui.

Le métropolite Bălan a dit à M. Pangal qu'un point qui serait épineux et difficile, serait celui de la nomination des évêques. Dans le clergé et la hiérarchie, on tiendrait bien à ce que l'église de Roumanie gardât le privilège de nommer directement ses évêques. On pourrait les faire confirmer par Rome, mais on consentirait difficilement à les voir nommer directement par le Saint-Siège.

M. Pangal, venant à Rome avec cette mission, apporte trois propositions.

La première vient du Patriarche. Le Patriarche veut que les attaques contra sa personne (relatives à son attitude trop servile vis-à-vis des autorités hongroises pendant la guerre) cessent immédiatement et complètement. D'une manière générale, qu'on cesse, soit du côté orthodoxe, soit du côté catholique, toute polémique de caractère personnel, qui ne pourrait qu'envenimer inutilement une situation que présentement l'on veut changer. En somme, un pacte de non-agression...

Au point de vue positif, le Patriarche propose une très vaste organisation de défense commune de la foi contre l'athéisme et les sectes. Les catholiques et orthodoxes, laissant de côté ce qui les divise, collaboreraient pour défendre et promouvoir ce qui leur est commun. Ce serait là le premier pas en vue de préparer les esprits à l'idée de l'Union.

Le second desideratum est exprimé par le Roi. Il paraît et est, en soi, assez secondaire; mais il a une assez grande importance en raison du cas qu'en fait le Roi. Il faut savoir que le Roi est enthousiaste de l'Ordre de Malte, qu'il a appelé dans son Royaume, dont il a admis le représentant avec caractère plénipotentiaire, et au sujet duquel il rêverait de jouer un peu le rôle de Paul I de Russie. Or le roi est un peu mécontent de ce que, en quatre ans, on n'ait pu obtenir que quatre croix de chevalier pour des roumains, et la direction de l'Ordre de Malte laisse entendre que cette réserve est due à la peur que l'on a de voir le Saint-siège mécontent de voir trop de croix données à des orthodoxes. Il s'agirait donc, à l'instante prière du Roi, de donner des directives à l'Ordre de Malte pour qu'il se montre plus généreux vis-à-vis des roumains. Ceci, afin d'entrer dans les vues du Roi et de ne pas risquer de l'indisposer contre le Saint-siège, alors qu'il fait de cette question une affaire de grande importance.

La troisième suggestion est de M. Pangal lui-même. Il voudrait, outre la grande ligue de défense commune dont il a été parlé dans le premier point, voir fonder une autre organisation, que lui conçoit comme un ordre chevaleresque avec insignes reconnus par le pape, qui, sous la direction des jésuites (c'est le point sur lequel il se permet d'insister) grouperait un certain nombre d'hommes résolus et dévoués désireux de travailler positivement à l'Union et s'engageant par une promesse d'obéissance au Saint-Siège. M. Pangal n'apporte encore sur ce point aucune précision. Il se borne à des généralités et reconnaît qu'il faudrait en commun préciser les modalités et le but de cette organisation. C'est ce qui fera l'objet d'un rapport ultérieur, après conversation et échange de vues entre M. Pangal et moi-même.

Telles sont les grandes lignes du projet tel qu'il m'a été exposé par M. Pangal ce vendredi 10 décembre 1937.

Ph. de Régis, s.j.

Pont. Coll. Russ. 10.XII.1937. Roma

P. de Régis

Proponit memoriale quaestionis unionis ecclesiarum in Romania a S.E. Pangal delineatum.

Allegatum ad litt. P.de Régis, d.15.12.37

II. PROJET D'UNE ORGANISATION EN VUE DE PREPARER L'UNION DES EGLISES EN ROUMANIE

Il s'agit de fonder une organisation ou confrérie de prière et de propagande en vue de travailler à réaliser l'union des églises en Roumanie.

BUT. — Ce but doit être: 1) *très défini*. Il ne s'agit pas en effet d'un vague désir d'union, que tout vrai chrétien doit avoir. Il s'agit d'un but prochain: réaliser le plus tôt possible cette union religieuse; et donc prendre les moyens nécessaires pour cela et agir. Il s'agit par conséquent d'une confrérie *active*, qui ne se contente pas de désirer ou de prier, mais qui *agit* en ce sens. 2) Ce but doit être non pas seulement le but principal, mais but *unique* de l'organisation. Par conséquent, ce ne doit pas être un but secret, mais le but officiel, avoué et proclamé de l'organisation. A cause de cela, on aura certainement moins de membres; bien des orthodoxes sympathisants et même peut-être des catholiques auront peur de se compromettre ainsi publiquement. Tant pis. Ce qu'il faut, ce ne sont pas des sympathisants (qu'une autre ligue, à caractère beaucoup plus large, peut grouper), mais bien des membres actifs, dévoués à fond à cette grande idée et décidés à tout pour arriver à la réaliser.

MEMBRES. — Pourront être reçus dans cette association des membres appartenant aux deux cultes, orthodoxe ou catholique. Il ne leur est nullement demandé de changer de religion ou de faire quoi que ce soit qui soit contre leur religion, mais seulement de s'engager à travailler en vue de réaliser l'union religieuse. Peuvent être admis des ecclésiastiques ou des laïques, des hommes ou des femmes, peut-être même des enfants. On pourrait peut-être envisager la possibilité, d'admettre, outre des membres actifs, résolus à remplir le double programme de prière et d'*action*, des membres agrégés, qui, pour une raison ou pour une autre, ne pourraient être très actifs, mais qui, par leur sympathie éclairée et leur prière, pourraient cependant être une aide non négligeable. Ceci serait à préciser dans la suite.

COMITE CENTRAL. — Ce point me semble de toute première importance. Si l'on veut que l'organisation soit vivante et active, si l'on veut aussi qu'elle ne dévie pas du but ni ne s'égare en des questions épineuses ou des méthodes dangereuses, il faut qu'il y ait à la tête un comité d'hommes très au courant de la situation, prudents et énergiques, d'une culture théologique et historique supérieure.

Il n'est pas nécessaire que ce comité soit nombreux, et sans doute est-il mieux qu'il ne le soit pas. Cinq ou six-hommes, mais réalisant bien ces qualités, sont pleinement suffisants. S.E. Monsicur Pangal, l'initiateur du mouvement, semble tout désigné. Du côté orthodoxe, il faudrait au moins un ecclésiastique qui assure la liaison avec le patriarche et la hiérarchie; peut-être aussi un professeur de théologie laïc, s'il s'en trouve. Du côté catholique, on doit pouvoir trouver, soit dans le clergé séculier, soit chez les jésuites ou assomptionnistes, des théologiens assez avertis et en même temps assez larges d'idées qui indiqueraient la méthode à suivre.

MOYENS DE PROPAGANDE. — Il faudrait organiser des conférences, des séries d'articles dans la presse religieuse et peut-être même la grande presse, pour peu à peu persuader les esprits, non seulement que l'union religieuse est souhaitable en soi, mais qu'elle est possible et relativement assez facile à réaliser actuellement en Roumanie.

Pour diriger et alimenter cette campagne intelligente de propagande, il semble nécessaire de fonder un organe, dont le but serait, non point d'attein-

dre directement la masse ni même l'élite, mais uniquement de donner à la presse et aux conférenciers des directives sur la méthode à suivre, des plans d'études et canevas sur les sujets à traiter, etc. En somme, faire pour cette question spéciale de l'union ce que font les «Lettres de Rome»¹⁰⁸ pour la question de l'athéisme bolchevique. C'est dans la rédaction de cet organe que le Comité central aura surtout à exercer son action.

Il importe que le ton des articles comme en général l'atmosphère de toute la propagande évite soigneusement deux excès, dont le premier serait la polémique proprement dite, parfaitement inutile, et surtout le manque de charité et le manque d'estime réciproque qui iraient droit contre le but que l'on cherche à atteindre; mais un autre excès opposé, non moins dangereux, serait de vouloir s'en tenir à des embrassades mutuelles, sans fondement sérieux théologique, sans connaissance exacte de ce qui divise orthodoxes et catholiques et exposé loyal de la manière dont il semble que ces divisions puissent se laisser réduire. En un mot, charité, mais charité éclairée et prudente.

VIE SPIRITUELLE. — Les membres de la Confrérie devront tout être des hommes profondément croyants et persuadés que, dans une œuvre aussi importante et délicate, ce sont les moyens spirituels qui doivent avoir le premier pas. Donc, sans oublier évidemment l'action, qui est nécessaire, ils devront avoir soin de prier et surtout faire prier pour obtenir du bon Dieu ce grand résultat. Ils devront aussi approfondir leur propre vie spirituelle et religieuse, chacun dans les cadres de son culte respectif.

A cause des difficultés théoriques et pratiques et aussi à cause de la confusion que cela pourrait créer dans les esprits, il ne saurait être question d'imposer aux membres des deux cultes des offices publics liturgiques en commun; par ailleurs, il semble désirable d'instituer officiellement des prières publiques communes en faveur de l'union, mais alors pour chaque groupe religieux séparément.

Les membres de la confrérie devraient s'engager à prier, au moins dans le for intérieur, pour le Pape comme pour le chef spirituel de la chrétienté. Il faudrait que les prêtres orthodoxes membres de l'association fassent dans la liturgie la mention du Pape, non pas encore évidemment publiquement, mais au moins dans le for interne.

ORGANISATION EXTERIEURE. — Il semble prématuré de songer dès maintenant aux détails de l'organisation, aux insignes, au caractère officiellement reconnu par le Saint-siège qui pourrait dans la suite être attribué à l'association. Le premier pas est d'établir une confrérie proprement dite, avec des statuts et des règlements particuliers, qui devraient être rédigés sur place, par le Comité d'initiative qui serait ensuite le Comité central directeur de l'œuvre, dont il a été parlé plus haut. On pourrait peut-être penser à avoir à Rome un organe de liaison, qui présenterait au Saint-siège et à la S. Congrégation Orientale les diverses questions intéressant l'association.

¹⁰⁸ *Lettres de Rome sur l'athéisme moderne* was a bulletin published at Rome by Joseph Ledit S.J., from 1935-1939. Its purpose was to illustrate and review anti-religious programme of communism in all countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

Poland's Stepchildren: The Lemki — a People Tried by Fate

Today, there is no corner of Poland, or for that matter in all of Europe, where popular folk traditions still exist — unaltered and frozen in time. Everywhere, change and loss have taken their heavy toll. Only broken pieces of a once vibrant tradition may still be experienced — fragments of a once living culture, which the bulldozers of contemporary civilization have irretrievably swept away.

* Condensed, annotated and translated from the original Polish by Constantin Simon, S.J.

Translator's Note: The *Lemki* (singular *Lemko*) — the ethnic name is probably derived from their word for *only* (= *lem*) which sets them apart from their neighbors — are a people of Eastern Slavonic stock. Akin to the Carpatho-Rusyns, Ukrainians and Russians, they live on both sides of the Carpathians in what is now Poland and Slovakia. In Soviet times, along with the Bojki and Huculi, they were considered one of the three tribal groups which form the westernmost fringe of the Ukrainians. Others considered them Russians or Poles. But with perestroika, a renewed ethnic self-consciousness also came to the Lemki, many of whom seek ethnic self-determination and an independent national identity.

Originally Orthodox Christians, the Lemki became Catholics of the Eastern rite (Greek Catholics) at the end of the seventeenth century. But an innate conservatism insulated them from both Polish culture which surrounded them as well as from the nascent Ukrainian movement which spread near and about them at the beginning of the twentieth century. Lemki continued to define themselves as *Rusnaky* (= *Rusins*) and many continued to stress their ties with Russian culture.

On the basis of unpublished documents in Polish state archives, the author describes the tragic fate which befell the Lemki in the wake of World War II. After the war, Lemko homelands became a field of action for guerilla warfare between Polish army troops and Ukrainian insurgents — the latter originally allied with the German Nazis — each determined to carry out their political agenda. The Lemki, although mostly indifferent to the conflict, were accused by the authorities of offering support to the insurgents and condemned to share their fate. This meant either repatriation to the Soviet Union or evacuation to other, distant parts of Poland.

The Polish word *ruski* and its derivatives, which usually refer to Eastern Slavs living within the borders of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, is here rendered as *Rusin* by the translator, although Russian and Ruthenian are also possible alternatives. *Ruthenian* is used only when the word possesses an ecclesiastical sense and in the phrase *Old Ruthenians*, a title referring to an ill-defined group of Galician Rusophiles. The use of this word in the article is not identical to the way the word is commonly employed in North America where it refers to the descendants of Eastern Slavs from historical Hungary and their ecclesiastical structures.

But the violent upheavals, which shook the lands of the Lemki, are different. They lack the fluency of the new, which simply arrives to replace the old. Instead they came as a shock, which dramatically disrupted the flow of history, the forged links in a chain. They destroyed the achievements of Lemko culture and stunted its soul.

Those who wander the paths of the Lower Beskid mountain range in today's southeastern Poland or the region just to its west, may stumble upon many relics of the Lemko past. Sometimes, they may hit upon a magnificent little church, formerly of the eastern rite, an orphaned peasant's cottage and at times a chapel without holy images or an overgrown cemetery with crosses of stone. Even the landscape is not the same as it was in olden days. The forest has laid waste the fertile field and mountain paths have been shrouded in a dark tunnel. Even the Lemki — the age-old inhabitants of the land, have changed. Long have they lived among strangers and as a result have sacrificed much of their own traditions and ancestral heritage.

The tragedy which fell upon the Lemko population during the Second World War drew upon them the attention of their neighbors. People began to ask just who are these Lemki, about whom they knew so very little, but who soon became the object of discussion and polemic...

The hardy Lemko mountaineers were dealt strong blows just after the last war. Forced to leave their homes, some of them continue to live in far-western Poland, where they prosper, give birth to children and continue to fill the ranks of the Lemko intelligentsia. Others have returned to their old homes in the Beskid region, where they are attempting to build a new Lemko community...¹

THE LEMKI IN POLAND: AT THE CROSSROADS OF TWO CULTURES

The Lemki are a group of Eastern Slavs or Rusins who for centuries have continued to inhabit lands which today are divided politically between Poland and Slovakia. Formerly, all Lemki lived within the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the 1920's, the newly formed border between Poland and Czechoslovakia separated them. Since that time, the history of the Lemki of Poland has been subject to distinct factors, which clearly set it apart from that of all other groups of Rusins living within the Carpathian region.

Numbering about one hundred fifty thousand individuals, the Lemki of Poland were deported during 1944-1947 from their ancestral homelands in the Carpathians. This *evacuation* which the Lemki themselves strongly opposed, became a determining factor in their later history.

¹ R. Reinfuss, *Śladami Łemków* (Warszawa 1990), p. 5.

The Lemki, themselves of east-Slavonic ethnic makeup, fit like a wedge into a transitional ethnic area where the population soon becomes Polish and Slovak — both peoples are Slavs but belong to the western branch of the Slavonic race. As a matter of course, the Lemki soon came under the influence of western-Slavonic culture. But the Lemki, who staunchly continued to call themselves *Rusnaky*, defended their own ways against these outside influences by means of their innate conservative attitude and their resistance to anything new or foreign as well as through their passive rebuttal of the dominant Polish culture which surrounded them. Likewise they refused to be influenced in their religious beliefs by Roman Catholicism of the Latin rite or in politics by those who proposed a Ukrainian solution to their problems. The Lemki evolved a characteristic mentality, traditional and conservative, opposed to any novelties or changes, tenaciously linked with their own dialect, homeland and Greek Catholic religion.

SEARCHING FOR ETHNIC ANSWERS

During the nineteenth century, a number of national and ethnic ideologies began to spread even among the Lemki. But among these conservative and inward looking inhabitants of the Carpathians, only those variants, which presented a traditional outlook, or those which emphasized the *Rusin* factor in their ethnic makeup had any chance of acceptance. Eventually, the Lemki came to favour the so-called *Old Ruthenian* (*staroruska*) or pro-Russian national ideology and came to view themselves as a part of the Russian people. On the other hand, this type of national ideology based itself on an undeveloped idea of ethnicity which viewed the fact of being a Rusin in the widest sense possible.

The Lemko intelligentsia soon had to choose a more precise form of ethnic identification. It would seem that the Ukrainian or *populist* solution which was quickly spreading throughout most of eastern Galicia would have possessed, even among the Lemki, the greatest chance of acceptance. But such was not the case. The Lemki had their own intelligentsia which was *populist* and *Rusin* at the same time and considered the Ukrainians traitors since the latter had rejected the very name of *Rusin*, the traditional symbol of the *Rusin* idea. Instead, the Ukrainophiles spread their own brand of political separatism. The Lemki intelligentsia was likewise put off by Ukrainian unrest and political agitation. For many years, it seemed as

though Ukrainian activists would never conquer the Lemki lands, which long remained a bastion of the Old Ruthenians and Rus-sophiles.

But Ukrainian influence grew by leaps and bounds — in spite of huge obstacles — and appeared among the Lemki by the end of the nineteenth century. The Lemko intelligentsia continued to be educated at Przemyśl and at L'vov, but was mostly composed of Old Ruthenians. But gradually some of its members began to agree with the ideas of the *populists* or Ukrainophiles. In 1896, Bishop Konstantyn Čechovyč² was assigned to the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl and began a conscious and thorough process of the *ukrainization* of his clergy and parishes. As a result, major changes were implanted affecting the assignment of priests to parishes as well as determining the choice of future candidates to the priesthood.

About the same time, other members of the Lemko intelligentsia, likewise aroused by the wave of nationalism spreading over the Austro-Hungarian Empire, began to think of themselves as part of a separate *Rusin* ethnicity which they considered to share with other Eastern Slavs of the Carpathians. The evolution of this line of thought depended to a great extent on the progress of the national idea among the Eastern Slavic Rusins living on the other side of the Carpathians in what was the Hungarian Kingdom of the time. Studies of ethnography and language had the positive effect of defining more specifically what was really meant by Lemko culture and drew a more definite image of the borders and area contained within the Lemko lands. The term *Lemko* began more often to appear in scholarly literature. One expert would seem to be correct when he asserts that *both the birth of the Ukrainian people and that of Lemko separatism occurred just around the same time*.³

Originally, the *populist* wing of the Lemko movement was tightly linked to the Old Ruthenian orientation. But a proof of rising ethnic self-consciousness among the Lemki was their attempt to decide their own political future after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, in line with Woodrow Wilson's theory about the self-determination of peoples. The events of 1918-1920, most of all the calling into being of a tiny *Republic of Komańcza* (*Komančanska Respublyka*) and the creation of a *Rusin Peoples Republic* (*Russka Narodna Respublyka*) in 1918, show that the Lemki were already conscious of

² Bishop Czechowycz (Konstantyn Čechovyč, Bishop of Przemyśl 1896-1915).

³ K. Z. Nowakowski, *Sytuacja polityczna na Łemkowszczyźnie w latach 1918-1939* in *Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, Volume 1 (Sanok 1995), p. 314.

their duty before history of deciding their own fate. They showed solidarity with their ethnic brethren living in the Carpathians to the south and hoped for an undivided Lemko territory. But the Old Ruthenians still determined the way of thinking which prevailed among the inhabitants of the Lemko villages in the Beskid Mountains. The Ukrainian orientation was still weak and confined to teachers, clergymen and lawyers. Otherwise, people resented the Ukrainians and recalled how they opposed and made trouble for the Old Ruthenians during Austrian times. Although the Austrian government had repressed the Old Ruthenians during the First World War, the latter returned victorious in its aftermath. Former Russophile inmates of the infamous Thalerhof concentration camp, where the Austrians had confined them, rose to become authoritative leaders of the Lemko intelligentsia.

RUSSOPHILES, UKRAINOPHILES AND RUSINS: THE LEMKI AND THEIR CHURCH

Russophile ideology notwithstanding, most of the Lemki still confessed Greek Catholicism, in spite of a few defections to Orthodoxy before the Second World War.

A similar type of ethnic consciousness endured among the Lemki throughout the interwar period. Constant conflict reigned unabated between the proponents of Rusin and Ukrainian ideologies. It played out on various levels of society: in religion, language, education and the economy.

Those who favoured the Ukrainian ideology had the support of a part of the clergy, spreading their political programme by means of the press and various political and social organizations. They pressed for the separation of the Lemko lands from Poland and attempted to gain followers from among the Lemki by stirring up the local population. But the Rusin faction did not lie idle. In 1922, the *Rusin Social Committee* tried to organize meetings at L'vov to which Lemki were also invited. The police, however, forbade the assembly. Among the Old Ruthenians, the Russophile *Kačkovskij Society* was also active.

In 1932 the Ukrainophile *Prosvita* society created a special Lemko branch whose mission was to propagate the Ukrainian orientation. Its purpose was to counter the activity of the *Rusin Peasant Organization*. A year later, the Ukrainophile *Lemko Union* (*Lemkovskij Sojuz*) was formed to act as an antidote to the *Rusin Agricultural Organization* (*Russka Ahrarna Orhanizacija*).

By this time, real political turmoil ensued which involved the Polish government. It too would play a definite role. In 1932, Poland created a special committee for Lemko affairs. Adjacent to the *Committee for the Scholarly Investigation of the Eastern Territories*, the *Polish Academy of Sciences* also organized a section which was to deal with Lemko matters.

During this same period, the Greek Catholic Church in Poland had become a strong advocate of Ukrainian patriotic feeling and actively assisted in diffusing Ukrainian nationalism, especially in the Lemko lands. But as a rule, Greek Catholic clergymen were themselves rather unfamiliar with the Lemki and their language which they regarded as a curious aberration to be rejected at the earliest opportunity.

During the nineteen twenties, the Orthodox Church in Poland began its own quite intensive missionary activity among the Lemki. It was soon able to make a number of converts from both the laity and even the clergy. In the face of this new conflict and the increase of Orthodoxy among the Lemki, it was deemed necessary to create a separate canonical structure for the Lemko lands, independent of the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl — too active in the spreading of Ukrainian national feeling. The new ecclesiastical entity would mitigate the Ukrainian orientation — an ideology which displeased many of the Lemki — within the Church. By so doing, it would help brake the dynamic of the Orthodox missionaries — the Orthodox had played on anti-Ukrainian feeling in their struggle to win the Lemki — and even succeed in leading back defectors to Greek Catholicism.

AN APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATION FOR THE LEMKI

On 10 February 1934, Pius XII emitted *Quo aptius consuleret*, a decree formally addressed to the Congregation for the Oriental Church. By means of this pronouncement, the Pope established the *Apostolic Administration of Łemkowczyzna* (= the Lemko lands) for Lemki — officially only for Greek Catholics — living on the territory of the Przemyśl Greek Catholic diocese.

Throughout its rather short existence, the Apostolic Administration was headed by three so-called administrators: W. Maściuch (appointed on 11 December 1934), Jakov Medveckyj (appointed on 18 July 1936) and Aleksander Malynovs'kyj (appointed on 3 February 1941), as well as by one vicar capitular: Ioann Poljanskij/Jan Polański (appointed on 14 March 1936). All were simple priests without epis-

copal ordination. Creating the *Apostolic Administration*, church officials had decided that it would be independent of the jurisdiction of the Greek Catholic bishop of Przemyśl.

In January 1935, Josafat Kocylovsk'kyj, Bishop of Przemyśl, and Vasilij Maściuch, the first appointed Administrator Apostolic, jointly drafted a letter addressed to the faithful of the new *Administration*. The brief listed the reasons for its creation as well as described the current ecclesiastical situation. It emphasized the fact that

... the Holy Father had granted the government of the new Administration to Father Maściuch who would act as Administrator Apostolic. In accordance with canon law ... the Administrator Apostolic acting as the ordinary of this new ecclesiastical entity, will enjoy the very same rights and privileges as a diocesan bishop.

The letter continued:

The Reverend Fathers and faithful, who belong to these deaneries will depend from this moment forth, in everything which concerns the jurisdiction of the ordinary, on the Apostolic Administrator of Rymanów-Zdrój (= the new Apostolic Administrator). Priests are bound to submit to him by the vow of obedience, which they had pronounced at their ordination, as well as, by that which they emitted at the moment when they received their parishes.

Since the Apostolic Administration does not possess a seminary where future priests for the Administration might be trained, priests from the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl may apply for positions in the Lemko lands. The contrary is also possible: priests of the Administration may also apply for posting in the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl. Requests must be forwarded through the respective ordinaries.⁴

Unfortunately, the new ecclesiastical administration could not survive the violent shockwaves, which disseminated the Lemko community at the end of the Second World War. Their peaceful homelands became a battlefield which saw horrible and prolonged guerilla warfare between Polish Army troops and bands of Ukrainian insurgents. The Polish-Soviet frontier, which hermetically sealed the Soviet Union from the West and even from its satellites, closed just to the east of Lemko ethnic territory.

⁴ Compare *Apostolska Administracija Lemkivščyny in Meta*, 5 (1935), p. 1.

REPATRIATION: AN OBLIGATORY ALTERNATIVE

The first maneuvers of the Polish Army against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrajins'ka Povstans'ka Armija* = UPA) were initiated around July 1945. The Polish Army with three infantry battalions began to comb the forests around Przemyśl and nearby regions, searching for enemy activity. An order of the Polish High Command, issued on 24 May 1945, instructed its troops "to eliminate in a most energetic and decisive way and in the shortest possible time all gangs of partisans in order to establish normal working conditions for the local government and citizenry."⁵

Together with this strictly military action, authorities ordered the mass resettlement of people of Ukrainian, Belorussian, Russian and Rusin (= Lemko) ethnicity out of Poland and into the Ukraine. This operation was conducted after a mutual accord was reached between the *Polish Peoples Liberation Committee* (*Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*) and the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In addition to military forces, the *Polish Special Services* (=Secret Police) helped organize the mass deportation.

Naturally, the Lemko lands — as settled by Eastern Slavs — were likewise included in the programme of *repatriation*. Local Polish functionaries directing the evacuation, as well as Ukrainian district deputies, set up their headquarters in the main towns of the region — Sanok, Jasło, Gorlice and Nowy Sącz — from whence they oversaw operations. Around Sanok, the deportations began already in November 1944. But since the military front was constantly moving between Krosno and Jasło, a part of the population of the Lemko villages of the area was evacuated only in March-April 1945. At first, resettlement in the Soviet Union (= Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) was voluntary. Only later did it become obligatory. Writing in 1967, the historian A. Kwilecki described the situation:

Some Lemki voluntarily left their ravaged villages and farms in Poland — especially in the area of Dukla. Emigration seemed to them the only way out of a harsh environment. Poverty stricken people left their villages hoping to improve their economic situation as well as ethnically conscious Ukrainians who left for ideological reasons... They departed for the Soviet Union drawn by the promise of living in a socialist country. Several Lemki spoke about the reasons why they left. It would seem that during this preliminary period they voluntarily agreed to leave, mistak-

⁵ A. B. Szcześniak, W. Z. Szota, *Droga do nikąd. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i jej likwidacja w Polsce* (Warszawa 1973), p. 386.

only thinking that the government was forcing them to go — a direct order from which there was no appeal...⁶

The protocol records of a meeting held in the district town administration of Gorlice on 3 August 1945 tell another story:

Mindful of the fact that the Lemki absolutely do not wish to leave their settlements, resorting to all sorts of measures in order to stay, as well as taking into account the official order making deportation obligatory, we must ask ourselves how to proceed and how to expedite the operation, in order to convince the Lemki that they must voluntarily abandon their settlements and leave for the Ukraine, their fatherland.

After a lengthy debate and animated discussion, we propose the following resolutions:

- 1) A tax must be placed on the Lemki;
- 2) A quota must be set and rigorously imposed;
- 3) Arrears in taxation must be collected.

From the moment a person in question agrees to leave, he is absolved from all three points and as a Ukrainian citizen is freed from all obligations vis-à-vis the Polish government. Furthermore:

- 4) Persons designated for resettlement, but who do not give up their original place of residence, automatically lose their Polish citizenship. These people must be clearly informed that they are in great danger, being outside the law. Remaining in a foreign country may not be very safe for them.
- 5) All the former property of the Lemki, both mobile and immobile, becomes the property of the government.⁷

Another order of 23 November 1945 and which came from the Lesko district authorities also speaks of obligatory resettlement:

In order to implement the accord jointly signed on 9 September 1944 by the Polish Peoples Liberation Committee and the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic regarding the evacuation of people of Ukrainian ethnicity from Poland and Polish citizens from the Ukrainian Republic, I urge the Ukrainians of Lesko to report by 30 November 1945

⁶ A. Kwilecki, *Fragmety najnowszej historii Łemków (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Łemków Sądeckich)* in *Rocznik Sądecki*, 8 (1967), pp. 276-277.

⁷ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (Archive of New Acts in Warsaw) (AAN), Główny Przedstawiciel Rządu (GPRz) do spraw Ewakuacji w Lublinie (Chief Government Representative for the Order of Evacuation in Lublin), Signatura 166, no pagination; L. Brzoza, *Ewakuacja ludności ukraińskiej z polski w latach 1944-1946* (typed manuscript) (Warszawa, no date), pp. 113-114.

to headquarters of the Ukrainian Committee for Resettlement in order to be resettled.

I repeat that citizens who do not report to headquarters by this date will be resettled by force with the help of the military.⁸

In the Lemko lands, obligatory repatriation reached its highest extent during September-October 1945. Official statistics of October 1945 reveal that 79.8% of the population of the Nowy Sącz region, 76.5% of Gorlice, 88.8% of Jasło, 20.1% of Sanok, while from Krosno more than 90% of the local population was already deported.⁹

On the other hand, about 20-30% of the Lemki apparently wished at all costs to remain in Poland.¹⁰ It would appear, however, that this number was deliberately attenuated and does not correspond to the real amount. Many Lemki registered themselves as Poles and received church certificates from Roman Catholic parishes stating that they belonged to the Latin rite. Even after they were resettled in the Soviet Union, they were able to return to Poland legally as Poles. In many other cases they returned even illegally. But such a move was not easy since the frontier was well guarded. This is apparent from the minutes of a conference organized by the provincial administration in Cracow (Kraków) on 7 May 1946. The meeting had been held to discuss the problems of repatriation:

Colonel Chyliński asked how the Lemki felt about the Polish government. A local official answered attesting to the fact that they were a hostile people and should be resettled by force with the help of the army. Mayor Lib thought that people of that type would stir up panic among the general population and would only increase the power of the "Ogicń" (= Fire, probably the name of a Ukrainian insurgent group) gang which at the time was making itself known in those parts. Colonel Chyliński was of the opinion that people marked for resettlement must abandon all their immobile property, especially since the Polish-Russian border at the time was so well guarded that return was impossible.¹¹

⁸ AAN, Główny Przedstawiciel Rządu (GPRz) do spraw Ewakuacji w Lublinie, Signatura 166; L. Brzoza, *Ewakuacja...*, pp. 113-114.

⁹ Kwilecki, *Fragmenty najnowszej historii...*, p. 278. Archiwum Państwowe w Nowym Sączu (government archive in Nowy Sącz) (APNS), Państwowy Urząd Repatriacyjny w Nowym Sączu (Government Bureau for Repatriation) (PURNS), Signatura 3, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Powiatowego Oddziału PUR w Nowym Sączu na czas od 21.09-21.10.1945. Akcja ewakuacyjna Łemków*, no pagination.

¹⁰ A. Kwilecki, *Fragmenty najnowszej historii...*, p. 281.

¹¹ AAN GPRz, Signatura 166, no pagination.

Moreover, many individuals who did wish to be deported directed petitions to government officials asking that they neglect to comply with the order of obligatory repatriation to the Ukrainian SSR. One example is the letter of the inhabitants of Szczawne, a community in the district of Sanok, sent to Premier E. Osóbka-Morawski and dated 19 February 1946:

The third of January 1946 is drawing closer and with it the deferred extension of the temporary abeyance of the order regarding voluntary resettlement in the East. The undersigned representatives of the community of Szczawne in Sanok district find themselves in a situation of this sort and would ask that the resettlement policy in their case be ignored. They base their request on the following reasons:

Our ancestors have dwelt on these lands from time immemorial. They have cultivated them with the sweat of their brow and bequeathed them to us.

During World War II, the only sons of our lands gave up their lives — their greatest treasure — for both these lands as well as for the Polish Republic. Others became permanent cripples. Still others, ready to make all kinds of sacrifices, are this moment serving in the Polish army. All of us firmly believe that the government respects these sacrifices made on its behalf.

Both orphans and fathers — those who have remained behind — beg that they be allowed to continue to live on these lands for which their sons and fathers spilled their blood. From ancient times, history tells us that lands, defended at the cost of human life, remain the property of those who have defended them.¹²

Resettlement to the Ukrainian SSR officially ceased on 10 August 1946. Until that time, about 480,000 people had been deported to the Ukraine — both Ukrainians and Rusins. About 70,000-80,000 were Lemki.¹³ The Lemki were resettled mostly in the western Ukraine in the regions surrounding Tarnopol', L'vov and Ivano-Frankovsk. About 30-40% of the former Lemko population was able to remain in Poland.

¹² Compare archival materials in AAN GPRz, Signatura 9, pp. 89-92.

¹³ K. Kersten, *Przemiany w strukturze narodowościowej Polski po II wojnie światowej. Geneza i wyniki* in *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 2 (1969), p. 358; G. Łukasiewicz, G. Łukasiewicz, *Wokół genezy i przebiegu Akcji "Wista" in Dzieje Najnowsze*, 4 (1974), p. 39; A. Kwilecki, *Łemkowie, zagadnienie migracji i asymilacji* (Warszawa 1974), pp. 92-94; A. Kwilecki, *Problemy socjologiczne Łemków na Ziemiach Zachodnich. Uwagi teoretyczne i terminologiczne* in *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 3 (1966), p. 87; T. Majkowicz, *Kościół greckokatolicki w PRL in Polska-Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, Volume 1 (Przemyśl 1990), p. 252; K. Pudło, *Dzieje Łemków po drugiej wojnie światowej in Łemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpāt*, Volume 1, (Sanok 1995), p. 356.

It should be noted that studies until now have not taken into account the degree to which Polish officials allowed people speaking Ukrainian and especially the Lemki to freely choose their nationality and remain as Poles. Examples exist of local officials who exempted the Lemki from forced resettlement. Others purposefully carried out the order forcing those whom they considered *Rusin-Lemki* to leave.

DEPOPULATED VILLAGES AND THE CHURCH

Many villages — especially in the regions of Krosno, Jasło and Dukla — were entirely depopulated. Due to this fact, numerous parishes of the Lemko Apostolic Administration ceased to exist. Many priests together with their parishioners were taken to the Ukrainian SSR, where they shared the fate of the deported. During 1944-1945, twelve priests of the Administration died or were killed. The Apostolic Administration endured heavy losses. Continued conflicts between the Polish army and Ukrainian insurgents as well as the beginning of the persecution of the Greek Catholic Church did not augur a happy future. In September 1945, the officials of the Administration learned of the arrest of Josafat Kocylovskyj, Greek Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl. Kocylovskyj was himself later deported by Polish authorities and died in prison at Kiev.

The Soviet government soon began to openly persecute the Greek-Catholic Church in the Ukrainian SSR. Probably, it was news of this troubled situation which prompted Aleksander Malynovs'kyj, the last head of the Apostolic Administration, to leave Poland. For a time, Malynovs'kyj remained in hiding at Sanok and in the village of Wróblík Królewski, where he was surprised to encounter Jan Polański, one of his predecessors. Polański had headed the Administration just before the nomination of Malynovs'kyj and did not enjoy the best relations with his successor. In his memoirs, Polański described his rather strange meeting with Malynovs'kyj:

To my great surprise, upon entering my bedroom in the presbytery, I encountered Father Malynovs'kyj. The poor man did not expect my return, especially after he had denounced me to the Gestapo, describing me in the worst possible way. Now he had decided to use my presbytery as a hiding place. Greeting him, I cried out: "Excellency, fortune has turned its wheel, as the proverb says. You once had the power of life and death. You gave me up to death, but you see, I'm feeling quite chipper." "Happy to see you," I added. "I don't want to remember the wrongs you did to me. My house is your house. Stay as long as you like." Malynovs'kyj

was quite startled to see me. He could only gasp — I am sorry! — numerous times. He felt very depressed and troubled. I spoke with him a while and tried to raise his spirits, but he was very disturbed. The next day, he left for Sanok on horses which he got from the Basilian priest, whom he had named parish priest of Wróblík in my absence.¹⁴

Fearing arrest due to his collaboration with the German Nazis, Malynovs'kyj was able eventually to illegally cross the Polish border. In autumn 1945, he was able with the help of Ukrainian Insurgents to make it to Germany together with his closest associates, having arrived by way of Czechoslovakia. For a time, he served as Rector of a seminary at Hirschberg (Bavaria-Germany), eventually leaving for Holland. In 1951, he was named Vicar General of Ivan Bučko, Visitor Apostolic for Greek Catholic Ukrainians in Great Britain and Ireland. The last Administrator Apostolic of the Lemko Lands died on 18 November 1957 at Bratford (Yorkshire) in northern England.

On 12 September 1945, a ruling of the council of ministers of the Polish Interim Government for National Unity abrogated the concordat prepared in 1925 between the Holy See and Poland. On the basis of this decision, the government in its official documents no longer chose to distinguish the individual rites of the Roman Catholic Church — not bothering to see any difference between Catholics of the Latin or Greek rites. Roman Catholic bishops in Poland saw clearly that Greek Catholics would no longer be able to assert their rights even to the extent that they had been able in the time before World War II.

Gathered in council at the beginning of October (3-4 October 1945) at Częstochowa, the bishops determined to take the persecuted Greek Catholic priests and faithful under their wing. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland, asked the Vatican to decide the case of the troubled Greek Catholic Church. Peasants had been forced to abandon their villages, parishes were being closed and churches were left empty. Already on 29 October 1945, the bishop's office of the Latin rite Diocese of Przemyśl ordered the Roman Catholic Latin rite parishes of the region to assume the care of the abandoned Greek Catholic churches and treat them as their dependencies.

In spite of the deteriorating situation, officials of the Lemko Apostolic Administration continued to work. After Malynovs'kyj left Po-

¹⁴ Compare J. Polański, *Autobiografia ks. Jana Polańskiego* (Rogi 1972), pp. 28-29 (typed manuscript in the possession of E. Senko).

land, A. Żłupko (born in 1891), parish priest of Gładyszów, assumed control.

PROPERTY DISPUTES AND THE GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH

But 1946 was an awful year for the Lemko lands. In addition to famine and widespread poverty, Polish and Ukrainian partisan gangs ravaged and plundered anything that remained in the homesteads of the abandoned and ruined villages. At the beginning of 1946 (21 January 1946), the Latin rite Diocese of Przemyśl emitted successive edicts regarding the property of the Greek Catholic Church:

Property of the Greek Catholic Church — in the case of Ruthenian priests who have left Poland — does not cease to remain the property of the Catholic Church and cannot be considered abandoned property, as it was in a decree of 6 May 1945... All parish priests and administrators of Latin rite parishes whose territory includes the area on which is found property of the Greek Catholic Church (church buildings, parish houses, other buildings, land, movable goods) should, after having consulted with public officials, assume the administration of these goods since they are still the property of the Catholic Church.¹⁵

On 10 December 1946, the Pope pronounced his decision concerning the temporary administration of the property of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland. This occurred during Hlond's visit to the Vatican. Pius XII named the Polish Primate special delegate of the Apostolic See for the faithful of the Eastern Rite in Poland. The Pope had already (25 October 1946) granted Cardinals Hlond and Sapieha — the latter was Archbishop of Cracow — extraordinary powers with which they could allow Greek Catholic priests to celebrate mass or attend to other pastoral duties in the Latin Church without changing their rite. Pius XII also insisted that the two Polish cardinals do everything in their power to allow Greek Catholics the possibility to continue to receive the sacraments in their own rite.

After Cardinal Hlond returned to Poland from the Vatican, he was immediately faced with an even more intense persecution of the Greek Catholic Church. Not wishing to exacerbate the situation to an even greater degree, he used the powers granted him by the Vatican very prudently but decisively. First, he addressed the Latin rite hierarchs in Poland, asking them to insist that their clergy stop any ac-

¹⁵ AAN GPRZ regarding the evacuation in Warsaw, Signatura 9, s. 278.

tion which could be interpreted as contributing to the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland. He also forbade them to remove the icon screens in any of the Greek Catholic churches which had been occupied by the Latin rite faithful. At the same time, he ordered that each bishop prepare a report on the situation of the Greek Catholic Church within the limits of his own particular diocese.

After a period lasting almost thirteen years, the Lemko Apostolic Administration finally ceased to exist in 1947. On 9 January 1947, the Chief Council of Polish Bishops created a commission dedicated to Eastern Rite affairs. At least three bishops whose dioceses encompassed traditionally Greek Catholic areas took part: Eugeniusz Baziak, Latin rite Archbishop of L'vov who was currently residing within Poland, Franciszek Barda, Latin rite Bishop of Przemyśl and Jan Stepa, Latin rite Bishop of Tarnów. The bishops repeatedly assessed the situation of the Greek Catholics during their consecutive meetings. One result of these discussions was the nomination of Wasyl Hrynyk, a canon of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Przemyśl, as Vicar General of the Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese.

On 1 April 1947, Hlond using his extraordinary powers, also nominated A. Żhupko, Vicar General for the Lemko lands. But in reality, both the Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese and the Lemko Apostolic Administration existed only on paper. Hrynyk, however, together with other Greek Catholic clergymen, felt that his nomination to the post of Vicar General was a letdown. They felt that he should have been named either Vicar Capitular or even Administrator Apostolic and in April 1947 petitioned the Polish Primate in this regard. But since most Greek Catholics living in Poland could no longer remain in their ancestral lands due both to repatriation to the Soviet Union as well as to deportation to other parts of Poland, their request was not granted. But all the same, the post of Vicar General — at least as regards Przemyśl — remained on the boards until 1991 when John Paul II *reactivated* the Przemyśl Greek Catholic Diocese and named Ivan Martyniak, acting Vicar General for Greek Catholics in Poland, its new bishop.

OPERATION W AND DEPORTATION TO THE WESTERN LANDS

The last blow to the existence of the Lemko Apostolic Administration came in the form of the so-called *Vistula Plan* (= *Akcja Wisła*), also known as *Operation W* (*operacja W* — *Vistula* is *Wisła* in Polish, the first letter of which is *W*), directed by a special Polish Army unit

active in the southeast of the country. Its aim was the resettlement of all those who, according to the view of the Polish government, had collaborated in any way with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In this way, the civil authorities wished to eliminate both the influence of the Ukrainian Insurgents as well as that of a kindred group — the *Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Orhanizacija Ukrajins'kykh Nacionalystiv — OUN)*.

On 24 April 1947, Polish authorities published a resolution containing the following order:

In order to normalize the situation in Poland, the activity of Ukrainian Insurgent gangs must be eliminated. The Presidium of the Council of Ministers commands the following:

1. The Defense Ministry in consultation with the Ministry of Public Security will allot a suitable number of military troops for the purpose of purging the area and eliminating the dangerous activity of Ukrainian Insurgent gangs.

2. The *Government Office of Repatriation* will deal with the resettlement of persons of Ukrainian ethnicity or of those whose continued residence on those territories exposed to the activity of Ukrainian Insurgent gangs might pose a threat to their lives.¹⁶

The *Vistula Plan* was organized in three stages. During the first, which began in April 1947 and lasted about six weeks, the work was supervised by the military and conducted on the territory of the districts of Sanok, Lesko, Przemyśl, Jarosław and part of Lublin. During the second phase, the districts of Gorlice, Nowy Targ, Nowy Sącz and Jasło were combed. The third began in June and targeted a section of Nowy Sącz district, where remnants of *Roman* and *Smyrnyj* — both Ukrainian Insurgent units — were still active.

All those, considered by the government to be Ukrainians, were subject to resettlement. Party activists, secret police functionaries, former Polish and Soviet partisans, demobilized soldiers, administrative officials and members of mixed families were also evacuated. Some Polish families living at the border points were also forced to

¹⁶ Por. A. B. Szczeciński, W. Z. Szota, *Droga do nikąd. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i jej likwidacja w Polsce* (Warszawa 1973) p. 428; K. Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy. Polska 1943-1948*, Warszawa 1987, s. 301; W. Szota, *Działania Jednostek Ludowego Wojska Polskiego przeciwko zbrojnemu podziemiowi in 1944-1947, Walka o utrwalenie władzy ludowej w Polsce* (Warszawa 1967), p. 263; E. Prus, *Atamania UPA, Tragedia kresów* (Warszawa 1988), p. 306; I. Blum, *Z dziejów Wojska Polskiego w latach 1945-1948* (Warszawa 1969), p. 109.

move as well as those, who due both to the haste and zeal of the officials, were mistakenly numbered among the *Rusins*.

Finally, a decree of the security committee as well as an order of the defense ministry promulgated on 31 July 1947 disbanded those army units taking part in *Operation Vistula*. Officially, the *Vistula Plan* was no longer in vigour. The last resettlements and purging of insurgents took place under the direction of the commander of military precincts in Lublin and Cracow. Polish peasants gradually began to occupy the depopulated and abandoned villages.

About 150.000 people had been deported to the nine regions and ninety districts which form the territory of the *Western or Re-conquered Lands*, annexed from Germany at the end of World War II and now located in north-western Poland. About 35.000 Lemki were resettled scattered among the forty-five districts of southwestern Poland (Silesia). Most of them found new homes in the region around Wrocław (about 15.000) and around Jelenia Góra (about 9.000). But Lemki were also resettled around Szczecin and Koszalin farther to the north.

On the other hand, a group of Greek Catholic lay people as well as their priests had been found guilty of collaboration with the Ukrainian Insurgents and were confined in the *Central Labor Camp* (*Centralny Obóz Pracy = COP*) located at Jaworzyna in Silesia. Twenty priests together with their faithful had been resettled in the Western Lands. Among the twenty-two priests confined at Jaworzyna were also clerics belonging to the Lemko Apostolic Administration.

Some Greek Catholics, in order to avoid the resettlement, went over to the Latin rite since becoming a Latin meant becoming a Pole. They were able to justify changing their rite by pointing to the fact that they had been raised as Poles, married Poles or had been themselves originally baptised in the Latin rite. In addition, they clearly stated that nothing bound them to the Rusins. In 1947, about one hundred people living in Nowy Sącz district changed their rite.

According to A. Kwilecki¹⁷ some Lemki, due to fortuitous coincidence, even managed to remain on their own homesteads. This happened to the inhabitants of the village of Olchowce (Krosno District) as well as to some of the Lemki living in the villages of Bodaki, Blecharki and Wesółka (Gorlice District). In Nowy Sącz district, about one thousand Lemki kept their homes.

¹⁷ A. Kwilecki, *Fragmety najnowszej historii...*, p. 285.

THE GOVERNMENT DECIDES

The Latin rite Church soon began to dispute with government officials the fate of abandoned churches and properties, which belonged to the Lemko Apostolic Administration and to the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl. Franciszek Barda, Latin rite Bishop of Przemyśl, addressed a letter to the *Government Board of Repatriation* with headquarters in Przemyśl:

The absence of the Ruthenian bishop does not mean that his diocese has ceased to exist... Likewise, this circumstance does not abrogate all the rights of the Ruthenians priests which canon law guarantees them and which they obtained from the bishop before their resettlement. These priests continue to depend on the Holy See... In the case that Ruthenian priests abandon their churches, the buildings remain, together with their attached properties and both mobile and immobile goods, the property of the Catholic Church and as such are to stay under the administration and protection of the Latin rite clergy or bishop...¹⁸

But liturgical objects and vestments continued to be plundered from the abandoned churches by thieves, the army and local officials. The chancery of the Latin Bishop of Przemyśl wrote another letter, dated 1 September 1947, and addressed to regional officials at Rzeszów. Once again, the bishop insisted that the Catholic Church still had the right to the abandoned Greek Catholic goods. Even though the Greek Catholic rite may have disappeared, the Catholic Church as such remains and is represented by the Latin rite:

... because of this fact, the goods of the Greek Catholic Church become by law the property of the Catholic Church of the Latin rite.¹⁹

Unfortunately, Polish government officials were of another opinion. Already a decree of September 1947 gave instructions for goods left behind after the evacuation to the Soviet Union, stating that they were to become the property of the government. In virtue of this ruling, it was held that parishes and other institutions of the Greek Catholic Church ceased to exist after the resettlement of Ukrainians

¹⁸ A. Nałęcz, *Cerkwie greckokatolickie w diecezji przemyskiej po roku 1945. Zarys Problematyki* (Przemyśl 1988), pp. 20-21; J. Musiał, *Stan prawny i sytuacja faktyczna świątyń unickich na terenie diecezji przemyskiej w latach 1945-1985 in Polska-Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, Volume 1 (Przemyśl 1990), p. 258.

¹⁹ Compare A. Nałęcz, *Cerkwie greckokatolickie...*, p. 24.

and Rusins in the Soviet Union. All properties were automatically assumed by the state. Local officials, encouraged by the decree, began to act very quickly. On 10 September 1947, the administrator of the parish at Dębnia wrote to the bishop's chancery at Przemyśl:

I am reporting that government officials, acting in virtue of the ruling of 5 September 1947 ... are occupying the land and buildings of the Greek Catholic church since they consider them to be state property. They have named a curator who must not be a cleric. The official responsible for real estate property informed me in private that state officials were implementing the nationalization of properties formerly belonging to the Greek Catholic Church, not in virtue of the 5 September 1947 decree, but according to top secret instructions which they had received in a circular letter...²⁰

Some churches on the territory of the Lemko Apostolic Administration were saved from complete destruction or desecration. Many of them were converted into Latin rite churches or were used by the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Churches, which fell into the hands of the government, were administered by incompetent officials — in many cases of the Ministry of Agriculture — and knew a sad fate.

Two years after the war, the Lemko Apostolic Administration no longer functioned and the government, in accord with a decree of 28 September 1949, confiscated all the property of the Greek Catholic Church. Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, the new Polish Primate — Special Delegate of the Holy See for the Eastern Rite from 23 November 1964 — was given Wasyl Hrynyk, only one of the two Vicar Generals nominated by Cardinal Hlond, his predecessor, to help with the administration of the Greek Catholics, who had managed to save themselves from resettlement, evacuation and persecution, and were now living scattered all over Poland.

LEMKI TODAY IN POLAND

What remained of the Lemko Apostolic Administration? A few priests, a certain number of faithful, churches, many liturgical objects — which were exhibited in museums at Sanok, Przemyśl and Rzeszów — and finally archival documents which were transferred to the State Archive at Przemyśl along with the parish registers.

²⁰ A. Nałęcz, *Cerkwie greckokatolickie...*, p. 25.

The traditional homeland of the Lemki has today been incorporated into the Przemyśl deanery of the Byzantine-Ukrainian Archdiocese of Przemyśl-Warsaw, which was created for Greek Catholics in Poland by a bull of John Paul II, dated 1 June 1996.

What about the Lemki themselves and where do they live in today's Poland? A decision of the Polish United Labor Party ratified in April 1957 allowed some of those who had been resettled under duress to return home. According to W. Mokry, about three hundred fifty Lemko families during 1957-1960 were allowed to take up residence in their former homelands, mostly around Gorlice. Thousands of requests, however, were simply refused. The government rejected their petitions, claiming that the farms and buildings had already found new owners. The number of those who actually did make it back would have been much higher if the government had not stopped the flow of those who wanted to leave the northwest of Poland and if the Lemki had been allowed to reclaim their lost property. Some of those who had the possibility to return, surrendered their rights, judging it more prudent to avoid the trouble of adjusting once more to life in a new situation and fearing possible confrontations with their neighbors. Also among the Lemki were those who successfully made the transition and prospered after resettlement in the Western Lands. Naturally, they wished to remain in order to continue to lead their successful *new lives*.

On 1 October 2001, the *Office of Chief Justice* in Warsaw reviewed the claims of the Lemki regarding property claims lost during their forced resettlement at the hands of the Communist government from the Beskid Mountains of southeastern Poland to the Western Lands. The court recognized the fact that the Lemki, expelled from the lands as a result of *Operation Vistula*, had been unjustly deprived of their immobile property.²¹

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²¹ *Rzeczpospolita*, (Internet Source), 1.10.2001.

Victor Ghica

Frammento inedito di tradizione pacomiana

Si tratta, con tutta verisimiglianza, di un foglio appartenente a un codice letterario di ispirazione pacomiana. Il frammento, proprietà di una collezione privata, proviene dal mercato antiquario ed è privo di particolari circa la sua origine. Il vocabolario eminentemente monastico non permette, invece, alcun dubbio sull'ambito di provenienza del testo e cioè di quello dei tabennesiotti.

La lingua è un saidico classico che presenta però due particolarità: l'impiego della base temporale col suffisso pronominale **Εἰ**, al posto di **Ι** (r° r. 7); **Ι** con dieresi laddove non è consonantica (**qi**, r° r. 17).

La calligrafia, in una maiuscola biblica tipicamente letteraria, fa pensare ad alcuni papiri Harris, segnatamente i fogli 21, 23 e 65 dell'Or.7561, il cui contenuto sembra, anche esso, giustificare il raffronto¹: **α** a tratto obliquo non-arrotondato; **μ** a quattro tratti; **χ** e **ϝ** basse, delle dimensioni delle altre lettere; **ε**, **ο**, **ϙ** rotonde; **q**, **p**, **γ** bilineari, ma **q** a curva aperta, contrariamente alla **p** il cui anello è più ridotto; **κ** piuttosto estesa, col braccio inferiore leggermente arrotondato e la zampa superiore globulare; **τ** aggraziata. Segnaliamo ugualmente gli allografi **Κ**, **λ**, **π** e **τ** in coda di sillaba finale, provisti di una specie di apostrofo, marcatore prosodico ben conosciuto, manifestatosi sotto molteplici forme, dalle *backstroked letters* dei codici di Nag Hammadi² fino al *Florilegium sinuthianum*, il quale per altro rappresenta la sua fase manierista.

¹ B. LAYTON, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906*, London 1987, pp. 15, 30, 31, 39, 40, 66, 102, 201-203, 204, 205 (Or.6807 e Or.7561). Cfr. anche i frammenti papiracei I.1.b.686 e I.1.b.681 del Museo Pushkin (A. I. ELANSKAYA, *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A. S. Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow*, Leyden – New York – Köln 1994).

² Cfr. M. A. WILLIAMS, "The Scribes of Nag Hammadi Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX", in M. RASSART-DEBERGH, J. RIES (a cura di), *Actes du IV^e congrès copte, Louvain-la-Neuve, 5-10 septembre 1988 II. De la linguistique au gnosticisme*, (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, 41), Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, p. 334-342.

La paleografia suggerirebbe i secoli V^o-VI^o, mentre le due caratteristiche sopranominate (il suffisso **ει** e la dieresi sulla **ι** vocalica di **qi**) accreditano uno stato post-classico del saidico (ancorché testi così antichi quanto il codice NH1 attestino l'uso della **ι** vocalica con dieresi — particolarmente dopo **Ϸ**), così come la forma **παϷωμο** indica un'epoca tardiva. L'interpunzione, la *backstroke* e la sopralinea sfortunatamente non possono fornire elementi per una più precisa datazione.

Non è stato possibile collegare il frammento ai testi già noti pacomiani, intesi *lato sensu*. La prima persona della *vox auctoris* indica uno scritto di scuola pacomiana piuttosto che una *Vita* di Pacomio. In ogni caso, né le *Vitæ*, né i testi dei successori di Pacomio offrono paralleli a questo frammento. Lo stesso vale per gli *Apophthegmata Patrum*, la cui stesura potrebbe essere, d'altronde, contemporanea di quella del papiro.

Tuttavia, il Pacomio del quale stiamo parlando non può essere altro che il fondatore della Koinonia. Il nome ricorre a tre riprese, si legge chiaramente ed è accompagnato con la formula **πενειωτ ἀπα** e con l'epiteto **πετοϳαβ**. Quindi, benché la narrazione sia in prima persona — sette pronomi a sostegno —, Pacomio rimane personaggio centrale e, ad ogni modo, l'unico fra le *dramatis personæ* il cui nome sia conservato. Inoltre, il plurale **cney** è preferito di gran lunga nelle fonti pacomiane a **μοναχοι**, mentre il riferimento alle sessanta preghiere fa indiscutibilmente allusione alla *Vita* boairica. Immagineremmo dunque agevolmente un Teodoro od un Orsiesi come autore di tale visione nella quale Pacomio è già nell'aldilà, dove forma col Cristo un binomio riservato a pochi eletti.

20 9,5 cm. 17/18 righe di testo. Il papiro, di color bruno, è mutilo su un lato (la destra del recto), mentre sull'altro manca una fibra verticale, probabilmente l'ultima, la quale tocca l'inizio delle righe del verso. *Connective stroke* con *serif*. Punteggiatura alta. Nessuna traccia di ornamentazione. Dieresì sulla **ι** quando ha valore di *glide*.

Recto

→	πα παϷωμο [ενεν]	a]pa Pacomio
	ταϳτσαβοι [ερο]	che m'insegnavano
	οϳ: αϷ[ωπε]	[ci]ò. E succ[esse]
	δε ει νβολ ϳμ[π]	allorché ero fuori da[]
5	οτε ετετεϷ[5 ... che è .[

	ΤΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ·		dei fratelli.
	ΝΤΕΡΕΙΑΖΕΔΕ [Ε]		E quando stavo [in]
	[Ρ]ΑΤ· ΧΕΕΙΝΑΡ̄C[Ε Ν]		[pi]edi per fare le se[ssanta]
	ΞΟΠ ΝΨΛΗΛ·		preghiere
10	ΧΕΑΝΟΚΠΕ [10	"Sono [
	Ρ̄Π ΝΟΥΟΕ <i>vacat</i> Ν	 [
	ΤΑQΨΩΠ[Ε Ζ̄Μ		[c]he venne a l'esisten[za al]
	ΠΚΑΙΡΟ[C Μ̄ΠΕΝ]		<i>temp</i> [o del nostro]
	ΠΕΤΟΥΑ[ΔΒ		san[to
15	ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖ[ΩΜΟ	15	apa Pac[omio"]
	ΝΕΙΑΖΕΡΑΤ[ΔΕ Ε]		E stavo in piedi [
	Q̄ ΝΝΑΒΔ[Λ ΕΖΡΑ]		solleva[ndo] i miei occ[hi]
	ΕΤΠΕ· ΑΥ[Ω		verso il cielo. E

1. ΠΑΖΩΜΟ — la ο finale è certa; la stessa ortografia si impone dunque alle r. v° 4-5 e r° 15.

3. Questa riga oppure la seguente potrebbe essere preceduta da una *coronis*.

5-6. Probabilmente: ΕΤΕΤΕΨΩΝΗ||ΤΕ, "che è il giar[dino]".

8-9. La lacuna farebbe pensare alle *sex orationes* della *Regola* di Pacomio (cfr. L. Th. Lefort, "La règle de S. Pachôme [Nouveaux documents]", *Le Muséon* 40 [1927], p. 43); si veda a questo proposito l'imprescindibile lavoro di A. Veilleux, *La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle*, *Studia Anselmiana* 57, Roma 1968, pp. 309 ss. Ciò nonostante, lo spazio paleografico impone la lettura CΕ. Si tratta, con ogni evidenza, delle sessanta preghiere quotidiane del canone di Palamone (*Vita boairica* § 10).

10-11. Tenendo conto del ΤΕΨΩΝΗ della r. 5, sarebbe tentante restituire ΠΨΩ||Ρ̄Π ΝΟΥΟΕ|ΙΕ, "[il pri]||mo contadi[no]".

Verso

↓	[. . .] ΕΤΠΕ ΕCΟΥ		[.] il cielo
	[. .] ̄ΛΥΩ ΕΙC		[. . .] . Ed eccoli,
	[ΖΗΗ]ΤΕ ΕΙC ΠΕΝ		nostro
	[ΕΙ]ΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩ		[pa]dre apa Paco-
5	[Μ]Ο Μ̄ΝΠΕΝΧΟ Ι[C]	5	[mi]o insieme a nostro Signo[re]
	[Ι]C ΠΕΧ̄C ΕΥΝΗΥ		[Ge]sù Cristo, scendendo
	[Ε]ΠΕCΗΤ ΕΧΩ Ι		su di me
	[ΕΒ]ΙΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΤΠΕ·		[da]l cielo,
	[ΕΡ]ΕΝΕΧΕΡΟΥ		mentre i cheru-
10	[ΒΙΝ Μ̄Ν ΝCΕΡΑ	10	[bini e]d i sera-
	[ΦΙΝ] ΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑ		[fini] portano
	[.] ΕΙC ΕΥ		[.] . . .

	[. . . .] ΙΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ	[. . . .] con un(a)
	[. . . .] ΙΝΟΤ̄Μ	[. . . .] dolce
15	[. . .] ΚΑΡΩÇ·	15 [. . . .] silenziosa:
	[ΧΕΚ]ΟΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥ	["S]anto, san-
	[ΑΑΒ] ΚΟΥΑΑ[Β]	[to,] sant[o]

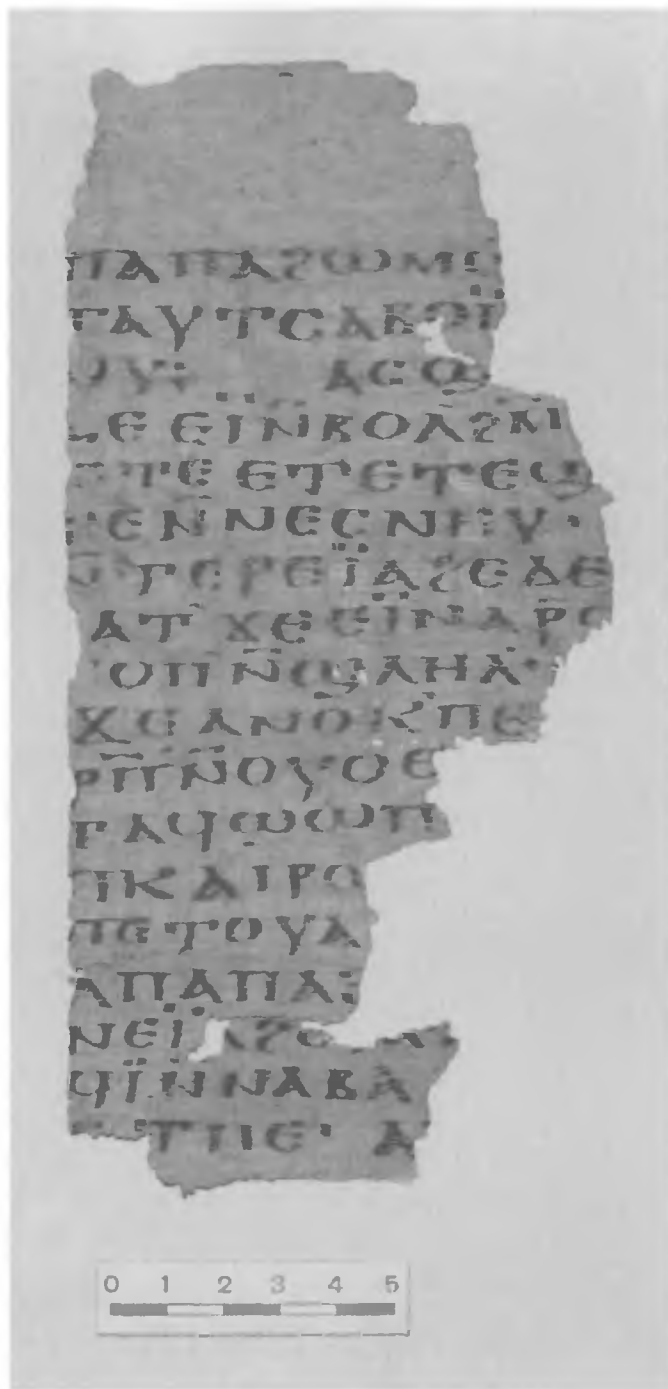
1-2. Probabilmente: [αἰ||ναγ] εἶπε ἐκογ||ην, "[villdi] il cielo aper||[to]".

10, 11. Lo spazio disponibile privilegia le grafie χερουβιν / σεραφιν invece di χερουβειν / σεραφειν.

12-15. Suggestisco la restituzione: εγ||ωψ εβ|ολ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ||CMH EC|ΝΟΤ̄Μ || [ḿατ]κα-
ρωç, "grill[dando c]on una || [voce] dolce || [e] incessante". Allusione ad *Ap* 4, 8; il
testo saidico di questo brano biblico è ripreso nel commento *In Apocalypsim* 7-12
dello Ps. Cirillo di Alessandria con il verbo ωψ al posto di χω: αγω περτοογ
ḿzωon [...] ενεγωψ εβολ ḿγοοειψ nim χεφουααβ· φογααβ· φογααβ· ḿόπχοειç
çαβλωθ· (Mor. 591, f. XIII v° a). Per un parallelo boairico di ογcmh ḿατκαρωç, cfr.
W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, p. 288b.

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Dell'esicasmo

È uscito un libro sull'esicasmo. Il solo farne l'argomento di 220 pagine, è un merito. Enrico Montanari, lo studia in tutta serietà, da storico delle religioni, avendo alle spalle un ricco patrimonio di pratica della sua specialità, e una familiarità con il fenomeno religioso, che gli permette di individuare l'essenza dell'esicasmo¹. Aveva di recente pubblicato sulla rivista fondata da Raffaele Pettazzoni, due articoli che ora costituiscono due capitoli del libro². Vi ha aggiunto due appendici, una scelta bibliografia e due utili indici.

Parto dalle ultime pagine del libro, dalla seconda appendice, per cogliere l'esicasmo nel suo divenire diacronico e nel suo *hic et nunc* sincronico. È movimento spirituale sorto nell'Oriente cristiano e allo stesso tempo uno stato interiore che può aprire alla contemplazione delle cose invisibili. Risale al quarto secolo dell'era cristiana, con Basilio il Grande, Gregorio di Nissa, Gregorio di Nazianzo ed Evagrio Pontico. Nel secolo quinto, Diadoco di Fotica lo propone come metodo pratico di preghiera. Nel secolo sesto, questa preghiera esicastica, è formulata nella *Vita* di Abba Filemone, con le parole "Gesù, Figlio di Dio, abbi pietà di me"³. Nel secolo settimo, S. Giovanni Climaco abate del Sinai e autore della *Scala del Paradiso*, la chiama con un genitivo oggettivo, "preghiera di Gesù", ovvero rivolta a Gesù. Hausherr preferisce chiamarlo "genitivo mistico". Testi attribuiti a Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, che muore nel 1022, sostengono per chi pratica questa preghiera, la possibilità di una visione di Dio fin dalla vita terrena. Più tardi quella preghiera si accorda al ritmo della respirazione e uno dei primi a collegarla con simili tecniche corporee, è Niceforo, monaco del Monte Athos, del secolo XIII. Gregorio Sinaita, morto nel 1346, unisce le due tradizioni, sinaitica e athonita, completando l'invocazione "abbi pietà di me peccatore" e collegando la "preghiera di

¹ Enrico Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, Saggio sull'ascesi esicasta, Collana: Di fronte e attraverso, 645, Milano, Jaca Book 2003, pp. 220.

² Enrico Montanari, "Il simbolismo del cuore nella venerazione cristiana d'Oriente e d'Occidente", *Studi e Materiali di storia delle Religioni* 66 (2000) 363-420; Id., "Esicasmo e Sufismo", *Ibidem* 68 (2000) 71-162.

³ Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, p. 205.

Gesù" al battesimo. Lo stesso Gregorio Sinaita afferma che una persona "consapevole della presenza dello Spirito Santo avverte un senso di calore al cuore, che porta alla contemplazione della luce divina"⁴. Ma nel secolo XIV si manifestano violente opposizioni all'esicismo, di cui è emblematico il monaco greco di Calabria, Barlaam. Entrano pure in polemica, Gregorio Acindino e Giovanni Ciparissiota, i fratelli Procoro e Demetrio Cidonio e altri cosiddetti "tomisti orientali". Secondo Barlaam "gli esicasti disquisiscono di unioni prodigiose di mente e di anima, di flussi e riflussi attraverso le narici, di omfaloscopia o contemplazione dell'ombelico, vera pazzia e mancanza di senno!"⁵.

PALAMAS

Queste accuse provocano la reazione di Gregorio Palamas (1296-1359) attraverso scritti, uno dei quali, la *Triade in difesa dei santi esicasti*, è stata edita, tradotta e commentata da John Meyendorff. Secondo Palamas colui che prega, grazie al battesimo, raggiunge la luce deificante. Dio, inconoscibile per essenza, si rende attingibile attraverso le sue energie⁶. Che la produzione letteraria di Palamas, sia tappa fondamentale nella storia dell'esicismo, lo aveva riconosciuto Padre Irénée Hausherr. Leggo in una lettera spedita da Enghien, Belgio, il 5 giugno 1929, al Rettore del Pontificio Istituto Orientale, il vescovo gesuita Michel d'Herbigny:

Monsignore, dopo aver copiato gran parte degli scritti di Giovanni Ciparissiota alla Bibliothèque Nationale parigina [...] ritengo impossibile farne l'edizione, prima di pubblicare gli scritti di altri e in particolare di Gregorio Palamas. Il Ciparissiota è soltanto un interlocutore e uno degli ultimi nel dramma esicasta. Le sue obiezioni non hanno senso se non sono confrontate con quanto scrivono coloro che lui combatte. La letteratura esicasta forma un tutto, dal quale non si può staccare questo o quell'altro pezzo isolato. Bisognerebbe prima di tutto stabilirne l'ordine cronologico e incominciare esattamente dall'inizio. Lei può ben capire che volume di lavoro questo comporterebbe. Ho impiegato parecchi giorni a elencare le opere di Palamas, che si trovano nei manoscritti della Bibliothèque Nationale. Sono circa duecento e ce ne saranno ancora in codici conservati altrove. Bisogna incominciare con Palamas. È il più interessante, perché ha fatto dell'esicismo un vero e proprio movimento spiri-

⁴ Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, pp. 205-206.

⁵ Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, p. 206.

⁶ Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, pp. 206-207.

tuale. Ma un solo studioso non può condurre in porto simile lavoro. Ci vuole una squadra di ricercatori... Sarei ben contento di lasciarne la gloria ad altri, che lo portino a termine meglio di quanto non sia capace di farlo io. Non tocca a me decidere, ma l'Istituto Orientale acquisterebbe grande prestigio intraprendendo la pubblicazione integrale degli scritti esicasti. E una volta incominciato, non ci sarebbe bisogno di procedere in fretta. Lo sviluppo ne diverrebbe più rapido a mano a mano che gli scritti si pubblicino⁷.

FILOCALIA

Dopo Palamas, un'altra tappa fondamentale nella storia dell'esicasmo, è costituita dalla pubblicazione a Venezia, nel 1782, della *Filocalia*, antologia di testi esicastici in greco, raccolti da Nicodemo Aghiorita, monaco scrittore e canonista (1749-1809) e da Macario Notaras, metropolita di Corinto (1731-1805). Il *Dobrotoljubie*, traduzione in paleoslavo della *Filocalia*, per merito del monaco moldavo Paisij Veličkovskij, è stampato a Mosca nel 1793. L'eco della *Filocalia* si ripercuote nel mondo, anche attraverso gli scritti di Dostoevskij, Solov'ev, Gogol, Tolstoj e giunge in occidente, non solo attraverso i romanzi russi, e le traduzioni della *Filocalia* in varie lingue, (in italiano a cura della comunità di Monteveglio), ma anche con i *Racconti di un pellegrino russo*, apparsi probabilmente il 1870, dal 1925 tradotti in numerose lingue. E questo misterioso pellegrino russo, interpretato come frutto di fantasia creatrice, piuttosto che personaggio storico, modello a molti di preghiera del cuore, ha oggi un piccolo emulo di successo in *Padre Arsenio*⁸.

Montanari ricorda anche un altro fattore che diffonde la conoscenza dell'esicasmo in Occidente: la diaspora russa a Parigi, con Vladimir Losskij, Sergej Bulgakov, Giorgio Florovskij, Paul Evdokimov, Boris Vyčeslavcev e, negli Stati Uniti, con John Meyendorff. Questi russi, profughi o espulsi, si fanno portavoce del messaggio esicasta. Al contributo della diaspora si aggiunge anche l'attività letteraria di ortodossi non russi: André Bloom, poi metropolita Antonij, esarca dell'Europa Occidentale per il Patriarcato di Mosca, il vescovo Kallistos Ware, i laici Olivier Clément ed Élisabeth Behr-Sigel. Ma anche qui a Roma, nel Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Montanari trova

⁷ V. Poggi, "Irénee Hausherr à travers des écrits personnels" in *Irénee Hausherr et la spiritualité de l'Orient Chrétien*, Actes du Symposium du 3 avril 2003, OCP 70 (2004) 127-196, 149-150.

⁸ *Otec Arsenij*, Izdanie Sretenskogo Monastyrija 2002, p. 496; Père Arsène, *Passeur de la foi, consolateur des âmes*, I, Paris – Pully 2002, p. 455.

due gesuiti che molto meritano nella scoperta e nella valutazione dell'esicismo: il già nominato Irénée Hausherr e il suo discepolo, Tomáš Špidlk, creato recentemente cardinale⁹.

ESICISMO E CUORE DI GESÙ

Cos'è allora la fatica del cuore, espressa dal titolo del libro? Il cuore, per l'esicismo, è il centro. Il nome di Gesù, invocato incessantemente, conduce l'uomo al centro del suo essere, facendo penetrare la preghiera nel cuore, finché l'uomo non diventi preghiera al cospetto di Dio¹⁰. Ma, perché la preghiera raggiunga il cuore, bisogna mettere a regime il cuore. Montanari trova nella devozione al Cuore di Gesù un eventuale termine di paragone con l'esicismo. Non è fuori posto il confronto. Cito un'altra lettera di Irénée Hausherr, anche lui convinto dell'opportunità di paragonare l'esicismo con qualcosa di eventualmente simile nella spiritualità cristiana occidentale. In data 7 giugno 1926, cioè l'anno prima di quel 1927 in cui, il libro di Hausherr, *La méthode de l'oraison hésychaste*, segna, secondo Montanari, uno spartiacque nella conoscenza e nella valutazione della preghiera del cuore, Hausherr scrive da Parigi il 7 giugno 1926, a d'Herbigny:

Il vostro segretario, il padre Pierre de Belloy, vi avrà detto a che punto sia il mio lavoro. Ve ne ragguaglio ora io stesso. Il suo titolo sarebbe complicato se dovesse abbracciare tutto quanto comprende, la spiritualità sinaita, la teoria mistica di Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, le origini del metodo esicasta e due inediti: uno sul metodo esicasta attribuito a Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e l'altro un discorso, di Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, sulla visione di Dio in questa vita. Fanno già un centinaio di pagine, anzi saranno di più se Padre Maurice Viller accetterà di aggiungere un capitolo di paragone con gli Occidentali. A Padre Viller o a Padre Joseph Marie de Guibert tale paragone sarebbe facile, a me invece difficile¹¹.

Hausherr aveva capito l'utilità del paragone fra esicismo e spiritualità cristiana d'Occidente e aveva cercato un confratello che lo facesse. Proponeva due nomi, ambedue di gesuiti fondatori del *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, l'uno, Maurice Viller (1880-1954) autore di *La spiritualité des premiers siècles chrétiens*, Paris 1930, l'altro, Joseph

⁹ Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, pp. 205-209.

¹⁰ Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, p.41.

¹¹ V. Poggi "Irénée Hausherr à travers des écrits personnels" (cit. nt. 7), pp. 127-196, 136-138.

M. François de Guibert (1877-1942) del quale fu pubblicata postuma *La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Rome 1953. Il suggerire questo secondo nome fa pensare che Hausherr avesse già previsto in qualche modo, come termine di paragone, anche la spiritualità ignaziana. Infatti, più tardi, si occuperà lui stesso di confrontare con quella l'esicasmò¹².

Montanari, che ha scritto tra l'altro, *Categorie e forme nella storia delle religioni*, affronta con tutti i carismi lo studio comparativo di esicasmò e devozione al Cuore di Gesù. Si occupa del gesuita P. Victor Drevon (1820-1880) che promuove la comunione riparatrice e anima pellegrinaggi a Paray le Monial, luogo delle apparizioni del Sacro Cuore a Margherita Maria Alacoque. Menziona il Padre Henri Ramière (1821-1884) che rilancia l'apostolato della preghiera con l'offerta quotidiana al Sacro Cuore e la stampa del *Messaggero del Cuore di Gesù*. Nota pure che Ramière aggiorna il contributo di Margherita Maria, rifiutando di scorgere nel culto del S. Cuore soltanto riparazione ed espiazione, ma insistendo sull'attuazione del regno di Cristo. Due libri usciti postumi raccolgono vari suoi articoli sotto titoli evocativi: *Le Coeur de Jésus et la divinisation du chrétien* e *Le règne social du Coeur de Jésus*. Presentando nel 1955 una versione italiana del primo di questi libri, il P. Domenico Mondrone della Civiltà Cattolica, loda la profondità teologica di Ramière, eccetto il modo in cui spiega il fine dell'Incarnazione. In realtà questo modo, che provoca le riserve di Mondrone, abituato alle considerazioni sul fine dell'Incarnazione di Padri e teologi occidentali, concorda con il modo in cui spiegano l'Incarnazione i Padri d'Oriente: Dio si sarebbe fatto uomo anche senza il peccato. L'Incarnazione è infatti per il Ramière, prova apodittica dell'amore di Dio per l'uomo. "Ora finalmente l'amore divino dovrà dichiararsi soddisfatto, perché non potrebbe davvero spingersi oltre. 'Dio infatti ha tanto amato il mondo da dare il suo Figlio Unigenito' Gv 3,16".¹³ Montanari menziona pure il cardinale Tomáš Špidlík. Questi infatti in *La Doctrine spirituelle de Théophane le Reclus*, dedica dieci pagine al confronto fra la venerazione del S. Cuore e la preghiera esicastica del cuore. Montanari cita testualmente Špidlík:

Le meditazioni degli occidentali sul Cuore di Gesù e sul Cuore di Maria guadagnerebbero in profondità, se i latini scoprissero o conoscessero meglio il senso dato in Oriente al concetto di cuore: principio di unità e di stabilità, principio di «tutto» della persona umana, con le sue facoltà e la

¹² I. Hausherr, "Les exercices spirituels de Saint Ignace et la méthode d'oraison hésychastique" OCP 20 (1954) 7-26.

¹³ H. Ramière, *La divinizzazione del cristiano*, Milano 1955, p. 123.

sua relazione al suo fine ultimo, principio della conoscenza del bene, del male e dei valori, radice della volontà, facoltà della preghiera, desiderio della dolcezza divina e avversione per il mondo [...], fonte degli atti generosi, simbolo dell'amore¹⁴.

Montanari ricorda anche i santi russi ortodossi Giuseppe di Volokolamsk e Dimitri di Rostov, che adottano nella liturgia bizantina espressioni simili alle preghiere rivolte al S. Cuore. Aggiungo che un altro gesuita volle conciliare le apparizioni del S. Cuore a santa Margherita Maria Alacoque con la spiritualità dell'Oriente cristiano. È l'austriaco Joseph Schweigl S.I. (1894-1964), che frequenta a Roma il poeta simbolista russo Vjačeslav Ivanov, il quale, nel 1930 crea la metafora, cara a Giovanni Paolo II, del respiro a due polmoni, di oriente e di occidente. Padre Schweigl scrive nel 1939 un articolo in latino, "Se la liturgia bizantina di Gesù dolcissimo possa paragonarsi alla devozione cattolica del Cuore di Gesù" e annuncia che la consacrazione del genere umano al Cuore di Gesù, annessa all'enciclica *Annum Sacrum* di Leone XIII del 25 maggio 1899, in preparazione al giubileo del 1900¹⁵, è tradotta in paleoslavo da Vjačeslav Ivanov, che insegna quella lingua al Pontificio Istituto Orientale¹⁶. Ho trovato, al Pontificio Istituto Orientale un "Ufficio bizantino di Gesù Dolcissimo con relativo Acathistos" con il nome del possessore: "P. J. Schweigl S.J.". Contiene tra le pagine l'immaginetta stampata con la formula di consacrazione tradotta in paleoslavo da Ivanov. E nell'archivio di Ivanov, si conserva una sua versione italiana di alcune frasi dell'acathistos del dolcissimo Gesù, dalla novella di Cechov, "La notte santa", probabile esercizio letterario di Ivanov per rendere in paleoslavo la formula papale che Schweigl gli aveva chiesto di tradurre¹⁷.

¹⁴ Montanari, *La fatica del cuore*, p. 76.

¹⁵ Leonis XIII. Pont. Maximi Acta 19 (1900) 80

¹⁶ "Num in ritu byzantino officium dulcissimi Iesu aequiparetur pietati Ss Cordis Iesu", *Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica* 28 (1939) 72-85, nota 21 a p. 80. Cfr V. Poggi "Ivanov a Roma (1934-1949)" in Andrej Shishkin (a c. di) *Ottavo Convegno Internazionale Vjaceslav Ivanov: Poesia e Sacra Scrittura, Europa Orientalis* 21 (2002) 1, pp. 95-140.

¹⁷ V. Poggi "Ivanov a Roma (1934-1949)" in Andrej Shishkin (a c. di) *Ottavo Convegno Internazionale Vjaceslav Ivanov: Poesia e Sacra Scrittura, Europa Orientalis* XXI (2002) 1, pp. 122-123.

RENÉ GUÉNON

A proposito del cuore, Montanari cita l'esoterista René Guénon, per il quale il cuore non è solo centro simbolico dei sentimenti, ma è centro sotto ogni punto di vista. E questa concezione del cuore si accorda all'idea guénoniana dell'unità originale di tutte le tradizioni e della perfetta conformità del cristianesimo con la tradizione primordiale. Guénon, prima di conoscere l'esicasmò, rimproverava al cristianesimo l'assenza di esoterismo, che invece diceva di trovare nell'Islam, così da farsi seguace di una *tarîqa* sūfî, praticando fino in punto di morte *dîkr allah* o menzione di Dio.

Quando il romeno Mihail Vâlsan sottopone a Guénon uno scritto in cui Simeone il Nuovo Teologo attribuirebbe anche all'esicasmò un carattere esoterico, Guénon pensa di aver finalmente la prova che, almeno in Oriente, sussista un esoterismo cristiano (p. 115). Forse che il *Roveto Ardente*, il circolo esicasta, poi condannato dal regime comunista romeno, non contempla una iniziazione esoterica? Era stato fondato nel monastero Antim di Bucarest da Sandu Tudor, al quale Montanari dedica il suo libro e, con lui, agli altri membri del *Roveto ardente*, vittime della persecuzione comunista. Andrej Scrima, ieromonaco romeno, assistente universitario e membro del circolo, si era salvato dalla persecuzione, perché era in India con una borsa di studio del governo indiano. Quello stesso anno 1958 Scrima pubblica su *Istina* "L'Avènement philocalique dans l'Église orthodoxe roumaine". Scrima afferma che l'esicasmò è tipico della Chiesa di Oriente, ma non è esoterico. Il discepolo romeno di Guénon, Vâlsan, ha riserve sulle affermazioni di Scrima, che cercherebbe una risposta prudente a un problema che teologi ed esoteristi non riescono a risolvere. Più tardi, caduto il comunismo, Scrima rientra in Romania e pubblica in romeno nel 1996 *Il tempo del Roveto ardente*. Vi aggiunge un saggio sul padre spirituale, in cui approfondisce il concetto di benedizione iniziatica da maestro a discepolo. Guénon — afferma Scrima — è "una figura alla quale non finiremo mai di esser grati". Infatti "l'iniziazione risale a una tradizione segreta, che col suo stesso mistero si difende da qualsiasi profanazione. Ma riduttiva è in Guénon, la tesi che nel Cristianesimo sia esistita una tradizione iniziatica, che tuttavia avrebbe perduto. Nell'Islam al contrario Guénon riconosce il permanere della dimensione iniziatica"¹⁸. Montanari ritiene a ragione che neppure l'ultimo Scrima provi apoditticamente che l'esicasmò è

¹⁸ André Scrima, *Il padre spirituale*, Comunità di Bose 2000, 55-56. In questa traduzione dal romeno non trovo la parola *esoterismo*.

esoterico, sia pure nella benedizione del maestro al discepolo. Non si può sostenere l'esoterismo di un'istituzione solo per il fatto che contempla la benedizione conferita dal maestro al discepolo, neppure insistendo sulla "paternità spirituale" del maestro rispetto al discepolo.

Sono d'accordo con Montanari per escludere che il rapporto maestro-discepolo nell'esicasmo sia esoterico. Gabriel Bunge ha trattato nel 1988 della paternità spirituale secondo Evagrio Pontico, documentando il suo scritto con frequenti citazioni. Per Evagrio, il padre spirituale deve adattare il suo insegnamento alla capacità ricettiva del discepolo. Non può proporgli verità che il discepolo sia incapace di affrontare. Deve parlargli in maniera diversa, come Paolo, che riservava latte per i Corinzi e cibo solido per gli Efesini. D'altra parte il padre spirituale sa bene che senza l'esercizio della virtù e l'iniziazione teologica, nessuno "vedrà il Signore", perché "soltanto chi opera la giustizia cammina sulla via del Signore". Tutto questo è "disciplina dell'arcano", non esoterismo. Infatti i misteri sono proposti ad ogni battezzato e la mistica è un'interiorizzazione della teologia attraverso una faticosa ascesi¹⁹.

ESICASMO E SUFISMO

Montanari riscontra somiglianze e differenze fra esicasmo e sufismo. I raffronti sono necessari nella storia delle religioni. Non deve affatto sorprenderci il cercare un termine di confronto anche al di fuori del cristianesimo. Lanfranco Rossi, in un libro recente, paragona l'esicasmo cristiano al paganesimo classico e tardoantico, dai presocratici a Socrate, a Platone, ad Aristotele, ai pitagorici, agli stoici, ai cinici e ai neoplatonici²⁰. Nella prima parte del suo libro, Rossi paragona le virtù esicastiche a quelle dei filosofi pagani; nella seconda, confronta *Filocalia* e filosofi su ascesi e progresso dell'anima; nella terza parte, studia in ambedue i contesti la guida o paternità spirituale. Infine, nelle appendici, Rossi confronta l'esicasmo al sufismo e alla cabala. Nel suo libro si legge che il testo scelto da Nicodemo come apertura della *Filocalia*, attribuito ad Antonio Eremita, di buon auspicio per la raccolta, è stato omesso dall'edizione inglese perché

¹⁹ Gabriel Bunge, *La Paternità spirituale*, Monastero di Bose, Magnano (Bi) 1991.

²⁰ Lanfranco Rossi, *I filosofi greci padri dell'esicasmo*. La sintesi di Nikodemo Aghiorita, Torino 2000.

riconosciuto come testo pagano²¹. Festugière non se ne sarebbe scandalizzato e neppure Hausherr, che scrisse a tutte lettere che si trattava di scritto stoico²².

Montanari ha dunque tutte le ragioni per paragonare l'esicismo al sufismo. Le apparenti somiglianze, come lo stesso ricordo di Dio, detto *mneme tou theou* nell'esicismo e *ḍikr allāh* nel sufismo, possono nascondere differenze. Nel *ḍikr* infatti, stati e stazioni, *tawba* o pentimento, conversione *ināba*, rinuncia *zuhud*, fiducia *tawakkul* (p. 163) corrisponderebbero secondo Montanari a tappe d'iniziazione. Nell'esicismo l'orazione pura può assomigliare all'ultima stazione del *ḍikr*. Ma dai gradini che sale per arrivare all'orazione pura l'esicasta potrebbe sempre precipitare a valle. Quanto alla *preghiera del cuore*, che c'è pure nel sufismo, le si premette un'iniziazione *talqīn* consistente nella formula rituale *wird* assegnata dal maestro al discepolo. Segue la purificazione dello specchio del cuore o *tasfiya*, che permette una indiretta visione o *mūṣahada*, fino alla manifestazione della luce divina attraverso il *ḍikr* degli ultimi tre nomi di Allāh, *Waḥīd*, unico, *Aḥad*, uno, *'amad*, pienezza. Solo allora l'occhio del cuore vedrà *nūr al-tawḥīd* luce dell'unicità divina nel *tajrīd*, o isolamento conseguente a *fanā' al-fanā'*, estinzione dell'estinzione, cioè spogliamento di tutto quanto non è Allāh. Anche il rapporto fra *mar'ifa* e *maḥabba*, conoscenza e amore, diversificherebbe il fenomeno sufi da quello esicastico. Evagrio afferma che "attraverso l'amore noi conosciamo l'amore". Sarebbero rari invece i sufi che danno la precedenza all'amore sulla conoscenza. Montanari cita, è vero, Ghazālī che esalta l'amore di Dio, ma dimentica Rābī'a, la mistica di Bassora del secolo ottavo, che pone l'amore di Dio sopra ogni cosa. Rābī'a ha scritto una prosa ritmata sul puro amore di Dio.

Ti amo di due amori:
 Uno è frutto della mia passione
 E l'altro perché Tu sei degno
 di essere amato.
 Nel primo penso a Te,
 escludendo chiunque altro.
 Nel secondo,
 Tu stesso ti sveli a me,
 perché io Ti veda.
 In nessuno dei due

²¹ Lanfranco Rossi, *I filosofi greci padri dell'esicismo* (cit. nt. 20), p. 7.

²² Irénée Hausherr, "Un écrit stoïcien sous le nom de saint Antoine Érémitte", *De doctrina spirituali christianorum orientalium*, OCh 30 (1933) 212-216.

ho alcun merito.
A Te solo la gloria
nell'uno
e nell'altro²³.

Anche il genere letterario della dolorosa gioia, essenziale all'esicasmo, è espresso da un episodio agiografico della vita di Rābi'a.

Rābi'a digiunò sette giorni e sette notti di seguito senza dormire la notte, immersa nella preghiera... Qualcuno le portò del cibo in una coppa. Ma avendola ella lasciata incustodita, per accendere la lampada, un gatto mangiò quanto c'era nella coppa. Quando Rābi'a tornò, disse: Cercherò dell'acqua con cui rompere il digiuno... Sollevò la giara per bere ma le cadde di mano e si spezzò... Mio Dio, cosa vuoi da questa poveretta? E udì una voce: "Rābi'a, se tu volessi, ti darei il mondo intero. Ma per fare questo dovremmo estirpare l'amore per noi che è nel tuo cuore. Poiché l'amore nostro e l'amore del mondo non possono stare insieme". Quando mi resi conto di queste parole, — commenta Rābi'a — strappai dal mio cuore ogni attaccamento alle cose del mondo. E ora sono trascorsi trent'anni che non ho mai smesso di recitare questa preghiera che vorrei fosse l'ultima: Mio Dio fammi immergere nel tuo amore, cosicché nulla mi distolga da te²⁴.

Montanari ricorda che per molti sūfi l'eroticismo è assunto come valenza simbolica del desiderio e dell'unione. Nell'esicasmo invece, secondo Evagrio, l'*agape* è figlia dell'*apatheia* o vittoria sulla passione, l'*agape* è la porta della *gnosi*, mentre la *filautia* o amore di sé è radice di tutti i vizi. Montanari trova semmai un elemento di somiglianza nell'accezione spirituale della parola "gusto". Teofane il Recluso parla del "gusto spirituale del cuore": "Come il gusto distingue i cibi, così il sentimento e il cuore distinguono le cose dello spirito". Anche per il sufismo, *dawq*, gusto, assapora le rivelazioni divine. Quest'ultima affermazione trova conferma nella *Salvezza dalla perdizione* di al-Ghazālī.

Appresi allora con certezza che i sufi sono uomini di esperienze, non di parole. Ciò che si poteva ottenere mediante la scienza io lo avevo ottenuto. Solo restava ciò che non si poteva raggiungere ascoltando o studiando, ma 'gustando' e percorrendo la via mistica²⁵.

²³ Caterina Greppi, *Rābi'a, la mistica*, Milano 2003, 75.

²⁴ Ibid., 52-53.

²⁵ *Salvezza dalla perdizione*, in *Scritti scelti di al-Ghazali*, a cura di L. Vecchia Vaglieri e R. Rubinacci, Torino 1970, 113.

Ignazio di Loyola nell'annotazione seconda degli Esercizi spirituali, ricorda che "non l'abbondanza del sapere sazia l'anima, ma il sentire e gustare le cose interiormente".

ESOTERISMO?

A questo punto Montanari risponde alla domanda che attraversa tutto il libro, se l'esicasmismo sia esoterico. Non lo è secondo gli ortodossi Olivier Clément, Elisabetta Behr-Sigel e Iuvenalie Ionascu (145 n. 248). Non lo è neppure per Montanari.

Il libro riconosce che l'esicasmismo e la spiritualità cristiana occidentale, benché diversi, non si oppongono l'uno all'altra, ma sono in qualche modo complementari. È la conclusione ecumenica del libro, nel senso che non impedisce affatto a me cristiano occidentale di praticare la preghiera esicastica. Ma questo aspetto ecumenico interno al Cristianesimo, fra cristiani di Oriente e di Occidente, non esclude il dialogo con le religioni non cristiane. C'è una disciplina dell'arcano non esoterica anche nell'Islam. Louis Massignon si è battuto per dimostrare che la mistica islamica ha le sue origini nel Corano. Per esempio nella sura della caverna con il viaggio iniziatico alla ricerca della fonte dell'immortalità e con Mosé che si pone alla scuola di un innominato maestro della profezia che gli impone prove iniziatiche. L'Islam suppone lo sforzo di penetrare la Rivelazione, negando che sia sufficiente alla salvezza il *taqlid* o il deposito di fede ricevuto passivamente senza *ghihad* o sforzo personale. È la guerra santa più difficile, *ghihad al-akbar*, che comporta la vittoria su se stessi.

Ma quante pagine della Bibbia inculcano la stessa volenterosa iniziazione. Le parabole evangeliche per esempio, hanno bisogno di chiave di lettura per essere capite nel loro profondo significato. C'è un'esigenza di iniziazione anche secondo i Padri della Chiesa, con la mistagogia, così frequente nella patristica. L'unico punto del libro di Montanari che mi lascia perplesso, è la sua affermazione che il sufismo, a differenza dell'esicasmismo, sia esoterico. Concedo che il sufismo suppone l'iniziazione del discepolo da parte del maestro o *ṣayḥ*. Ma iniziazione ed esoterismo non coincidono. Ghazālī, chiamato dai suoi correligionari "prova dell'Islam", si è incamminato senza rimpianti sulla via dei sufi. Ma quando cerca le ragioni della crisi dell'Islam le addita anche in quei sufi che si esimono dagli *arkān al-islām* o dalle osservanze comuni a ogni musulmano, quasi sia loro lecita ogni trasgressione. Questo sarebbe il vero esoterismo, cioè la netta distinzione dei comuni fedeli dagli iniziati, il dualismo irriducibile di ignoranti e gnostici, essoterici ed esoterici.

La seconda causa del lassismo e della debolezza della fede è dovuta a quelli che si impegnano nella via mistica... Infatti uno pretende di conoscere il sufismo e asserisce di avervi raggiunto un così alto grado da non aver più bisogno di osservare i precetti canonici. Un altro trova pretesti del tipo di quelli addotti dai libertini. Costoro sono quelli che hanno traviato dal sufismo²⁶.

Ghazālī sa bene quanto sia difficile percorrere la via del sufismo guardandosi da tali errori.

Dall'inizio di quella via cominciano le rivelazioni e le visioni... Poi lo "stato" si eleva dalla visione delle figure e delle immagini a gradi ineffabili. Nessuno può tentare di spiegare questi gradi senza che la sua espressione a parole non contenga qualche errore evidente, inevitabile. Insomma si arriva a una *vicinanza* che ad alcuni appare quasi discesa di Dio in loro, ad altri *unione* con Lui, ad altri *raggiungimento*. Il che è errore, come abbiamo dimostrato nel nostro, *Lo scopo più elevato. Commento ai nomi più belli di Dio*. Tutto quello che dovrebbe dire chi si è trovato in quella situazione è: Quello che è stato, è stato tra i fatti che non ricordo. Tu pensa bene e non chiederne notizia²⁷.

Nell'operetta citata, *Lo scopo più elevato*, Ghazālī scrive:

Se chiedi: Quale è il punto estremo cui può giungere la conoscenza di Dio da parte degli iniziati? ti rispondo: È la loro incapacità di conoscerlo. Giacché conoscere Dio di una conoscenza reale, che comprenda l'essenza degli attributi della sovranità, è assolutamente impossibile se non a Dio. Quando sia loro manifesto questo fatto in modo convincente essi allora conoscono Dio al limite massimo di conoscenza possibile alle creature. A questo fece cenno Abu Bakr, il massimo giusto, quando disse: 'l'incapacità di raggiungere la comprensione è comprensione'. E ancora, è di essa che intendeva parlare il signore dell'umanità, il Profeta, quando disse: "Io non posso enumerare le lodi che ti spettano. Tu sei come tu ti lodi"²⁸.

Non pretendo competere con un maestro di fenomenologia e di storia delle religioni come Montanari. Ma rifiuto di polemizzare con un'altra religione con argomenti che possono rivolgersi contro la mia. Se il sufismo è esoterista, allora anche l'esicismo lo sarebbe. Secondo me l'accusa di esoterismo rivolta al sufismo è ingiusta come le accuse

²⁶ Ibid., 127-129.

²⁷ Ibid., 119-120.

²⁸ *Lo scopo più elevato. Commento ai nomi più belli di Dio*, in *Scritti scelti di al-Ghazālī* a cura di L. Vecchia Vaglieri e R. Rubinacci, Torino 1970, 628.

rivolte all'esicasmò dai tomisti orientali. Anzi c'è un parallelo più vicino a noi, la controversia del nome di Dio all'Athos all'inizio del secolo ventesimo. Anche allora la severa condanna degli onomatodossi da parte degli onomatomachi è eccessiva: "Rifiutano la liturgia con la pretesa di portare in cuore il nome di Gesù". Oltre seicento monaci russi vengono prelevati manu militari e trasportati in esilio nel Caucaso. Oggi, il libro di un prelato russo riconosce che gli onomatodossi erano vittime di una ingiusta condanna²⁹. Uno dei loro più accaniti nemici, l'arcivescovo Antonij Chrapovickij, non ha neppure letto lo scritto in loro difesa, *Sulle montagne del Caucaso*, dove gli onomatodossi riconoscono "tutto ciò che è tramandato e comandato dalla Chiesa, preghiere, salmi, canoni e tropari" e che "la salvezza consiste nell'unione con il Salvatore, cioè custodire la fede ortodossa, comunicare ai santi misteri e portare nel cuore il nome di Cristo"³⁰.

NON ESOTERISMO MA APOFATISMO

Cos'è allora l'esicasmò, da *esichia* o pace dello spirito? Irénée Hausherr citato più volte nel libro di Montanari, lo descrive esistenzialmente in una pagina di un suo diario, scoperto recentemente da Alexandra Celia.

4 maggio 1944. Ho intravisto spiritualmente, "πνευματικῶς", in maniera sperimentale, fisica e sensibile "αἰσθητῶς", qualcosa di completamente nuovo, o che almeno mi è apparso tale. Può definirsi in molte maniere. Il primo nome che mi si è presentato è 'la qualità della pace'. Nulla di quantitativo, d'esteso, di intenso fisicamente, niente che si misuri, si valuti o anche solo si apprezzi. Qualcosa invece di infinito, "ἄόριστον", sublime, non conquistato, ma posseduto, lontano e vicino, dignitoso e amorevole, attivo e riposato (quest'ultimo attributo "riposato" spicca maggiormente sugli altri come per contrasto), qualcosa di ... ma non finirei mai di cercargli o trovargli altre qualità. Mi muovevo, vivevo, ero nel regno della qualità che non può essere che infinito e non può percepirsi se non come tale. Ecco quanto si chiama o si chiamava pace. Poteva anche chiamarsi libertà, *pietas* (grande parola), amore-carità, ἀγάπη. Si poteva dire onnipresenza e totale-assenza, l'una e l'altra insieme e qualcosa di assolutamente unico, che troneggiava e si espandeva, maestà e sorriso, sollecitudine e solitudine. Qualunque letteratura lo profanerebbe... Avendo inter-

²⁹ Ilarion Alfeev, *La gloria del Nome*. L'opera dello schimonaco Ilarion e controversia athonita sul Nome di Dio all'inizio del XX secolo. Traduzione dal russo di Maria Cr. Bragone e di Adalberto Mainardi monaco di Bose, Edizioni Qiqajon, Magano (BI) 2002 pp. 146.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 115 & 117.

rotto a questo punto, non troverei la verità che per ragionamento. Meglio aspettare il ritorno della luce³¹.

E una postilla successiva a lato constata come si debba “aspettare che il metallo in fusione entri da solo nello stampo” ovvero che la pace, l'esichia, entri nel cuore, proprio come la preghiera deve penetrare il cuore degli esicasti.

Mi congratulo con il Prof. Enrico Montanari per il suo libro che sollecita a riflettere sull'esicasmo.

Pontificio Istituto Orientale

Vincenzo Poggi, S.J.

³¹ Alexandra Celia, “Due diari di Irénée Hausherr”, in *Irénée Hausherr et la spiritualité de l'Orient Chrétien*, Actes du Symposium du 3 avril 2003, OCP (2004) 57-74, 69-70. Ivi si può leggere l'originale francese. La traduzione italiana qui riferita è mia.

Aethiopica

Getatchew Haile, *Däqiqä Ḥṣṭifanos "Bähəg 'Amlak" (Tərg"m), (I Figli di Stefano, "Scongiuriamo in nome di Dio" [Traduzione])*, Collegeville 2004, pp. 334.

Si tratta del terzo contributo in amarico che il Professor Getatchew (d'ora in poi G.) offre negli ultimi quattro anni. Nel 2000 è stato pubblicato a Collegeville il "Bahra Hassab" e nel 2002 "YeAbba Bahriy Dirsetoch". Lo scopo del presente lavoro e dei due precedenti è dichiarato nella Introduzione. È una iniziativa che nasce dal cuore e intende rivolgersi alle nuove generazioni di Etiopici che secondo l'autore ignorerebbero la propria storia. Tale ignoranza coinvolgerebbe anche il clero della Chiesa Ortodossa d'Etiopia (p. 44). È un rammarico, riguardo "l'ignoranza" della propria storia, che affiora a più riprese nell'Introduzione, a volte anche in toni di dignitosa polemica. L'autore promette che l'impresa di pubblicare in amarico continuerà, se questa sarà la volontà di Dio. Il recensore si augura che il Buon Dio accontenti G. e noi suoi lettori. La scelta di scrivere in amarico, per di più in amarico semplice e schietto (la grafia di alcuni morfemi meriterebbe comunque una riflessione a parte), accessibile quindi anche ai profani, è una scelta felice — anche se nessuna traduzione può sostituirsi mai all'originale. Il ciclo degli Stefaniti è stato "prescelto" perché, a parere di G., le battaglie di questo gruppo religioso hanno un'incomparabile attualità.

Il volume si articola in sei parti. La prima è costituita da un'introduzione, che fra l'altro nelle note a piè di pagina offre una buona rassegna degli studi su Zär'a Ya'əqob e sugli Stefaniti. Seguono gli Atti di Abba 'Ḥṣṭifanos, la Vita dei Padri e dei Fratelli, la *Lectio* o *Sinassi* del 25 di Mäggabit, gli Atti di Abba Abäkəräzun, la Vita di Abba 'Ḥzra. Al termine del volume ci sono una succinta bibliografia selettiva e un indice dei nomi e dei luoghi.

La versione amarica della "Vita di Abba 'Ḥṣṭifanos" e "della Vita dei Padri e dei Fratelli" rappresenta una novità inedita e un contributo importante. G. confessa di non essere a conoscenza del numero esatto dei testimoni della "Vita di Abba 'Ḥṣṭifanos". Dei tre finora disponibili, il primo, custodito presso la *New York Public Library* con la segnatura Spencer 7, appare nel catalogo *Christentum am Nil* come Gunda Gunde MS 103. Anche se ci sono correzioni di mano recente, si tratta di uno dei "rari codici antichi" che appartengono al XV secolo. Il secondo esemplare dovrebbe essere copia del manoscritto (coevo a quello di New York) che si trova presso l'Istituto di Archeologia di Addis Ababa. Il terzo codice è quello fatto copiare da Carlo Conti Rossini per la sua raccolta personale, oggi presso l'Accademia Nazionale dei

Lincei di Roma. Per la sua edizione della "Vita di Abba 'Eṣṭifanos" G. dice di essersi servito principalmente del codice di New York e di quello di Roma. Per l'edizione della "Vita dei Padri e dei Fratelli" è stato utilizzato l'EMML 4, mentre per quella di "Abba Abākərāzun", ancora lo Spencer 7 di New York. La vita di "Abba Abākərāzun" già pubblicata da Conti Rossini nel 1910, presenta secondo G. numerosi errori imputabili al manoscritto. Vi sarebbero poi altri errori commessi dallo stesso Conti Rossini nel suo sforzo di emendare il Gə'əz. Per la "Vita di Abba 'Əzra", G. ha usato l'edizione di André Caquot, 1961.

G. divide i testi in paragrafi, introdotti da titoli che ovviamente non appartengono agli originali. Talvolta i titoli rispecchiano atteggiamenti dell'editore rispetto alle vicende e ai personaggi descritti, che non la sostanza della sezione. Ne abbiamo un esempio a p. 98, ove il titolo creato dall'editore, corrisponde al contenuto delle sole prime tre righe, sulle trentadue dell'intero paragrafo (il titolo doveva quindi essere un altro). Il materiale è dunque ordinato secondo brevi scansioni che rendono la lettura più agevole. I testi sono corredati da note esplicative a piè di pagina. Le note non sono abbondanti: anzi, a volte sono piuttosto sommarie e questo è un difetto, se il destinatario del volume nelle intenzioni dell'editore è il vasto pubblico e non la sola cerchia degli studiosi. Ad esempio, nella nota n. 25 a p. 63 si dice che Antonio e Macario sono i fondatori del monachesimo egiziano, senza però indicare l'epoca nella quale sono vissuti. Si riscontrano poi diversi nomi di luoghi non identificati. G. tace sull'identità di località come: Wägära, 73; Däbrä Ma'so, Yä 'Afarom Waša, 105 ecc. Encomiabili invece le annotazioni lessicali, la puntualizzazione delle svariate sfumature che alcuni termini ed espressioni possono assumere, l'attenzione a elementi relativi ad usi e costumi dell'Etiopia e del mondo monastico dell'epoca: anche se, nella maggior parte dei casi, G. non si preoccupa di fornire rinvii bibliografici così che il lettore interessato possa eventualmente approfondire le indicazioni da lui accennate. Interessanti le statistiche delle locuzioni Gə'əz in bocca agli Etiopici di lingua tigrina e delle popolazioni meridionali (p. 47); storpiature facilmente identificabili da chi come G. del Gə'əz è un fine anatomista. L'autore sfortunatamente, dice di rinunciare alla stesura di una lista esauriente di questi fenomeni "per non eccedere". Avrebbe invece fatto un grande servizio, soprattutto per i principianti. Le citazioni bibliche sono in buona parte individuate. Benché G. abbia proceduto in maniera piuttosto arbitraria. Parecchie (troppe) citazioni e soprattutto allusioni non sono state registrate. Ne cito solo alcune: p. 81 "ma la parola di Dio non può essere incatenata" 2 Tm 2,9; p. 130 "eravamo morti a causa del nostro peccato" Ef 2,1; p. 150 "c'è un tempo per parlare e un tempo per tacere" Qo 3,7. Localizzare tutte le citazioni bibliche sarebbe servito a mettere in luce l'impressionante livello di domestichezza degli Stefaniti con i testi della Scrittura. Da notificare anche la mancata segnalazione della rielaborazione di diversi passaggi biblici come ad esempio l'adattamento del testo matteo "sugli uccelli che non seminano né mietono" Mt 6,26 allo stile di vita degli Stefaniti. Nella no-

ta n. 8 a p. 123 si legge che la citazione "ciò che occhio non vide, orecchio non ascoltò..." proviene dalla "Dottrina degli Arcani" (sic!) senza ricordare che si tratta di un passo desunto da 1Cor 2,9 che è a sua volta riconducibile a tre passi dell'Antico Testamento. A proposito della medesima citazione, a p. 158, la nota n. 158 dice di nuovo che la fonte è la "Dottrina degli Arcani" con la differenza che questa volta vengono suppliti alcuni rimandi bibliografici. A p. 97, la nota 136, segnala come fonte il *Patericon* p. 125 ma sembra che ciò non sia esatto. G. ha cercato di rintracciare anche le citazioni extra-bibliche e quando non è stato possibile farlo, il mancato riferimento è di norma segnalato. Forse una eccezione di rilievo a questo proposito potrebbero essere le citazioni dal Sinodos e dal *Fəṭḥa Nəgāst* che non vengono individuate. Nella nota n. 74 a p. 77, G. dice che il libro del Sinodos non è stato ancora pubblicato. L'editore offre quindi un breve elenco di alcuni termini tecnici (pp. 49-51) ricorrenti nel lessico agiografico e cerca di fissarne il significato, esprimendo l'auspicio che essi vengano adottati così come sono anche nell'amarico.

La vita di Abba 'Əstifanos e dei suoi seguaci è da G. interpretata come "un movimento di rinascita e di rinnovamento": interpretazione che per ammissione dello stesso G., è in contrasto con la posizione della Chiesa Etiopica che non ha mai accolto gli Stefaniti, ma li ha anzi scomunicati come eretici. G. dichiara ovviamente di voler rimanere neutrale nella valutazione degli Stefaniti ma a leggere quanto precede e segue questa affermazione appare chiaro che l'editore di queste "Vite" è assolutamente favorevole al movimento. L'attitudine dell'editore nei riguardi di Abba 'Əstifanos e dei suoi seguaci traspare anche nelle note a piè di pagina con osservazioni che a volte sono brevissimi flash, ma non per questo meno efficaci strumenti ermeneutici a favore del movimento. La decisione di porre la Vergine con il Bambino come illustrazione di copertina e a pagina 23 (desunta dal repertorio degli Stefaniti), sembra una scelta intesa a smentire uno dei principali capi di imputazione addebitati dal re al movimento: il rifiuto di venerare le immagini della "doppiamente Vergine". Le citazioni nei frontespizi di cinque delle sei sezioni del volume, suonano come altrettante lance spezzate da G. in favore degli Stefaniti. Un'opera quindi che rappresenta il risultato di un lungo processo di riflessione da parte dell'editore, il quale ricorre a diverse tecniche per "una grande riabilitazione" di quella che ventuno anni orsono, nel suo contributo in memoria di Stefan Strelcyn, egli ha chiamato "A Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia" (*Paideuma* 29, 1983).

G. sostiene che il trattamento riservato agli Stefaniti da parte di Zär'a Ya'əqob, un re per più aspetti con pregi innegabili, rappresenta un'occasione perduta di rinnovamento (35). Secondo l'ermeneutica storica di G. la posta in gioco è infatti tra i due campi opposti: da una parte la Corte e la Chiesa ufficiale, preoccupate del benessere materiale e incatenate dalla brama insaziabile del potere; dall'altra, Abba 'Əstifanos con i suoi discepoli che propongono, un ritorno radicale alle sorgenti della vita cristiana. La violenta reazione del re, nei confronti del "pio monaco" e dei suoi seguaci è spiegata come

la risposta a chi ha avuto "l'ardire di non prostrarsi davanti alla sua maestà" sovrana. Il vero motivo dello scontro tra Zār'a Ya'āqob e gli Stefaniti, secondo questi ultimi, non sarebbero le sottigliezze teologiche servite dal re alla piazza che poi li ha perseguitati e massacrati. Le opere degli Stefaniti negano la paternità di alcune diatribe millenariste attribuite al movimento: esso vi fu dolosamente trascinato dallo stesso sovrano (p. 99). L'origine del risentimento del re nei confronti degli Stefaniti era il loro inamovibile rifiuto di fare atto di adorazione del diadema regale. C'è un ritornello che scorre ininterrotto nelle testimonianze degli Stefaniti, raccolte nelle opere del volume. Ad ogni richiesta, più o meno minacciosa, di prostrarsi (il verbo amarico nell'imperativo è "sägädu = inchinatevi! prostratevi! adorare!") davanti al re, la risposta del capo del movimento e dei suoi seguaci è sempre stata: "Ci prostriamo [solo] davanti al Padre, al Figlio ed allo Spirito Santo!". I tormenti degli Stefaniti iniziano quando muovono critiche al rilassamento della vita cristiana in generale e allo stile di vita dei monaci in particolare. 'Ēstifanos rileva e deplora il decadimento della vita monastica esemplificato dal dilagante distacco dalla povertà. Le regalie dei signorotti locali e delle grandi famiglie stanno infatti erodendo progressivamente lo spirito e la prassi della consacrazione ad una vita di rinuncia. È questo richiamo alla coerenza ed all'austerità, attraverso la parola ma soprattutto attraverso il proprio vissuto che attirerà gli strali del clero e dei monaci. Infatti, per quanto ne possiamo sapere, lo spartiacque tra gli Stefaniti e il mondo monastico della loro epoca non è tanto nei contenuti dottrinali quanto piuttosto nella radicalità delle loro scelte di vita. G. puntualizza che dalle vite degli Stefaniti non risulta che vi siano stati vescovi che hanno scomunicato il movimento o i suoi protagonisti. Chi ha emesso una scomunica nei loro confronti o per lo meno chi ne parla è il re Zār'a Ya'āqob, né si evince che gli interessati abbiano mai accettato la condizione di scomunicati — benché nella Vita di Ezra questi chieda al metropolita Yeshaq di togliere a sé e ai suoi la scomunica "per i morti e per i vivi" (Caquot, pp. 82 e 87). G. ricorda come le posizioni degli Stefaniti che poi li hanno portati alla rottura con la corte, quali la volontà forte e chiara di attenersi alla Scrittura e agli insegnamenti degli Apostoli come massime autorità della fede, così come il rifiuto di piegarsi dinanzi alle sacre icone e alla Croce, non fossero una novità ma già sarebbero emerse, sempre nel Təgray, all'epoca di 'Aṣe Yagəbā'a Şəyon (1278-1286). Dall'alto della sua familiarità pluridecennale con le vicende del re Zār'a Ya'āqob (1434-68), G. può permettersi di tracciare un parallelo tra quello che lui definisce il movimento di risveglio Stefanita con "il fenomeno Lutero" nel mondo occidentale (1483-1546). G. attribuisce la genesi degli Stefaniti al periodo di 'Aṣe Yəshaq (1406-1421) e aggiunge che sarebbero fioriti "una trentina di anni circa, prima del sollevamento di Lutero, con idee simili alle sue" (p. 24). Lutero fu scomunicato il 3 Gennaio 1521. Forse l'editore doveva chiarire meglio il nesso cronologico tra i due eventi. I conti di questo accostamento, qualunque ne sia il valore o l'efficacia dimostrativa, non tornano esattamen-

te. La ricca Introduzione dell'editore offre diversi strumenti utili per intraprendere il cammino (guidato) nelle "Vite" ma bisogna anche rilevare che questo può rappresentare una precomprensione e un condizionamento per il lettore acritico. I protagonisti delle "Vite" sono presentati come "eroi di ascesi" e "vittime" di un re brillante, energico portatore di innovazioni, ma anche scaltro, brutale, soprattutto afflitto da un complesso di onnipotenza che lo porta ad infierire contro il capo del movimento, non solo in vita ma addirittura in morte, contro il suo cadavere. Dall'agone di Abba 'Eṣṭifanos, e da quelli dei suoi seguaci, la figura del re esce a pezzi. Zār'a Ya'əqob risulta un tiranno implacabile (sintomo di personalità insicura e vulnerabile?) che ricorre a qualsiasi misura pur di cancellare il movimento dal suo regno. Il volume è un interminabile resoconto di raccapriccianti torture psicologiche e fisiche quali amputazioni di lingua, naso, orecchie, arti superiori e inferiori, estrazione degli occhi, evirazioni, incisione della lettera "z" sulle gote, sulla fronte e su altre parti del corpo (per imprimere il marchio di asservimento, i.e. "schiavo di Zār'a Ya'əqob"), sfilamento dei nervi, ustioni, denudamenti, veglie forzate, percosse con bastoni e clave, monaci e monache battuti "come si trebbia il grano nell'aia", flagellazioni, fame e sete, esili in luoghi malarici, soggiorni forzati presso le più disparate abitazioni di pagani, che equivale a consegnare gli Stefaniti alla mercé dei musulmani, condanne a morte per lapidazione, sassaiole contro cadaveri di Stefaniti appositamente riesumati per ordine del re (p. 172), cadaveri di monache allegramente scaraventati nei burroni (p. 173). Una litania di orrori! Tutto questo con la connivenza di una Chiesa dipinta come mondana, intrigante e subalterna alla Corte. Al critico della tradizione letteraria non può sfuggire il pesante concorso di espedienti artistici nella presentazione del materiale. L'apologeta, ben prima di mettere bianco su nero la sua suadente versione dei fatti, ha già studiato a memoria come tessere le sue trame; ha stabilito in anticipo su quali schemi e paradigmi dovrà modellare l'ampio ventaglio di crudeltà che vuole esporre. Per ogni "santo" e "santa" del movimento viene accuratamente preparata una nicchia stilistica nella quale sistemarli gloriosamente. La rappresentazione si avvale infatti della seguente struttura stereotipa: il re fa convocare gli imputati e inscena un interrogatorio farsa con le solite domande retoriche che contengono già la condanna. Alle domande provocatorie del re, segue sempre la reazione altrettanto dura dei "santi". Il racconto culmina con l'ordine del re di infliggere pene insopportabili che aprono la via al martirio eroico. Questo è il copione. La strategia (ben riuscita) dell'agiografo è chiara: scolpire due figure, contrastanti, che si fronteggiano in un duello impari davanti al lettore. È la rappresentazione di un agone, di una lotta senza quartiere tra il male, incarnato nella figura del re e l'integrità esasperata, al limite del fanatismo, di Stefano e compagni. Lo scopo è quello di suscitare da una parte rabbia e condanna nei confronti di un sovrano sempre più oscurato dall'eclissi della coscienza, dall'altra compassione e venerazione per il movimento.

G. dice di avere sentimenti ambivalenti nei confronti di Zār'a Ya'ṓqob (p. 25). Ed è comprensibile. Come "non stracciarsi le vesti", come non indignarsi, di fronte ai racconti di barbarie inaudite che queste agiografie registrano? Come non schierarsi inconsciamente al fianco di monache che subiscono atrocità agghiaccianti (e.g., pp. 131, 142, 160) per il solo crimine di "non essersi prostrate" di fronte al sovrano? Eppure, rimane fuori discussione che, se si deve prendere con grande cautela la storia scritta dai vincitori, un simile *caveat* vale anche per quella che esalta e canonizza "i perdonati". Al lettore attento non può sfuggire il livore nei confronti del re e degli avversari che esala dal Gädl di Abba 'Əstifanos e nelle altre opere degli Stefaniti. Il re non è mai chiamato per nome! È un anatema implicito: "Sei un in-nominabile!". Nella "Vita dei Padri e dei Fratelli" il re è chiamato con nomignoli come "l'orso ostile", "il fraudolento". Gli oppositori del movimento, compresi i preti vengono spesso e volentieri chiamati "Satana". Non è possibile condividere, e tanto più in termini di attualità, il compiacimento per la mala sorte dei persecutori e il tentativo di leggerla come un castigo di Dio, quale fio pagato per le malefatte (p. 181). Anche se possono essere umanamente comprensibili, l'odio e l'acredine, non sono "virtù" che innalzano i martiri e gli asceti alla gloria degli altari. Dall'agone di Abba 'Əstifanos, che è pur stato scritto da un suo simpatizzante (offre quindi solo una faccia della medaglia), emerge la figura di un personaggio intransigente, un uomo non di dialogo ma di contrapposizione. Difficile quindi "presceglierlo" come modello per i nostri tempi.

Il Gädl di Abba 'Əstifanos e così quello dei "Padri e dei Fratelli", contiene racconti drammatici, avvincenti che riescono a catturare il lettore sin dalle prime battute. Il Gädl di Abba 'Əstifanos è un'esposizione che con il suo stile, passionale, sovente iperbolico — come ad esempio, la quantità delle fustigazioni subite dal "santo" e i fiumi di sangue che hanno provocato, o l'accostamento del terremoto che accompagna la morte di Cristo a quello che si sarebbe verificato alla morte di Abba 'Əstifanos — conserva per noi un enorme fascino. Un racconto intramezzato da *suspense* costruita ad arte, che incanta e trascina senza accorgersene, fino al crepuscolo rosso sangue con cui cala il sipario sulle gesta eroiche del personaggio.

Secondo G., "La Vita dei Padri e dei Fratelli" costituisce una fonte storica di alto valore. Bisogna aggiungere che è anche un capolavoro letterario che merita di essere tradotto in altre lingue. È un documento che riporta nomi di località mutati in epoche successive o che sono addirittura cadute in oblio (e non sono poche). Un'opera che testimonia un fatto significativo: sebbene nato nel Təgray, il movimento ha conosciuto una fase di notevole espansione anche nelle altre regioni dell'Etiopia ed ha avuto seguaci appartenenti a gruppi etnici non-semiti. La lingua in cui "la Vita dei Padri e dei Fratelli" è stata scritta o almeno ricopiata, lascia trasparire la partecipazione attiva di personaggi la cui lingua madre non era l'amarico o il tigrino. Gli scribi comprendevano elementi che sembrano di origine Hadiya, Wālayta o Ağaw (p. 47).

Ciò si evince dagli errori ortografici derivanti dalla inflessione del Gə'əz in bocca a queste etnie, come ad esempio il persistente interscambio tra il primo e il quarto ordine, c.g. ወግግ per ወግመ, oppure ቀለ per ቃለ. È un fenomeno che offre a G. una giusta ragione per sconfessare "la menzogna" di coloro che hanno sostenuto e sostengono che il Gə'əz (e non solo la lingua) sarebbe un retaggio dei soli popoli tigrini e amara (p. 47). Gli Stefaniti meritano di essere ricordati e apprezzati per avere fornito un motivo di crescita della letteratura "nazionale" (p. 36). G. riconosce che il loro movimento ha attirato l'attenzione di vari studiosi occidentali che hanno utilizzato come fonti delle loro ricerche e pubblicazioni "I Miracoli di Maria", le cronache dei re e le vite degli Stefaniti.

Ritengo inopportuno l'attualizzazione che il presentatore del volume compie (pp. 13-16): potrebbe indisporre i lettori che si riconoscono nella storia e nella cultura dell'Etiopia a prescindere dagli "sviluppi" tragici (ma sempre opinabili) della storia recente. Tocca nervi ancora scoperti. Magari con un piccolo sacrificio, doveva [pre]valere la regola di saggezza che invita a "non mischiare il sacro con il profano". Infine, piccole osservazioni su alcune minuzie non mancherebbero. I termini stranieri a volte sono trascritti in caratteri Gə'əz e altre volte in quelli latini. Talvolta si verificano promiscuità ortografiche, per esempio nell'impiego delle lettere ሰ/ሠ e a qualcuno potrebbe sorgere il dubbio se si tratti di meri *lapsus calami*. A p. 49 abbiamo ግስ e due pagine dopo ግሥ; a p. 75, nella nota (seconda riga) e anche altrove, c'è ስር anziché la forma abituale, ሥር (Thomas Leiper Kane, 482). In lavori di tale spessore forse una carta geografica con i nomi delle località in cui i protagonisti si sono mossi ed hanno operato sarebbe stata di grande utilità soprattutto per i lettori "a digiuno" delle vicende riportate nel volume. G. non spiega il significato di nomi stranieri come "tawfin" a p. 166. "La Vita dei Padri e dei Fratelli" dice che la corte avrebbe affibbiato al fondatore del movimento il soprannome 'Ēstifa che sarebbe un termine egiziano che denota un demone (p. 167). Sarebbe stato importante verificare la presunta origine egiziana di tale epiteto, fin qui considerato semplice ipocoristico.

G. ha il merito di aver presentato un'opera seria senza essere duro. A volte sa addirittura esprimersi con uno stile velatamente umoristico. Ne abbiamo un esempio nella distinzione che traccia fra chi ha succhiato il Gə'əz dalle mammelle della propria madre e chi invece ha iniziato a balbettarlo e a scarabocchiarlo in età avanzata (p. 47) (la formulazione è del recensore). Sarebbe auspicabile che "La Vita di Abba 'Ēstifanos" così come quella dei "Padri e dei Fratelli" venisse pubblicata nell'originale Gə'əz. Senza voler cadere in una vacua retorica adulatoria (di cui un grande studioso quale G. non ha bisogno) è doveroso riconoscere che questo importante lavoro può essere qualificato adattando la metafora evangelica del frutto maturo che nasce da un albero buono.

Apocrypha

Nicolae Roddy, *The Romanian Version of the Testament of Abraham. Text, Translation, and Cultural Context*, Society of Biblical Literature (= Early Judaism and its Literature, 19), Atlanta 2001, p. x + 140.

Un article de Nicolae Roddy («Scribal Intent: Sociocultural Appropriation of the Testament of Abraham in Eighteenth-Century Romanian Lands»), paru dans le premier numéro du *Journal of Religion & Society* [<http://www.creighton.edu/JRS>] en 1999, annonçait déjà le titre de sa thèse à peine soutenue à l'université de Iowa: «The Romanian Version of the Testament of Abraham: Text, Translation, and Context». Approximativement sous le même titre, la SBL publie cette thèse de doctorat qui compte 140 pages en format in 8°.

L'ouvrage s'articule en deux parties. La première, intitulée «Text», représente — comme le titre l'indique — le volet philologique du travail et livre, hormis l'édition critique de la version roumaine du *T.Ab.*, un essai de *stemma codicum* de cette tradition textuelle. La seconde partie, sous le titre «Context», s'attache, elle, à décrire le milieu de provenance de cette traduction — qui s'avère être plus qu'une simple variante — et à dégager les instruments (lexicaux, géographiques, symboliques et autres) par lesquels cet apocryphe juif alexandrin du premier siècle fut roumanisé. Cette partie est structurée en quatre chapitres: «Sociohistorical Context», «Romanian Appropriation of *T. Ab.*», «Resonance with Hellenic Culture» et enfin «Function in its Sociocultural Context».

Dans l'introduction, l'A. se propose de répondre à deux *desiderata*: d'une part, fournir une édition critique exhaustive qui remplacerait celle, vétuste, de Moses Gaster et, d'autre part, analyser le rôle joué par le *T.Ab.* dans la culture des Principautés Roumaines du XVIII^e siècle, mais aussi savoir «how this and other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical texts functioned in the communities that copied and read them». Le premier but est certainement atteint: alors que Gaster avait à sa disposition uniquement trois témoins de la version roumaine du *T.Ab.* (mss. 1151, 1157, 1158 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine), Roddy en recense — grâce aux savants travaux de Cartoian et de Turdeanu — vingt-six. Néanmoins, les leçons les plus intéressantes restent celles des témoins déjà édités. Quant au second dessein, bien plus ambitieux, le sixième chapitre se propose de l'atteindre, mais avec des résultats discutables.

Avec un accent particulier sur le «recensional problem», l'introduction fait le point sur l'état de la recherche relative au *T.Ab.*, depuis la première édition du texte grec de 1892, due à M. R. James. Pour ce dernier, l'original grec aurait été abrégé en donnant naissance à la version courte représentée par trois des neuf manuscrits collationnés. En 1986, Fr. Schmidt inverse la donne en postulant l'antériorité de cette recension courte (rec. B), qui est également à la base des versions slavonnes et à laquelle il attribue une ori-

gine palestinienne. Nickelsburg, quant à lui, revient à la thèse de James en arguant de la résolution par la version courte d'un certain nombre de problèmes posés par la rec. A. Enfin, l'A. fait état de l'étude de Kraft, qui escamote la question en affirmant que «the view one takes of the 'recensional problem' is closely intertwined with one's view of the origin of *T Abr* and of the Jewish and/or early Christian world(s) in which it was thought to have originated». Trois autres contributions sont ensuite mentionnées, dues à Albert-Marie Denis, Mathias Delcor et Enno Janssen, ainsi que l'édition de Sanders dans les *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* édités par Charlesworth.

Le premier chapitre traite des traditions textuelles des versions roumaine et grecque. Ainsi a-t-on pu relever parmi les 26 témoins roumains, 9 valaques, 2 moldaves, 4 transylvains et 3 provenant de Banat. Une version courte, traduite dans la deuxième moitié du XVI^e s. d'après la recension grecque B, est également présente dans le fameux *Codex Sturdzanus* ainsi que dans les mss. 2158 et 5299 de la même Bibliothèque de l'Académie roumaine, ce dernier surprenant par un dénouement insolite du *T.Ab.* La version longue qui fait l'objet de cette étude s'avère être la traduction de la recension D dans la classification de James, traduction effectuée selon toute probabilité d'après un seul exemplaire grec. Selon Roddy, la carrière roumaine de l'apocryphe semble avoir débuté au monastère de Cernica, dont le *scriptorium*, entre autres, lui a forgé la réputation de centre culturel majeur de la Valachie à partir du début du XVII^e. Mais il ne s'agit là que d'une hypothèse, rien ne le prouve et l'A. même avance un second candidat, Snagov, autre monastère valaque renommé notamment pour sa typographie active depuis le XVII^e siècle.

Le deuxième chapitre est dédié à l'édition et à la traduction. L'avantage linguistique de l'A. est plutôt bien mis à profit et la traduction anglaise en témoigne, faisant parfois preuve de prouesse face à une langue aussi complexe que le roumain pré-quarante-huitard. Mais parfois il se trompe et peut traduire «O ciudă mare și minune mare!» par «O great and strange wonder!», ou bien il rendra une métaphore comme «...și au văzut nunta fără de cale făcându-să» par «He also saw a wedding party making its way along aimlessly», ce qui n'a rien à voir avec le sens du texte.

On se demande à quoi sert la «normalisation» alphabétique du roumain. Si cette pratique pouvait avoir un sens au milieu du XIX^e — aussi idéologique qu'il ait été —, aujourd'hui elle est tout uniment incompréhensible, surtout pour un public qui n'a pas plus d'aisance dans le roumain graphié en caractères latins que dans les textes cyrillo-roumains. C'est comme si on éditait un firman ottoman selon les normes de l'orthographe kémaliste. Mais là n'est pas le problème: en dernière instance, une translittération conséquente aurait pu faire l'affaire. Or cela n'est pas le cas car, faute de diacritiques, la marque de l'indétermination au singulier /ũ/ ainsi que le *i* court (/ɪ/) n'apparaissent pas et l'A. multiplie les confusions. En voici quelques exemples, rien qu'au niveau des *incipit*:

ms. 4278	p. 11: Trăiul și viața patriarhului Avraam	p. 23: Trăiul și viața patriarchului Avraam
ms. 1972	p. 11: Apocalipsul lui Avraam	p. 23: Cuvânt de arătare din apocalipsis a patriarchului Avraam
ms. 2430	p. 12: Cuvânt de arătarea apocalipsii a patriarhului Avraam	p. 23: Cuvânt de arătare din apocalipsis a patriarchului Avraam
ms. 3162	p. 11: Cuvântu de arătare [din] apocalipsis a patriarhului Avram	p. 23: Cuvânt de arătare din apocalipsis a patriarchului Avraam
ms. 1151	p. 9: Cuvântu de arătare pildelor i pentru părintele Avraam patriarhul blagoslovește	p. 23: Cuvântu de arătare, pildelor pentru Avram, patriarhul blagoslovește
ms. 2339	p. 10: Viața și petrecerea părintelui nostru Avraam	p. 23: Viața și petreceră părintele nostru Avraam
ms. 4252	p. 11: Cuvânt la moartea patriarchului Avram	p. 23: Cuvânt la moartea patriarchului Avraam

Il n'y a pratiquement qu'un seul titre, celui du ms. 1158, qui est transcrit de la même façon.

Tout au long de la lecture du texte roumain, on se pose naturellement la question «que donne le manuscrit?» Est-on devant des *lectiones difficiliores*, des hapax, ou bien est-ce de l'inattention de la part de l'éditeur? On ne peut pas le dire car aucun fac-similé n'accompagne l'édition.

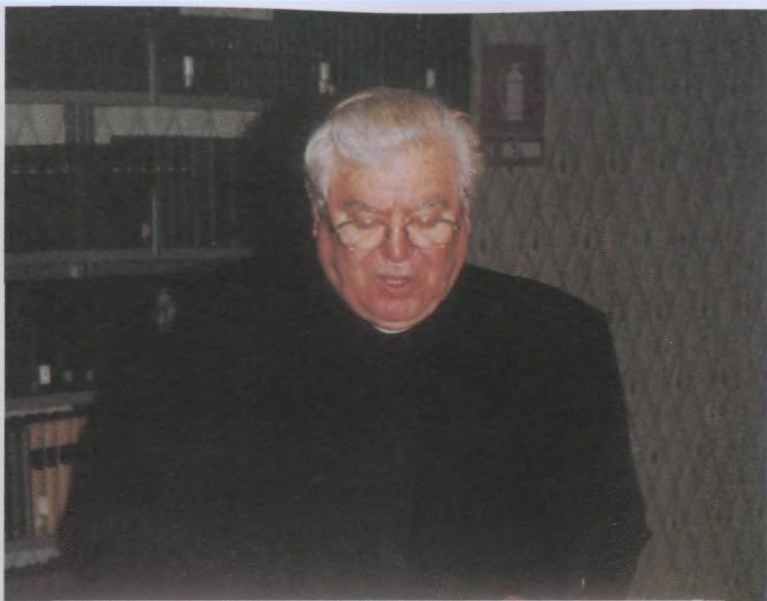
Le troisième chapitre, qui ouvre la seconde partie, s'intéresse au contexte socio-historique. C'est un tableau d'ensemble de l'histoire des Principautés Roumaines, de leur structure sociale et du monachisme, censé répondre aux interrogations suscitées par quelques interpolations et variantes de la version roumaine. Le chapitre débute, sous le titre «Methodology», par un panorama de l'historiographie roumaine. On apprend ainsi que les sources premières sont éparées et qu'il n'existe pratiquement pas d'études sérieuses sur le XVIII^e roumain faites par des Roumains puisque d'un Jorga nationaliste on est passé, sans transition ni nuances, à la réécriture marxiste de l'histoire, qui, elle, serait illisible donc inutilisable. Roddy n'est pas le premier à tenir de tels propos, il est tout de même surprenant que les obsessions qui furent celles de toute une génération de l'émigration persistent encore. Si les travaux de l'historiographie dite engagée ne trouvent pas grâce aux yeux du chercheur américain, il n'hésite pas à citer Seton-Watson et Wilkinson (ce dernier avec un titre du 1820), d'ailleurs les deux seuls ouvrages d'une certaine visibilité, avec celui de Hitchins, écrits par des Anglo-saxons. Un coup d'œil jeté sur les notes infra-paginales montre que des études d'archives telles que Fl. Constantiniu, *Relațiile agrare din Țara Românească în secolul al XVIII-lea* (Bucarest, 1972), V. Mihordea, *Relațiile agrare din secolul al XVIII-lea în Moldova* (Bucarest, 1968), Ș. Papacostea, *Oltenia sub stăpânirea austriacă (1718-1739)* (Bucarest, 1971) ou A. Pippidi, *Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen à l'aube de l'âge moderne* (Bucarest-Paris, 1980) sont complètement ignorées. Les omissions ne s'arrêtent pas aux seuls ouvrages jugés idéo-

logiquement parasités: une référence capitale pour la période, les actes du *Symposium «L'époque phanariote», 21-25 octobre 1970. À la mémoire de Cléobule Tsourkas* (Thessalonique, 1974) ou bien *La Grèce au temps des Lumières* de Th. Dimaras (Genève, 1969) sont passées sous silence.

Ce bref chapitre nécessite pourtant quelques autres remarques d'ordre historique. Dans le paragraphe qui traite de l'éducation dans les Principautés Roumaines, le XV^e siècle est pris comme repère pour l'apparition des écoles. Or la première institution d'enseignement, l'*Academia vasiliană* auprès du monastère de Trei Ierarhi à Iassy, n'est fondée qu'en 1691, suivie en 1694 en Valachie par l'*Academia domnească* de Saint-Saba, à Bucarest, et ceci est un fait établi. À la même page 68, il est affirmé que sur le christianisme des premiers siècles en Dacie, on est dépourvu de renseignements: tous les travaux spécialisés, sans exception, démontrent le contraire.

Le quatrième chapitre analyse les moyens par lesquels s'est opérée la roumanisation du *T.Ab.* Le volet linguistique de ce processus fait appel à son tour à plusieurs mécanismes: réification des éléments narratifs (due, *dixit* Roddy, à la traduction du grec — langue abstraite — en une langue concrète comme le roumain «for which Latin is the *lingua maternal*» *sic*), raccourcissement et paraphrase, et enfin «oralisation» du récit. L'A. met aussi en évidence une appropriation géographique: si dans le texte grec (rec. A) Abraham «avait dressé sa tente au carrefour du Chêne de Mambré» (δρῦς τῆς Μαμβρής), la version roumaine affirme que «sa demeure était près de *Driea cea neagră*, au carrefour des chemins que fréquentent les étrangers». Le terme même de *driea* est un *hapax legomenon* et, par voie de conséquence, le toponyme n'a pas d'attestations. Gaster l'avait expliqué de la manière la plus immédiate, en considérant que *neagră* traduit l'adjectif μαύρη, corruption de Μαμβρής, et que *driea* n'est, faute de compréhension, qu'une transposition de δρῦς/δρυός. Et l'A. a raison de vouloir chercher une autre solution que celle de son prédécesseur, sauf que l'argumentaire est fantaisiste: *driea* serait un xénisme calqué sur δρία (pl. de δρίος, «taillis») ou bien sur δρῦς, ce qui fait de *Driea cea neagră* un nom de village qui se traduirait par «La forêt noire» ou «Le chêne noir». De surcroît, la leçon *diea* est liée dans cette même démonstration à δύη («calamité, malheur») et serait censée refléter la propension du Roumain pour la lamentation funéraire. *Cea neagră* n'échappe pas non plus à la spéculation: on est renvoyé à une chronique persane qui raconte l'invasion mongole de 1241 et mentionne les «Valaques noirs»! Pourquoi ne pas accepter la version de Gaster? *Driea* n'est évidemment rien d'autre qu'un barbarisme et sa source n'est pas loin: c'est bien le δρῦς/δρυός de l'original. La désinence féminine du lexème roumain dit tout: ce n'est que le féminin δρῦς qui pourrait en rendre compte. Quant à l'adjectif μαύρη qui remplace Μαμβρής, il est vrai que l'on imagine malaisément que le traducteur ait pu ignorer ce *locus classicus*, mais qui nous dit que l'on n'a pas là l'intervention ultérieure d'un copiste?

Enfin, ce même chapitre consacre quelques réflexions à l'appropriation sociale du *T.Ab.* par le biais d'une interpolation (*Și priimea călători, bogați,*



Pontificio Istituto Orientale

IRÉNÉE HAUSHERR e la spiritualità orientale SIMPOSIO a 25 anni dalla morte



Il padre I. Hausherr (1891-1978) ha posto le basi di una nuova specializzazione:
la scienza della spiritualità orientale.
Fu uno tra i più fecondi e originali maestri del PIO.
A 25 anni dalla sua morte si vuole onorare la sua memoria
e stimolare la continuazione della sua opera.

- 9.00 Saluto al Pontificio Istituto Orientale (padre I. Hausherr, via romana, via romana del PIO)
- 9.15 *Padre Hausherr nei ricordi di un discepolo* (conferenza del prof. Tomáš ŠTROMBEK, si, docente emerito del PIO)
- 10.00 *Développement récent de la recherche évangélique* (conferenza del dr. Paul CALVIN, docente di teologia del C.N.S. di Parigi)
- 10.45 *La spiritualité byzantine et le son rôle nell'opera di Irénée Hausherr* (conferenza del prof. Antonio RIZZI, docente di filologia bizantina all'Università di Venezia)
- 11.30 *I dieci spirituali di Irénée Hausherr* (comunicazione della dott.ssa Alessandra CERRA)
- 12.00 *Il contributo di Irénée Hausherr per gli studi relativi alla spiritualità siriana* (padre ROBERTO, docente di letteratura cristiana antica all'Università di Padova)
- 12.45 *L'unità di spiritualità e dogma nel pensiero di Irénée Hausherr* (conferenza del prof. Edoardo T. MARIANI, si, docente di teologia orientale, si PIO)
- 13.30 *Tracce ereditarie* (quadro del prof. Richard CRANDELL, docente di spiritualità orientale, si PIO)



Giovedì 3 aprile 2003

Piazza S. Maria Maggiore 7 - 00185 Roma - tel. 06.44.741.70

Symposium Hausherr, 3 avril 2003, à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental.
Le P. Recteur Hèctor Vall Vilardell S.J.
souhaite la bienvenue aux participants.



Alexandra Celia a découvert deux journaux intimes d'Hausherr. Antonio Rigo revient sur les théories d'Hausherr en matière de spiritualité byzantine.



Paul Géhin fait le point des recherches évagriennes après Hausherr.



Parmi les participants,
S.E. Pierre Morel,
ambassadeur
de France auprès
du Saint Siège
et S.E.

Mgr. Ján Babjak S.J.,
évêque de l'éparchie
gréco-catholique
de Prešov,
ancien étudiant
de l'Institut Pontifical
Oriental.



Edward G. Farrugia S.J.
qui, à la suite d'Hausherr,
traite des rapports entre
dogme et spiritualité.



**Richard Čemus S.J.,
professeur de spiritualité
chrétienne orientale,
organisateur du
Symposium Hausherr.**



**Tomáš Špidlík S.J.,
aujourd'hui cardinal,
disciple et successeur
du P. Hausherr.**

săraci, domni, împărați, boieri, bolnavi, slabi, vecini..., «Et il recevait voyageurs, riches, pauvres, princes, empereurs, boyards, malades, faibles, voisins...») et met justement en lumière un Abraham roumain, prototype du bon boyard. On ne saurait pas signaler un nouveau dérapage de lecture: le *γείτονας* de la version grecque est traduit correctement en roumain par *vecini* («voisins»), terme qui portait aussi, à l'époque féodale (donc au XVIII^e encore), la connotation de paysans assujettis à un seigneur, sens que l'A. prend sérieusement en discussion. Mais il oublie qu'il est devant une traduction et là où il y a identité sémantique dans la source et dans la traduction, il n'y pas de place pour les gloses.

Le titre du cinquième chapitre annonce une mise en parallèle de motifs «hellènes» et roumains. Mais d'hellène il n'y a que très peu là-dedans et le chapitre se transforme au fur et à mesure en une esquisse de l'imaginaire thanatique à partir de l'antiquité jusqu'au «Septième sceau» de Bergman, pour déboucher sur le folklore roumain. L'idée que l'on essaie de démontrer n'est guère nouvelle: la vie et la mort constituant dans les cultures balkaniques un continuum. De surcroît, l'Europe Orientale aurait fait de la mort un simple agent de la providence, un personnage parfois bouffe mais jamais malintentionné, alors que l'Europe Occidentale (et du coup Centrale aussi) en garde encore une image terrifiante, relique d'un Moyen-Âge éprouvé. La perspective tente, mais la comparaison est faussée d'emblée car d'un côté on discute d'un folklore (expression informelle de l'ethos) transcrit tant bien que mal au XIX^e, et de l'autre on se réfère à l'art cultivé du Moyen-Âge ou de la Renaissance, qui ne saurait être en désaccord avec un dogmatisme chrétien d'office. En passant en revue la balade *Miorița*, qui renvoie au mythe de la mort en tant que mariage tellurique, ainsi que deux contes populaires, l'A. essaie de mettre en exergue la sensibilité particulière des Roumains pour la mort, qui serait la clé de lecture pour le *T.Ab.Ro.* Cette problématique le mène naturellement, et sans qu'il le veuille, aux thèses de la philosophie de la culture, telles qu'elles ont été promues par la génération de l'entre-deux-guerres, de Blaga jusqu'à l'école de Nae Ionescu. Nonobstant des formulations aujourd'hui intenable (e.g. l'obsessionnelle «eastern European worldview» qui fait penser à l'idéologie panslaviste du XIX^e), il y a du vrai dans le cocktail de motifs et d'idées de ce chapitre. Mais l'A. n'arrive pas à dégager des archétypes et le seul principe de cohérence de ce bric-à-brac semble être la «résonance» de ses composants.

Enfin, le sixième chapitre s'attache au «fonctionnement» (autre fétiche de l'A.) du texte dans la société roumaine du XVIII^e.

La bibliographie est hétéroclite. Nombre de titres en langues roumaine et française sont mal orthographiés, de même que certains noms d'auteurs, ce qui est aussi le cas dans les notes de bas de page. Une liste de *corrigenda* serait trop longue pour être dressée ici. Signalons rapidement aussi quelques erreurs de composition du grec: ζένους pour ξένους (p. 78); φιλόζενος pour φιλόζενος (p. 79). Le *corpus delecti* de la p. 101 n'est qu'un *corpus delicti* et le

roum. *letopiseŭ* étant neutre a comme pluriel *letopiseŭe* et non *letopiseŭi* comme il apparaît à la p. 102.

Clair et concis, le lecteur américain trouvera le livre utile et informé. Tout ce que l'A. s'efforce de démontrer à travers des *excursus* dans des domaines aussi vastes que diversifiés est dit par les folkloristes roumains depuis des décennies. Le public savant aura par contre la possibilité de consulter un des témoins roumains du *T.Ab.*

V. Ghica

Archeologica

Vincenzo Ruggieri et Al., *Il golfo di Keramos: dal tardo-antico al medioevo bizantino*, Rubbettino Editore, Soveria Mannelli 2003, pp. 441, with black-and-white and colour photographs, plans and maps.

While Aphrodisias, the capital of the province of Caria, has been the subject of intensive and essential study for a good while now, the provincial corners of the province have not necessarily received the attention that this rich and varied area merits. Vincenzo Ruggieri and like-minded colleagues, however, have been applying themselves over the last decade to bringing to light the highly interesting evidence for a secondary region of Caria. The summation of that period of careful work and analysis, *Il golfo di Keramos*, provides scholars from different fields with a sophisticated tool of study. The area under study is demarcated by the gulf in southwestern Turkey, Kos situated at its mouth, and known far better for its classical sites, namely Halicarnassus and Cnidus. But Ruggieri and his colleagues have made the case for a focus on the later period and smaller centres. For the gulf itself was scarcely mentioned in the primary sources, and yet hard work on the ground, as it were, revealed not only long-term habitation, not surprisingly, but also extraordinarily interesting material remains. The thorough examination of the material has yielded, despite the paucity of textual material, a very evocative picture of Late Antique and Byzantine life on the north coast of the gulf. The result is a splendid example of a non-excavating regional study, which presents really very useful and compelling evidence for other scholars to bring to bear on their own related studies.

The mode of presentation of the material is accessible. The study begins with essays on the landscape, geography and historiography of the area, which set the table for the more detailed chapters to follow. The middle of the book is taken up with specific unpacking of the strikingly extensive monumental material found at the main urban centres of the north shore, Keramos and Alakisla, and then on to the smaller sites east and west of Keramos. The types of buildings, their preservation and design are laid out clearly and at length; the discoveries made by these scholars are remarkable, one must admit immediately. The architectural plans are newly drawn and

excellent. Most of the remains stay evocative, reduced and re-used as they often are, but some of these buildings are very striking indeed, especially at Alaksila, where the walls stand to a considerable height. The sculptural finds are catalogued in another chapter, and they comprise over seventy finds, scarcely published before, of various types (fragments of cornices, parapet slabs, epistyles, columns, pilasters, for the most part), here in usefully laid-out entries; dates are not generally ventured, but all are treated as falling in Early and Middle Byzantine periods. The mosaic and fresco found at various sites are described in great detail in the following chapter, and some fascinating subjects, though faded and fragmentary, are found, for example a personification of Eirene, or peace, which is of superb quality. These chapters are all written by Ruggieri and his Italian colleagues in that language, but the final chapter, on the inscriptions found in the area, is in German and English. The inscriptions are presented in an ideal fashion, with photographs, transcriptions (though not translated) and references. The epigraphy is used in the earlier chapters to discuss the transition in the area from Late Antique to Early Byzantine society. The evidence is not extensive, but it is used to good effect. Finally, short summaries are provided in French, English and Turkish. Throughout, the illustrations (black-and-white and colour photographs, some new and some from earlier studies, and plans and maps) are remarkably extensive and informative, though the numbering system is very elaborate and not always clear. The book also includes two indices, the Greek index being quite useful, but the 'indice dei nomi', the longer of the two, is indeed not as deep as one might like.

This deficiency is a symptom for a broader qualification one can make about the usefulness of this study. One can surely not fault the authors for their industry and diligence, nor for their intelligent discussion of the material under study, but the book is not nearly as penetrable as one could ask. For the archeologist, this book is a necessary study to examine and to take into consideration for future work; it is a foundational study for Anatolian archaeology of the Middle Ages. And yet other scholars, with less directed interest, may find the book rather overwhelming and unforthcoming. The language is largely lucid, even elegant, but not always erring on the side of direct, capitulating statements. The chapters do not end with nicely drawn synthetic sections, which would help the interested but constrained reader to draw conclusions. The book is over 400 pages long, and it does demand a certain commitment on the part of a more general reader to find particular information. It is, then, a scholarly book meant for specialists, and yet the work done here deserves a wider audience than such a book normally draws. Perhaps the authors might also produce a more generalist study as well, along the lines of the synthetic studies on Pylos (*Sandy Pylos*, ed. J. L. Davis, 1998) or Cherson (*Crimean Chersonesos*, ed. J. C. Carter, 2003). These studies are more diachronic than this study on Keramos aims to be, but the remains here are no less interesting, perhaps, and the frescoes, mosaics and architecture from the Byzantine period are, if fragmentary, nonetheless *more*

fascinating for reasons of their previous obscurity to specialists and generalists alike. That gift to the varied community of people interested in aspects of Anatolian culture and society of Late Antiquity and of the Middle Ages is most notable in the end, for this book lays the foundation for synthesis of many specific and related aspects of Byzantine history.

G. Peers

Byzantinica

Nil Cabasilas, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, par le Hiéromoine, Théophile Kislas, Théologie byzantine, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2001, pp. 494.

Il libro di Nilo Cabasilas, *Trattato sullo Spirito Santo*, e qui edito, tradotto e annotato da Théophile Kislas. Il contesto è quello di Bisanzio nel XIV secolo. Il pensiero dominante è quello di Gregorio Palamas, con gli echi di Atanasio, Cirillo d'Alessandria, Basilio di Cesarea, Gregorio di Nazianzo, Gregorio di Nyssa. Le discussioni vertono in particolare sulla processione dello Spirito Santo. La prima considerazione del curatore è rivolta al quadro *storico del periodo bizantino* (10-37). Descrizione delle opere secondo la *concezione teologica e dogmatica di Nilo Cabasilas* (41-71). La parte centrale dell'opera sviluppa e traduce il *Trattato sulla processione dello Spirito Santo* (83-91), nei *Discorsi sullo Spirito Santo*, il cui testo originale greco, è posto a fronte della traduzione francese e relative note di approfondimento (171-417). Questo di Kislas, si presenta come un lavoro impegnativo, scorrevole nella lettura, offrendo nel contempo un quadro ampio del pensiero cabasiliano, e della querelle di Barlaam e di Gregorio Palamas, sul *Metodo teologico* (124-135). Un capitolo è dedicato alla tradizione manoscritta sulla *processione dello Spirito Santo* (150-168), tra il XIV e XVII secolo. Il curatore offre ai lettori, un quadro organico di tutte le problematiche di varia natura, come l'influsso del pensiero di Nilo Cabasilas sulla cultura *spirituale e teologica del tempo* (140-145), il confronto: *Concilio di Firenze e Cabasilas* (146-151), fino alla questione sul *Filioque latino* (150-151). Théophile Kislas fa conoscere Nilo Cabasilas e il suo pensiero. La parte storica apre alla conoscenza degli sviluppi teologici e dogmatici delle problematiche bizantine prima e dopo il XIV secolo. La crisi politica e storica non ferma la teologia di Gregorio Palamas. Kislas dedica 4 capitoli alle forme del pensiero teologico dogmatico del Cabasilas, degli elementi del tempo, delle problematiche patristiche e spirituali antecedenti e seguenti, come le questioni legate alla Chiesa Bizantina prima e dopo il XIV secolo. Nilo Cabasilas si presenta come il grande umanista che difende e teorizza l'*esicasmo* (45-50), dai punti di vista teologico e spirituale. L'*esicasmo* è una dimensione antica, che si prospetta sotto nuove forme, proprio nel XIV secolo, come *rinnovamento dello Spirito* (19-71; 75ss.). Kislas fa osservare, che il *Trattato sullo Spirito Santo*, è considera-

to il più completo che sia stato mai redatto (52), (81-87). L'obiettivo di Nilo Cabasilas, è di contrapporsi vittoriosamente alle *teorie tomiste* (88-152). Il Cabasilas, una delle maggiori personalità del suo tempo (57), è uomo di chiesa e teologo geniale (58) noto per i suoi scritti contro i latini (59-75). I *Discorsi di Cabasilas*, si aprono con principi metodologici, circa la processione dello Spirito Santo, contro le *tesi dei Latini* (175-230) in favore del *Filioque* (231-291; 395-411) e del *pensiero di Tommaso d'Aquino* (411-417). Kislas, conclude il suo lavoro, introducendo una serie di *tavole di paleografia greca*, per 23 pagine per mostrare i componimenti di Nilo Cabasilas (463-469), della scuola cabasiliana (470 ss.), e dei copisti (474-489). Théophilo Kislas, al momento uno dei maggiori specialisti del settore, dedica le sue ricerche a *Nilo Cabasilas*, confuso troppo spesso con il nipote Nicola Cabasilas, le cui opere rimasero per molto tempo inedite; ora il Kislas recupera questa grave lacuna con sistematicità e impegno. Auspicio future traduzioni in lingua italiana, delle ricerche di Théophilo Kislas.

A. Celia

Manuele Crisolora, *Le due Rome*. Confronto tra Roma e Costantinopoli. Con la traduzione latina di Francesco Alcardi. A cura di Francesca Niutta. (= 2000 Viaggi a Roma, 7), Pàtron Editore, Bologna 2001, pp. 96.

Im Rahmen einer reicheren Dokumentation über die Vergangenheit Roms (1300 bis 1870) wurde dieser Brief eines der letzten byzantinischen Botschafter in Rom, wahrscheinlich aus dem Jahre 1411, an Kaiser Manuel II. Palaiologos herausgegeben. Kurz nach dem Fall Konstantinopels an den türkischen Sultan Mehmed II. hat ihn Francesco Aleardi (1454) im Zuge der Vorbereitung eines Kreuzzuges ins Lateinische übersetzt. Die italienische Übersetzung folgt einem griechischen Autograph des Verfassers, Manuel Chrysoloras († 15.4.1415), Griechischlehrer in Italien, besonders in Florenz, dann akkreditiert am Hofe Papst Johannes' XXIII.; die nicht immer wörtliche lateinische Übersetzung basiert auf einer der erhaltenen Handschriften.

Die Beschreibung der beiden Städte, die nicht zum ersten Male publiziert wird, ist in die Bemühungen der Epoche um Hilfe für die eingeschlossene Stadt am Bosphorus und die angestrebte Kirchenunion einzuordnen. Rom ist gekennzeichnet als die Stadt der Apostelfürsten Petrus und Paulus, symbolisiert durch die Peterskirche, aber die Frage des päpstlichen Primats ist eher umgangen. Konstantinopel, das fast schon unrettbar von den Türken eingekesselt ist, wird immer noch als die kulturell überlegene Kapitale gesehen, ein historischer Irrtum, den schon der byzantinische "Ministerpräsident" und Übersetzer der lateinischen Hochscholastik (Thomas von Aquin), Demetrios Kydones († 1398), Jahrzehnte zuvor als tragischen Irrtum seines Volkes angeprangert hatte.

Alles in allem, eine willkommene und nützliche Quellenedition mit ausreichender Einleitung und Bibliographie.

G. Podskalsky, S.J.

Gerhard Podskalsky, *Von Photios zu Bessarion. Der Vorrang humanistisch geprägter Theologie in Byzanz und deren bleibende Bedeutung*. Mit Geleitwort von Erich Lamberz, München, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2003, 101 S.

Die These, die P. im Untertitel erklärt, wird im Vorwort als eine Korrektur der einseitigen („Monopolstellung“) neopalamitischen Welle in den letzten Jahrzehnten erläutert (S. 9). Dabei wird nicht beabsichtigt, alles, was über Humanismus schon geschrieben worden ist, zusammenzutragen (S. 13). Es geht in der Tat um etwa 60 Theologen, die seit 70 Jahren wegen der Vorherrschaft der Theologie des „ungeschaffenen Lichtes“ im Lichtschatten stehen (S. 13). Gleichzeitig widersteht P. Tendenzen, Palamas oder Symeon den Neuen Theologen als Humanisten zu vereinnahmen — „plumpe Versuche“, die nicht überzeugen können (S. 13f.). Unter den Vertretern einer humanistisch geprägten Theologie in Byzanz (9.-15. Jh.) sind u.a. Photios, Leo der Philosoph, Michael Psellos, Johannis Italos, Niketas von Herakleia, Theophylaktos v. Achrida, Nikephoros Blemmydes, Georgios Akropolites, Gregorios II. Kyprios, Johannes XI. Bekkos, Konstantinos Meletiniotes, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Theodoros Metochites, Barlaam von Seminara, Nikephoros Gregoras, Gregorios Akindynos, Demetrios und Prochoros Kydones, Manuel Kalekas OP, Maximos Chrysoberges OP, Isidoros v. Kiev, Eugenikos v. Ephesos, Kardinal Bessarion, Gennadios II. Scholarios und Joseph v. Methone (Johannes Plusiadianos) zu nennen (S. 16-18). Allerdings gelten manche unter ihnen als Heilige, andere wiederum als Häretiker.

Über einer allgemeinen Verwurzelung in der griechischen Patrologie hinaus steckt die allseitige Hochschätzung der Freundschaft hervor, wie sie im Briefwechsel zwischen Olympia und Johannes Chrysostomos zu Tage tritt (S. 20f.) und bei der Thematisierung von der Philanthropia Gottes in Jesus Christus ihre Begründung findet. Gregor von Nazianz schreibt an seinen Freund Basilius: „Zwischen uns gab es den Neid nicht...“ (S. 21f.). Zu dieser Hochschätzung der Freundschaft tritt eine wechselseitige Kritik: *amicus Plato, magis amica veritas!* Margunios betont die Notwendigkeit freundschaftlicher Sachkritik (S. 37). Auch wenn sie faktisch nie Freunde gewesen waren, bezichtigte Psellos Kerullarios des Neuplatonismus (S. 39f.). Für Demetrios Kydones ist der Palamismus eine geistige Verwirrung. Gennadios II. Scholarios wies die undifferenzierte Übersetzung des *procedere* in Augustinus' „De trinitate“ bei Maximos Planudes (ἐκπορεύεσθαι - προϊέναι) (S. 43). Gregorios von Nazianz wurde in patristischer Zeit und nachpatristischer Zeit vielfach studiert und verherrlicht (S. 44f.). Bei den humanistischen Theologen genoss Basileios d. Gr. aus verschiedenen Gründen Hochachtung (S. 46f.). Aber während Gregor von Nazianz eine herausragende Sonderstellung behauptet, bleibt Gregor von Nyssa, der „größte“ Theologe unter den drei Kappadoziern, im Hintergrund (S. 52). Im 11. Jahrhundert erhielten die beiden anderen und Johannes Chrysostom durch die Einsetzung des Festes der drei Hierarchen am 30. Januar durch Metropolit Johannes Mauropus ci-

nen zusätzlichen Schub (S. 53). Was die Einbeziehung antiker Mythen zur Deutung der christlichen Heilsmysterien angeht, wird zu H. Rahners *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* und *Symbole der Kirche bei den Kirchenvätern* gesagt, dass sie einen ganzen Literaturzweig in Frankreich und Deutschland geschaffen haben (S. 62). Wichtig ist die Brücke, die zwischen Mönchtum und Philosophie geschlagen wird (S. 66). Die Rezeption des Thomas bei Gennadios ist bemerkenswert (S. 69). P. behauptet gegen eine oberflächliche Meinung, dass es an der Zeit wäre, anstatt der dauerhaften *damnatio memoriae* der Gegenpartei deren *purificatio* anzustreben, wie es Johannes Paulus II. am 30.10.1992 beim Galileo Galilei unternommen hat. Georgios Pachimeres († c. 1310) kritisierte die bodenlose Unwissenheit der byzantinischen Gesandten zum Heiligen Stuhl hinsichtlich lateinischer Theologie und Kirche (S. 71). Michael Psellos konnte sich nur durch den Verweis auf das Vorbild der Kappadokier retten, was seinem Schüler Johannes Italos nicht gegönnt war (S. 72). Zwei Jahrhunderte später wurde gegen eine ganze Reihe humanistisch gebildeter Landsleute wie Barlaam und Prochoros Kydonos angegangen (S. 74). Die hospizähnliche Einrichtung "Basiliastasis" des Basileios d. Großen, Nachweis des sozialen Engagements der humanistischen Theologen in Theorie und Praxis, wurde in der Form eines sozialen Klosterannexes auch im Mittelalter nachgeahmt (S. 77-80). Als Geheimtyp einer ausgewogenen, tiefgreifenden byzantinischen Mystik ragt Nikolaos Kabasilas heraus. Er wurde erst 1984 heiliggesprochen worden und gilt als einer der acht Heiligen, die auch Humanisten waren (S. 82f.).

In seiner *Kritischen Rückschau* findet es P. schwierig, eine Gesamtcharakteristik der humanistischen Theologie zu geben (S. 85). Er will dennoch nur noch einen Zug hinzufügen, diesmal gegen V. Losskys Kritik an der angeblich westlichen Idee der *Nachfolge Christi*. Unter Hinweis auf I. Hausherr führt P. sie patristischersieits auf die Passion des Bischofs Polykarp von Smyrna († c. 167) zurück (S. 85f.). P.'s Methode ist es also, halb vergessene Wahrheiten in Erinnerung zu rufen, wie aus dem Verhältnis des Papstes Leo X. zu Martin Luthers Auslegung des Magnifikat und des Nikodemus Hagiorites zu den Exerzitien des hl. Ignatius Loyola herausgelesen werden könnten (S. 87). Zum Schluss betont P., dass es nicht darum geht, eine Monopolanspruch durch einen anderen zu ersetzen, sondern allein darum, neben der monastisch-mystischen Ausrichtung eine gleichfalls in der Tradition der byzantinischen Theologie wurzelnde humanistische Richtung zur Geltung zu bringen (89).

Wie beim sonstigen Schaffen des Autors erwirbt man sich mit dieser seitenmässig mageren Arbeit eine wahrhafte Enzyklopädie in Miniatur, sodass sie nicht nur zu lesen ist, sondern auch zu konsultieren. Freilich wird sie auch wegen ihrer gegen den Trend gehenden Urteile zum Widerspruch reizen. Welch eine Gelehrsamkeit sie kennzeichnet, kann man z.B. an S. 62f. sehen. Wie E. Lamberz im Geleitwort bemerkt, hat P. Arbeiten geliefert, die für die Forschung spät- und nachbyzantinischer Zeit Standardwerke geworden sind. Dabei tritt er durch seine eigene Wertung einer Richtung entgegen,

die die monastische Dimension als überwiegend ansieht (S. 7f). Aber daraus sollte man keine Kriegserklärung heraushören, sondern nur ein Angebot zur gegenseitigen Ergänzung.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

J. Thomas (ed.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, ed. by J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, with the assistance of G. Constable, translated by R. Allison, A. Bandy, G. Dennis, G. Fiaccadori, C. Galatariotou, I. Iliev, P. Karlin-Hayter, R. Jordan, L. S. B. MacCoull, T. Miller, J. Munitiz, S. Reinert, N. Patterson Ševčenko, A.-M. Talbot, J. Thomas, with an administrative commentary by J. Thomas, voll. 1-5, Washington, D.C. 2000, pp. XLIX + 2021.

Quest'eccezionale opera prodotta in 5 volumi rende certamente un servizio tanto essenziale quanto funzionale a tutti gli studiosi e studenti interessati al complesso, variegato e, per molto versi ancora, sconosciuto monachesimo bizantino. L'accesso reso più facilitato, grazie alla traduzione inglese, alle fonti originali già pubblicate (greche e qualcuna in slavo; un criterio di edizione è stato quello di evitare testi manoscritti), ma spesso edite in riviste o pubblicazioni di difficile reperimento, sarà di immenso ausilio per accedere alle sorgenti del monachesimo (il vol. 5, ricco di indici, aiuta a districarsi fra lo sterminato accumulo di materiale documentario; l'uso costante attuato sulla translitterazione della prosopografia e dei termini tecnici greci aiuta anche nella consultazione dell'indice generale). I testi tradotti, in tutto sono 61 e vanno dal VII al XV secolo, sono documenti fondanti (*typika di fondazione*), relativi cioè a atti giuridico-amministrativi circa una fondazione monastica. Ne sono esclusi, per attenersi a questa natura documentaria, tutti quei *typika* relativi alla vita e a usi liturgici che, se inclusi, avrebbero apportato non soltanto un doppio numero di volumi, ma un enorme ammasso di dati, separati fra loro, di procedure ed usi rituali legati alle liturgie da ottemperare in determinati giorni in ciascuno dei monasteri. Il concetto stesso di atto costituzionale di fondazione (questo a volte il senso del documento, detto anche testamento, regole [canoniche]) suppone un tipo di monachesimo ormai divenuto classico nell'impero, quello cenobitico: il *typikon*, dunque, serve a regolare la vita, non solo amministrativa, ma quotidiana della comunità. Certo, il numero dei monaci non è standard, e varia nei secoli come nell'importanza maggiore o minore della fondazione; si va da un piccolo gruppo di 3-5 monaci a circa 700 (nella Lavra atonita [vol. I, p. 287]). V'è, e lo si fa notare, una sproporzione numerica fra documenti anteriori all'XI secolo e quelli posteriori a quest'età; ciò è dovuto non solo ad un'attitudine di maggiore attenzione e salvaguardia giuridica verso una fondazione esperita nei più tardi secoli medievali, quanto al fatto che i primi secoli avevano alcune di queste "regole" a sé stanti, ma immesse nella stessa fonte

agiografica relativa al fondatore. La prefazione generale all'opera e l'introduzione più specifica, in rapporto alle tematiche espresse nei documenti, sono ben redatte e presentano la retrospettiva storica dei temi che i testi affrontano. Ci preme dare in breve i punti metodologici usati nella scelta dei testi: 1) si offrono solo testi già apparsi in forma stampata; 2) testi dal VII al XV secolo; 3) la geografia include Turchia, Grecia, Italia meridionale e Palestina; 4) i testi sono in greco e due in paleo-slavo ecclesiastico; 5) si escludono i *typika* liturgici; 6) i documenti del *Commonwealth* bizantino, cioè sono esclusi i principati di Russia e di Serbia; 7) sebbene 3 testi (*Apa Abraham*, *Euthymios*, *Eleoussa Inv.*) non si accordano con i principi su indicati, sono qui considerati per le loro peculiari qualità ritenute importanti nella comprensione degli altri. Ciascun documento tradotto (e qui il lavoro dei curatori è stato eccellente nel bilanciare le traduzioni dei diversi traduttori), inoltre, presenta, con la traduzione, le seguenti fasi redazionali: 1) titolo del documento e nome del traduttore; 2) data; 3) edizione usata; 4) i manoscritti dell'edizione e altre eventuali traduzioni precedenti; 5) bibliografia essenziale sul documento; 6) breve storia della fondazione per cui s'è scritto il documento; 7) una buona analisi del documento stesso.

Questi sono i documenti presenti nel vol 1 (di VII-XII sec.): 1) *Apa Abraham: Testament of Apa Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis, for the Monastery of St. Phoibammon near Thebes, Egypt*, ed. da L. S. B. MacCoull; 2) *Pantelleria: Typikon of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner on Pantelleria*, ed. da G. Fiaccadori; 3) *Theodore Studites: Testament of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople*, ed. da T. Miller; 4) *Stoudios: Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople*, ed. da T. Miller; 5) *Euthymios: Testament of Euthymios for the Monastery of Psamathia and Ta Agathou*, ed. da P. Karlin-Hayter; 6) *Rila: Testament of John of Rila*, d. da I. Iliev; 7) *Latros: Testament of Paul the Younger for the Monastery of the Mother of God tou Stylou on Mount Latros*, ed. da G. Fiaccadori; 8) *John Xenos: Testament of John Xenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Antiphonetria of Myriokephala*, ed. da G. Fiaccadori; 9) *Galesios: Testament of Lazarus of Mount Galesios*, ed. da P. Karlin-Hayter; 10) *Eleoussa: Rule of Manuel, Bishop of Stroumitza, for the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleoussa*, ed. da A. Bandy; 11) *Ath. Rule: Rule of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*, ed. da G. Dennis; 12) *Tzimiskes: Typikon of Emperor John Tzimiskes*, ed. da G. Dennis; 13) *Ath. Typikon: Typikon of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*, ed. da G. Dennis; 14) *Ath. Testament: Testament of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*, ed. da G. Dennis; 15) *Constantine IX Typikon of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos*, ed. da T. Miller; 16) *Mount Tmolos: Typikon of Nikephoros Erotikos for the Monastery of Mother of God and the Old Age Home called Ta Derma on Mount Tmolos*, ed. da J. Thomas; 17) *Nikon Metanoieite: Testament of Nikon the Metanoieite for the Church and Monastery of the Savior, the Mother of God and St. Kyriake in Lakedaimon*, ed. da A. Bandy; 18) *Nea Gephyra: Testament of Nikodemos for the Monastery of Nea*

Gephyra near Lakedaïmon, ed. da S. Reinert; 19) *Attaleiates: Rule* of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ *Panoiktirmon* in Constantinople, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 20) *Black Mountain: Regulations* of Nikon of the Black Mountain, ed. da R. Allison; 21) *Roidion: Typikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain for the Monastery and Hospice of the Mother of God *rou Roidiou*, ed. da R. Allison. Il vol. 2 riporta i documenti relativi a monasteri dell'XI sec. e contiene: 22) *Evergetis: Typikon* of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis*, ed. da R. Jordan; 23) *Pakourianos: Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Petriztonitissa* in Baèkovo, ed. da R. Jordan; 24) *Christodoulos: Rule, Testament and Codicil* of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, ed. da P. Karlin-Heyter; 25) *Fragala: Testaments* of Gregory for the Monastery of St. Philip of Fragala in Sicily, ed. da P. Karlin-Hayter e T. Miller; 26) *Luke of Messina: Typikon* of Luke for the Monastery of Christ the Savior (San Salvatore) in Messina, ed. da T. Miller; 27) *Kecharitomene: Typikon* of the Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* in Constantinople, ed. da R. Jordan; 28) *Pantokrator: Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* in Constantinople, ed. da R. Jordan; 29) *Kosmosoteira: Typikon* of the *Sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Kosmosoteira* near Bera, ed. da N. Patterson Ševčenko. Il vol. 3 contiene: 30) *Phoberos: Rule* Of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of *Phoberos*, ed. da R. Jordan; 31) *Areia: Memorandum and Typikon* of Leo, Bishop of Nauplia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God in *Areia*, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 32) *Mamas: Typikon* of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople, ed. da A. Bandy; 33) *Heliou Bomon: Typikon* of Nikephoros *Mystikos* for the Monastery of the Mother of God *ron Heliou Bomon* or *Elegmon*, ed. da A. Bandy; 34) *Machairas: Rule* of Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of *Machairas* in Cyprus, ed. da A. Bandy; 35) *Skoteine [Boreine]: Testament* of Maximos for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia, ed. da G. Dennis; 36) *Blemmydes: Typikon* of Nikephoros Blemmydes for the Monastery of the Lord Christ-Who-Is at Ematha near Ephesos, ed. da J. Munitiz; 37) *Auxentios: Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxention near Chalcedon, ed. da G. Dennis; 38) *Kellibara I: Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople, ed. da G. Dennis; 39) *Lips: Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 40) *Anargyroi: Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople, ed. da A.-M. Talbot. Il vol. 4, a sua volta, offre: 41) *Docheiarou: Rule* of Neophytos for the Monastery of St. Michael the Archangel of Docheiariou on Mount Athos, ed. da R. Allison; 42) *Sabas: Founder's Typikon* of the Sabas Monastery near Jerusalem, ed. da G. Fiaccadori; 43) *Kasoulon: Rule* of Nicholas for the Monastery of St. Nicholas of Kasoulon

near Otranto, ed. da T. Miller; 44) *Karyes: Typikon* of Sabbas the Serbia for the *Kellion* of St. Sabbas at Karyes on Mount Athos, ed. da G. Dennis; 45) *Neophytos: Testamentary Rule* of Neophytos for the Hermitage of the Holy Cross near Ktima in Cyprus, ed. da C. Galatariotou; 46) *Akropolites: Testament* of Constantine Akropolites for the Monastery of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) in Constantinople, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 47) *Philanthropos: Typikon* of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for the Convent of Christ *Philanthropos* in Constantinople, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 48) *Prodromos: Testament* of Neilos for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner (*Prodromos*) on Mount Athos, ed. da S. Reinert; 49) *Geromeri: Testament* of Neilos Erichiotes for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Hodegetria* in Geromeri, ed. da G. Dennis; 50) *Gerasimos: Testament* of Gerasimos for the Small Monastery of St. Euthymios in Jerusalem, ed. da G. Dennis; 51) *Koutloumousi: Testaments* of Chariton for the Monastery of Christ Savior of Koutloumousi on Mount Athos, ed. da G. Dennis; 52) *Choumnos: Rule and Testament* of Makarios Choumnos for the *nea Mone* on the Mother of God in Thessalonike, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 53) *Meteora: Canonical Rule* of Athanasios the Meteorite for the Monastery of the Transfiguration (*Metamorphosis*), ed. da G. Dennis; 54) *Neilos Damilas: Testament and Typikon* of Neilos Damilas for the Convent of the Mother of God *Pantanassa* at Baionaia on Crete, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 55) *Athanasios I: Rule* of Patriarch Athanasios I, ed. da T. Miller; 56) *Kellibara II: Typikon* of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara in Constantinople, ed. da G. Dennis; 57) *Bebaia Elpis: Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* in Constantinople, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 58) *Menoikeion: Typikon* of Joachim, Metropolitan of Zichna, for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner on Mount Menoikeion near Serres, ed. da T. Miller; 59) *Manuel II: Typikon* of Manuel II Palaiologos for the Monasteries of Mount Athos, ed. da G. Dennis; 60) *Charsianeites: Testament* of Patriarch Matthew I for the Monastery of Charsianeites dedicated to the Mother of God *Nea Peribleptos*, ed. da A.-M. Talbot; 61) *Eleoussa Inv.: Inventory* of the Monastery of the Mother of God *Eleoussa* in Stroumitza, ed. da A. Bandy, with N. Ševčenko. Il vol. 5, a parte un glossario, le abbreviazioni, bibliografia generale, indice delle persone e luoghi ed un indice generale, contiene tre utili, dettagliate appendici relative alla concordanza con le liste dei documenti nelle loro originali pubblicazioni; la regolamentazione dietetica nelle norme monastiche; relazioni tematiche fra le famiglie dei *Typika*.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Canonica

Vittorio Parlato, *Le Chiese d'Oriente tra Storia e Diritto — Saggi*, (= Collana di Studi di Diritto Canonico ed Ecclesiastico – Sezione Canonistica 34; di-

rettore: Rinaldo Bertolino), Editrice Giappichelli, Torino 2003, pp. x + 174.

Vittorio Parlato — noto nell'ambito della canonistica orientale — offre con questa sua pubblicazione un'interessante *miscellanea* di saggi aventi per oggetto il diritto canonico e quello ecclesiastico secondo una angolazione, come suggerisce lo stesso titolo del libro, tutta "orientale".

Il libro è articolato in sei capitoli — a loro volta suddivisi in "titoli" — con le seguenti tematiche: 1. *il problema della validità dei sacramenti, amministrati da eretici e scismatici, in alcune fonti orientali del IV e V secolo* [pp. 3-10]; 2. *La genesi del primato di Costantinopoli a scapito degli altri patriarcati orientali nel IX secolo* [pp. 13-20]; 3. *Temi di diritto canonico orientale* (I. *Osservazioni sulla natura giuridica del Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*, II. *Caratteri del diritto canonico orientale*; rispettivamente: pp. 23-29 e 31-41); 4. *Ecumenismo* (I. *Principi dell'ecumenismo cattolico*, II. *Le Chiese orientali cattoliche e la problematica ecumenica con le Chiese Ortodosse*; rispettivamente pp. 45-51 e 53-68); 5. *L'ortodossia* (I. *Le istituzioni delle Chiese ortodosse*, II. *L'ortodossia in Italia*, III. *Principi di diritto canonico pubblico ortodosso*, IV. *Pronunzie ecclesiastiche e tutela dell'ambiente: due ecclesiologie a confronto*, V. *Le antiche chiese orientali*; rispettivamente pp. 71-99, 101-106, 107-123, 125-129, 131-135); 6. *Stato e Chiesa nell'Oriente Cristiano* (I. *Confessionismo e giurisdizionalismo in Grecia*, II. *Stato e realtà etnico-religiose nel vicino Oriente*; rispettivamente pp. 139-147, 169-167).

L'A. fornisce pertanto una serie interessante di scritti, mostrando grande attenzione da un lato alla storia ed dall'altro all'ecclesiologia, oltre che ovviamente al diritto.

Personalmente stimo interessante l'approccio "pubblicistico" al diritto canonico orientale e perciò non posso far altro che complimentarmi con l'A. per aver voluto dare una impostazione simile allo *ius ecclesiasticum publicum* (capitolo 6°); qui l'Autore pone infatti attenzione al diritto ecclesiastico in chiave orientale. L'A. affronta la questione relativa al confessionismo ed il giurisdizionalismo in Grecia (pp. 139-147) partendo proprio dalle norme costituzionali greche che fanno della religione ortodossa "religione dominante" nello stato greco. Molto interessante anche la parte seguente, cioè quella riguardante lo stato e le realtà etnico-religiose nel Vicino Oriente. Qui l'A. definisce molto chiaramente, *stato confessionista*, *laico* e *laicista*. "Per *stato confessionista* si deve intendere quello che, [...], impronta la propria normativa ai principi etico-religiosi di quella confessione; [...] *stato laicista*, quello che considerando la religione come un fatto negativo per il raggiungimento del suo fine, si farà portatore, di una propria etica materialista o idealista, ma soprattutto antireligiosa o areligiosa; [...] *laico* quello che, prescindendo da una valutazione positiva o negativa della religione, farà propri quei valori religiosi di cui i cittadini si fanno portatori" (p. 149). In questa parte l'A. delinea, dopo una breve panoramica storica, i tratti di alcuni stati orientali accennando pure al problema dell'Islam e della sua valutazione negativa sulla

laicità dello stato. Lo sforzo di sintesi effettuato dall'A. è particolarmente meritevole di attenzione e ritengo che gli ecclesiasticisti (ma anche i giurispubblicisti) — spesso troppo intenti sulla realtà occidentale — dovrebbero iniziare a percorrere maggiormente la via tracciata dal Parlato.

Negli intenti dell'A., questo libro desidera essere anche un contributo didattico per i dottorandi di ricerca in Discipline Canonistiche dell'Università di Urbino e per gli iscritti al Master in Studi sul Medio Oriente (cfr. *Premessa*, p. x). Ritengo che tale "obiettivo" sia brillantemente raggiunto in quanto tutto il libro è una sorta di agile *vademecum* su tematiche di non sempre facile approccio. Questa ultima fatica di Parlato è pregevole anche per la chiarezza espositiva. Segnalo, per i lettori più attenti, un *error calami* alla p. 165, alla nota nr. 1: *errata* "quattro amministrazioni apostoliche di rito paleoslavo" *corrigere* in "quattro amministrazioni apostoliche di rito latino".

In sintesi, un libro utile sia per il canonista orientale quanto per chi, digiuno di tale materia, voglia accostarsi ad essa ed infine per coloro che desiderino principiare lo studio dell'Oriente Cristiano secondo una prospettiva canonistica orientale.

D. Ceccarelli-Morolli

Christologica

George Thumpanirappel, *Christ in the East Syriac Tradition*, Ephrem's Publications, Satna 2003, pp. xiv + 213.

The Christ-experience of each Christian disciple is unique. There are elements of difference in the Christ-experience of two individual believers. Naturally the difference in the Christ-experience of the individual believers gives rise to different Christological understandings. In the Christian East the principle that theology is principally liturgical theology accounts for the origin of various Christologies, simply because of the diversity of the liturgy of various Churches. Thus we can think of a Byzantine Christology and an East Syriac Christology. Even though such a Christological diversity was no matter of controversy for the evangelists and the early Fathers of the Church, later it became a question of serious contention for the different Churches. Thus we find a time in the history of the Church when there was an uncharitable bias towards the Christological understanding of the East Syriac tradition. Motives of political as well as religious supremacy instigated a few believers of some Christian traditions to look down upon other Christian traditions. The East Syriac tradition was the victim of such a discriminative approach. For a long time the East Syriac Church was accused of a heretical Christology. George Thumpanirappel's doctoral research defended at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome and published by Ephrem's Publications, Satna, is indeed rendering marvelous service to the Church, presenting the East Syriac Christology as one of the authentic Christologies of the Church.

This work is a timely contribution since it was done in the context of the Common Declaration of 1994 by Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Mar Dinkha IV of the Assyrian Church of the East on Christology.

The study of Thumpanirappel is divided into four chapters. The first chapter presents the historical background of the Churches of the East Syriac tradition. The theology of a Church may be properly understood only in the light of the origin and development of that Church. While discussing the origin of the Churches of East Syriac tradition, the author shows keen interest in associating these Churches with the apostolate of St. Thomas. It seems that the author wants to highlight the Thomite mark of the Christological understanding of the East Syriac tradition. St. Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, had a unique experience of his Master, prompting him to confess his Master as his Lord and his God. This declaration is perhaps the summit of the Christological confessions of the Church. The first chapter provides us with a very general understanding of the history of the Churches of the East Syriac Tradition in Mesopotamia and India. This historical study is complemented with a brief survey of the ecclesiastical units of this tradition today.

The second chapter is an attempt to summarise the Christological teachings of the Assyrian Church of the East. The author makes a survey of the Christological tendencies of Arianism and Apollinarianism and the Christological positions held by the authors like Diodore of Tarsus († 391), Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428), Nestorius of Constantinople, and Cyril of Alexandria. It was the publication of Nestorius' work *Bazaar of Heracleides of Damascus* that prompted the Christian world to revise thoroughly the views on Nestorianism itself. The general introduction to the *Bazaar* provided by Thumpanirappel is of immense help to evaluate the so-called Nestorianism attributed to the Church of the East. A part of the second chapter is dedicated to the clarification of certain Syriac terms like *Kyana*, *Qnoma*, *Parsopa*, and *Prosopon*. In fact it was the misinterpretation of these terms that accounted for the entire trouble. After discussing the general understanding of the hypostatic union, the author explains the precise understanding of this union according to Cyril and Nestorius. The author gives due attention to the discussion of the term *Theotokos*. This chapter also analyses the canonical and liturgical sources of East Syriac Christology. The Christology of Mar Babai the Great is presented as a faithful representation of the East Syriac Christology.

Chapter three serves as a preparation for the proper understanding of the true context which led to the historical common Christological declaration. The author concludes that the ecumenical endeavors of the Catholic Church especially after the Second Vatican Council prepared the ground for the agreement in Christological understanding between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church. According to the author, promotion of Christian unity was the central aim of the Second Vatican Council. Vatican Council and the Post-Conciliar documents highly appreciated the richness of the Eastern

theological traditions. Therefore, it became easy for the Catholic Church to have constant theological dialogue with the Orthodox Churches and the Church of the East. Such a fruitful dialogue paved the way for the remarkable Common Christological declaration.

Chapter four is dedicated to the study of the Common Christological Declaration of 1994 made by Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Dinkha IV of the Assyrian Church. This chapter provides us with a clear picture of the background of the Declaration. Both Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Dinkha IV consider the Common Christological Declaration as a basic step on the way towards the full communion to be restored between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East. The Common Declaration affirms that both Churches believe that Our Lord Jesus Christ is true God as well as true man. Both Churches agree on the belief that Christ is one Divine Person. The Common Declaration acknowledges the legitimacy of calling the Blessed Virgin Mary both "Mother of God" and "Mother of Christ". In fact, the Common Christological Declaration marks a true progress in the history of the modern Church, realizing and promoting the theological pluralism.

Thumpanirappel's remarkable study on the East Syriac Christology invites the scholarly world's attention to the Christological diversity of the Eastern Churches.

P. Maniyattu

Ecclesiologica

Michael Plekon and Alexis Vinogradov (eds), *In the World, of the Church: A Paul Evdokimov Reader*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, NY 2001, pp. vii + 273.

On Paul Evdokimov, described by Michael Plekon as standing in the tradition of "the Russian religious renaissance" (N. Zernov) and characterized by Lev Gillet, at his funeral, as somebody for whom prayer came as natural as breathing (p. 3), "Some Landmarks on Life's Journey" offers some autobiographical notes. From his days as first secretary to the Russian Christian Student Movement in France, to the ecumenical encounter with the Christian West, with Nicholas Berdiaev and Sergius Bulgakov, here extolled for his "instinct of orthodoxy" (p. 39), and with a very close friend, a Catholic Benedictine monk and priest, Dom Celestine Charlier, whose Sunday mass he frequented (p. 41), PE thus sums up his ecumenical encounters: "We are all united before the closed Bible" (p. 44). What follows reflects PE's sense of orthodoxy in an ecumenical key.

Significantly, "Eschatology" occupies first place. PE tries to avoid any trace of what S. Bulgakov had termed a "penitential theology" (p. 11); indeed, on the Cross it is "God against God" (p. 14), a phrase from Péguy (p. 189). The best grasp of eschatology is to descend with Christ into hell, but

not as a tourist, the way Dante visited hell, as Péguy would have it, but in the Church's liturgy (pp. 19f). "To the Churches of Christ" notes that our times seem to be pre-Constantinian, but in reality are post-Constantinian. PE upbraids Christians generally for having done everything to render the Gospel's message insipid (p. 49), thus becoming a faithful reflection of the world itself — a Christian heresy, so that Christianity, far from confounding the world, has become confused with it (p. 54). "The Church and Society" takes its cue from the New Testament's canonizing no particular social system (p. 64), even if already the apostolic age shows us a communism of love (p. 67). The word passed to monasticism, shaper of eschatological hope and of history (p. 69). K. Marx mistook utopia for the earthly paradise (p. 72). While disavowing belief in 'domination of the world, Orthodox ethics believes in force for the Kingdom (Mt 11:12). A case in point is Fedorov's "common cause", a veritable cosmic liturgy which unites the dead and the living in a single community of Christ (p. 77). Holiness, in "Holiness in the Tradition of the Orthodox Church," remains without a direct human reference, since to "Holy things for the holy" the assembly responds "One is holy ... Jesus Christ..." (pp. 96f). The divine folly (*manikos eros*) means that God, by accepting consubstantiality with us through his deified humanity, transcends his own transcendence! Yet against Montanists and Donatists the Church has avowed herself to be "*sancta et semper purtificanda*" (pp. 102f). Intercession of saints goes back to Job 42:8, with further developments of the cult of saints in the Martyrium Polycarpi (around 156 C.E.). (p. 104). St Irenaeus calls Mary "advocate" (p. 107). According to Nectarios of Jerusalem († 1680), canonization requires the fulfilment of three criteria: orthodoxy in doctrine, confession of faith and confirming signs (pp. 109f). More than "teaching" holiness, liturgy reveals it (p. 114). "Panagion and Panagia", on the relationship between Spirit and the Mother of God, says: if the Spirit reveals the Son to the Father, the Spirit's "hypostatic maternity" is the breath of giving birth, making of the virginal maternity of the Theotokos a figure of the Holy Spirit (p. 161). Mariology is a chapter in Christology, with the pneumatological accent linking it to ecclesiology (p. 165). For the Fathers, the words of the Creed, "born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary" may be said to characterize the second birth of every baptized Christian. The entire economy of salvation derives from this 'mariological root,' which is why Mariology forms an integral part of Christology (p. 170). In "God's Absurd Love and the Mystery of His Silence" PE interprets "*compelle intrare*" as Bulgakov's "penitential theology" or Bergson's "closed world" (Bergson actually speaks of "closed society") or the closed heaven of average Christianity (pp. 181f). The expression of the universe as "a machine for the making of gods" had actually been the finale of Bergson's *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, much earlier than F. Jeanson's *The Faith of an Unbeliever* (p. 195). Man is depicted as both microtheos and microcosm (p. 197). That no ontological dualism between sacred and profane is acceptable is reflected in chrismation in which every baptized person is tonsured, which brings us to PE's favourite thesis of

interiorized monasticism (p. 201). Indeed, precisely baptism and the blessing of the waters disclose the cosmic dimension of the Church's reach (p. 202). With Palamas, human primacy over angels is noted (p. 203). But, on p. 209, A. Loisy is quoted in a misleading way on Christ's promising the Church and the Kingdom coming instead, but this is common among theologians; for the untruncated quote see A. Loisy, *L'évangile et l'église*, Paris 1902, p. 155. Many atheistic syllogisms are based on a distorted idea of God, so "Freedom and Authority" (pp. 217f). Talking of "The Charisms of Woman" we can say with Heraclitus that, if war is the father of all things, peace is their mother (p. 237). At any rate, monastic spirituality shows equality in charisms (p. 238). Let us not forget that a second medieval Isaiah, much later than Abba Isaiah of Scetis, composed a book of the sayings of the mothers, the *Meterikon* (cfr. I. Hausherr, OCP 1946, pp. 286-301), comparable to the *Paterikon*, the sayings of the fathers (*In the World, of the Church*, p. 238; on deaconesses, see pp. 238f).

"The Eucharist — Mystery of the Church" says that, in the Church of the first centuries, the Eucharist was united in one action baptism, chrismation and the Eucharist, which the Fathers called "the great initiation" of the new Christian to the dignity of priest, prophet and king (p. 243). Ps-Dionysius calls the Eucharist the sacrament of sacraments (p. 244). The liturgical hymns shows that every liturgy is nothing but the participation in the heavenly (Heb 9:24) (pp. 244f). Given her keen ("extreme") mystical sense of veneration, the Eastern Church does not raise the questions of "why" and "how" when it comes to the miracle of the Eucharist, unlike the West, which started asking these questions from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Both the councils of Constance and Trent reiterate that all of the substance of the bread is changed into all of the substance of Christ's Body (p. 246). *Mysterium Fidei* (1965) speaks of transubstantiation and transsignification as ontological conversion (p. 247). While Calvin stressed the epiclesis, Luther spoke of impanation: two untransubstantiated and coexisting substances (pp. 247f). PE finds the interpretation by Thomas and J. Maritain too rational for the East: "This bread will become my body" whereas, for the East, mystery cannot be discussed as if it were a problem to be solved (pp. 248f). Ultimately, Bishop J. Robinson's "depth" is a modality of space (p. 250). For the Fathers, the Eucharist is tantamount to a "meta-physical" miracle (i.e., meta-empirical) miracle, because the glorified body of the Lord no longer belongs to the reality of this world (pp. 250f) — an infinitely greater miracle, than a simple physical change (pp. 250f). Moreover, for the Jews, blood is the soul of the flesh. This ultra-realism of faith has been expressed by St Irenaeus as follows: after consecration there remains just one thing only, namely, the body and blood of Christ (p. 254). In the Epiclesis-relationship we have the relationship of Word and Spirit, with Christ figuring as the forerunner of Spirit. In the famous saying of St Athanasius, God has become flesh-bearer, so that we may become Spirit-bearers (p. 255). In this sense, the Ascension is the epiclesis par excellence (pp. 256f; see on this point Gregory of Cyprus).

As St John Chrysostom points out, it is not the priest who accomplishes what happens, but Christ. Consequently, the priest does not pronounce the words of institution *in persona Christi*, but *in nomine Christi*, the rite of the *zeon* emphasizing the Pentecostal character of the Eucharist (p. 258). While "for many" indicates the universal dimension of Eucharist, the "for you" refers to the people assembled for the divine liturgy (p. 260). The epiclesis over the faithful recalls that it is Christ alone who offers and is offered, for, as the prayer has it: "Your own of your own we offer unto you, on behalf of all and for all" (p. 262). The East knows of no exact time of the change, because from the beginning to the end the liturgy forms just one single action whose culminating affirmation is the *epiclesis* (p. 262). If certain scholastics have affirmed that the priesthood is the mother of all sacraments, PE retorts that all of the sacraments are, in fact, organic parts of the eucharistic liturgy (pp. 264f). For this reason, St Ignatius speaks of the bishop as standing for God, whereas the presbyters represent the apostles (p. 265). Note that there is a false ascription to Ignatius (pp. 265f), for it was St Irenaeus who pointed out to the mutual confirmation of orthodox teaching and the Eucharist. The unity of the bishops among themselves does not arise from some extra-eucharistic centre, but from the identity of faith and Eucharist (p. 266). PE reiterates the rejection of intercommunion when this union in faith is missing (p. 267). "The doors! The doors!" do not refer (primarily) to the church's building, but to those of history, the eschatological dimension (Maximus the Confessor, Symeon of Thessalanica) (p. 269). Thus, it is the Eucharist which establishes communion with the totality of Christ's Body (p. 270). On pp. 271-273 there is a useful Select Bibliography.

An excellent introduction to PE's thought as a whole, an Evdokimov introduced largely by himself. The author abounds in paradoxical statements (see p. 192), which heighten the interest by clamouring for explanation. This makes up both PE's strength and his weakness. Certainly, to enter into a detailed discussion of all the points raised would mean a discussion of Orthodox theology, sometimes even in its controversial moods, as what PE says about apokatastasis. Precisely this makes it worthwhile for an insider's version of Orthodoxy.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Yannis Spiteris, *Ecclesiologia ortodossa: Temi a confronto tra Oriente e Occidente*. Presentazione di Luigi Sartori, Edizioni Dehoniane, Bologna 2003, pp. 295.

Gli ortodossi tendono a trattare la Chiesa nel contesto trinitario dei primi sette concili, mentre i problemi ecclesiologici non si possono ignorare, come per esempio il problema dell'uniatismo. Se questo criterio non consente una facile generalizzazione, i punti nevralgici restano, cioè la cristologia e la pneumatologia della Chiesa.

Intanto, contrapponendo nell'ecclesiologia protologia ed escatologia l'A. getta luce sul dibattito tra Chiesa locale e Chiesa universale (p. 13). L'ecclesiologia protologica, esemplificata da Y. Karmiris, prende le mosse dalla Chiesa preesistente; l'escatologica, rappresentata da Y. Zizioulas, vede nell'assemblea eucaristica l'immagine della Chiesa del futuro.

In "Criteri di ecclesialità" (pp. 123-191) Spiteris discute il problema dell'appartenenza alla Chiesa, ovvero del riconoscimento dei sacramenti, specialmente del battesimo, e ricalca così le varie tappe da s. Cipriano a Nicea I (pp. 131-132), e dal patriarca greco Cirillo V a Chrestos Andruzzos (p. 157).

La parte più interessante è "Roma e Costantinopoli di fronte al papato" (pp. 193-274). La prima critica del primato da parte greca inizia nel secolo XII (p. 196), reazione alle idee riformatrici di Gregorio VII. Per i greci, il "vicarius Christi" è l'imperatore (p. 211). Per Anselmo di Havelberg, il criterio della verità è essere romano (p. 211). I greci non potevano seguire. Innocenzo III, scrivendo a Giovanni Camateros nel 1199-1200, radicalizza ancora di più i contrasti (pp. 211-212). Man mano che i Bizantini si accorgono delle pretese romane, tanto più raffinato la loro critica, come mostrerà il carteggio tra Innocenzo III e il patriarca Giovanni X Camateros (p. 216). Segue un disamina di quel carteggio dal 1198 al 1202, alla vigilia del sacco latino di Costantinopoli, in cui gli aggressori si sarebbero comportati peggio dei musulmani (p. 217). Qui ci interessano due lettere indirizzate da Giovanni X Camateros a Innocenzo III. Camateros confuta le pretese di Innocenzo III che Roma è "mater et magistra" di tutte le Chiese (p. 219). L'ecclesiologia di Innocenzo III, cui reagiva il patriarca, era dell'unica Chiesa, fondata da Cristo su Pietro (p. 220). La Chiesa greca deve quindi tornare all'unica madre, alla Chiesa romana, madre e maestra dei santi (p. 220). L'identificazione dell'unica Chiesa con Roma non è nuova — nuovo è insistere sull'obbedienza e la sottomissione alla sede di Roma (p. 220). Innocenzo III identifica la Chiesa cattolica con la Chiesa particolare di Roma e questa, a sua volta, col papa (p. 221). Alla domanda, come la Chiesa particolare di Roma possa identificarsi con tutta la Chiesa, Innocenzo III replica: come il capo riassume il corpo, così la Chiesa romana riassume l'intero corpo (*Ecclesia romana epitome omnium ecclesiarum*) — una cattolicità giuridica, quindi, che si rifà alla mentalità scolastica per cui soteriologia, cristologia, ecclesiologia e diritto si incontrano nel "*de gratia capitis*" (p. 222). Chefa, tradotto Pietro, in effetti vuol dire "capo" di tutte le membra del corpo (p. 222). Il papa considera la dignità patriarcale e quella metropolitana derivanti dal potere papale (p. 223), sicché il papa è collocato al di sopra del collegio apostolico (p. 223). La risposta di Giovanni X Camateros è riportata quasi per intero (p. 224). Dopo il consueto elogio del papa, si meraviglia del primato universale della Chiesa di Roma (p. 225) e ritorna ad un argomento tipicamente bizantino: se una città può avanzare tale pretesa, è soltanto Gerusalemme (p. 225). Innocenzo risponde con la distinzione tra Gerusalemme "*mater fidei ratione temporis*" e Roma "*mater fidelium ratione dignitatis*" (p. 225). Pier Damiani arriva persino a dire che il "*privilegium Petri*" è superiore allo stesso Redentore

per il primato ecclesiastico (p. 226). Il Camateros risponde alla seconda affermazione di Innocenzo, che la Chiesa greca ha squarciato la tunica inconsutile di Cristo. Il colpevole, per Camateros, è invece colui che si scosta dalla dottrina tradizionale sancita dai concili. Il papa potrebbe comprendere in sé le altre Chiese, in quanto la Chiesa è diretta dai cinque grandi troni (p. 249).

Per il papa, la cattolicità diviene, come l'apostolicità, titolo esclusivo della Chiesa romana (p. 250). Questa cattolicità non è geografica, né quantitativa, ma riguarda il possesso di tutta la verità (p. 250). Affermando l'uguaglianza di tutte le Chiese, nonostante il primato d'onore goduto da Roma, Camateros si mostra fautore di quanto oggi chiamiamo "ecclesiologia universale" (p. 250). Gli esempi di Camateros per l'uguaglianza sono in funzione della pentarchia. La Chiesa romana è la prima tra le Chiese sorelle (p. 251). Anche se per Camateros non c'è spazio per un primato giuridico, come Roma lo concepisce, il principio di fraternità ecclesiale resta valido (pp. 251-252).

Spiteris dice che il rifiuto del papato da parte bizantina è di natura politica, anziché teologica, perché nella società bizantina non esiste una distinzione netta tra società civile e religiosa (p. 270). La concezione medievale ammetteva un solo capo nell'unico corpo sociale della società cristiana. Però accanto al basileus solo la pentarchia, cioè un gruppo morale e non un individuo, poteva co-esistere (p. 271). Naturalmente l'origine biblica della struttura collegiale della Chiesa non era negata, ma i bizantini la percepivano all'interno dell'impero. L'altro dato biblico del servizio di Pietro fu percepito, in quanto i papi avevano protetto la fede contro gli imperatori, ma la forma medievale del papato non rientrava negli schemi di Costantinopoli (pp. 271-272). Nel XII secolo giunge a termine il processo iniziato con Carlo Magno imperatore (p. 272). La prospettiva era diversa nelle Chiese orientali fuori dell'impero, come testimonia Abu Qurra (pp. 271-272).

Siccome il problema del primato è un problema che coinvolge tutta l'ecclesiologia e troverà soluzione solo nel contesto di una ecclesiologia comprensiva, mi rammarico che l'Autore si limiti ad alcuni temi, seppur rilevanti. Tuttavia, con questo nuovo lavoro, Spiteris aggiunge un altro contributo ai numerosi che ha già apportato.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Janusz Syty, *Il primato nell'ecclesiologia ortodossa attuale, Il contributo dell'ecclesiologia eucaristica di Nicola Afanassieff e Joannis Zizioulas*, Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, Roma 2002, pp. 425.

Si tratta di tesi dottorale sotto la direzione di Mons. Spiteris. La prima parte presenta la vita, le opere e le scelte metodologiche dei due teologi ortodossi. Essendo la Chiesa popolo di Dio, corpo di Cristo e Chiesa dello Spirito Santo, l'impronta trinitaria ha ruoli distinti ma non separati per ogni persona trinitaria (pp. 43-44). I principi cristologico e pneumatologico si condizionano a vicenda (pp. 44-45). Ma mentre Z. introduce il principio escatolo-

gico, A. si limita a quello storico (p. 45). Per Z., gli *eschata* non sono la fine, ma l'inizio del cammino della Chiesa (p. 46). Come sacramento dell'assemblea (p. 47), l'eucaristia sintetizza l'evento pasquale e pentecostale (p. 48). Per Z., il punto di partenza è la cristologia (p. 54). Se si comincia dalla Trinità, per A., il concetto chiave è il popolo di Dio (p. 54). Tutti i cristiani sono laici in quanto appartengono al popolo di Dio (p. 55). L'unità ontologica si costituisce tra i cristiani nel battesimo e si costituiscono corpo nell'eucaristia (p. 58). In quanto corpo di Cristo, la Chiesa, nella sua pienezza teandrica, è la Chiesa locale eucaristica — ma l'unica celebrazione eucaristica in una città si mantiene attraverso la pratica del *fermentum* (p. 61). La cattolicità teologica, dice A., è da distinguere dall'universalità, come l'ecclesiologia dall'aritmetica di Euclide, dato che nell'ecclesiologia uno più uno danno sempre uno. Inoltre, ogni Chiesa locale, in quanto icona del regno, deve riflettere l'unità escatologica. Per Z., la dimensione estensiva non deve essere sopravvalutata né sottovalutata (p. 68). La cattolicità della Chiesa si manifesta contemporaneamente a livello locale e universale. L'apostolicità è strettamente legata alla Chiesa locale, sia dalla continuità storica con gli apostoli, sia escatologicamente, dove Cristo è attorniato dagli Apostoli (p. 69). Nell'eucaristia abbiamo la sintesi — dell'anamnesi della tradizione e dell'attesa escatologica. Attraverso l'*episcopè* le comunità posseggono la successione apostolica (p. 70). Per A. e Z., la Chiesa, a partire del principio trinitario, eucaristico ed escatologico, è mistero che trascende la storia (p. 71). Le strutture che derivano dalla Chiesa così pensata sono quelle della Chiesa locale. Mistero e istituzione, come abbiamo visto, non si contrappongono (p. 73). Andando contro i manuali A. propone un solo sacerdozio, quello regale, almeno nel senso che i ministri, pure distinti, non sono separati dal popolo (p. 75). Z. rigetta ordinazioni assolute, accettando quelle relative, cioè con riferimento ad una Chiesa locale (p. 78). Inoltre, non c'è vescovo *sopra* la Chiesa, un vescovo universale, ma *nella e per* la Chiesa (p. 80). L'ordinazione del vescovo è sempre all'interno di una celebrazione eucaristica di una Chiesa locale e per essa. Il vescovo è *alter Christus* (p. 81) e *alter apostolus* (p. 82), insieme di escatologia e di storia. Il vescovo non è vescovo di una parte del corpo, ma di tutta la Chiesa, perché Cristo non è divisibile. Anche A. vedeva che l'unica liturgia episcopale andava suddividendosi in più celebrazioni presbiterali (p. 85). Per Syty, le critiche ad A., inclusa la critica che gli rivolge Z. (pp. 86-87), sono esagerate: A. non riduce la Chiesa locale ad una parrocchia, anche se l'accentuazione del solo principio liturgico si presta a tale semplificazione (p. 87). A. e Z., pensano che la creazione della parrocchia ha alterato il significato del ministero episcopale (p. 88). Per Z., le strutture sopradiocesane non posseggono un carattere ecclesiale proprio (p. 89). La Chiesa universale è comunione di Chiese locali cattoliche — mentre lo Spirito supera l'alternativa locale-universale (p. 90). Secondo A., per superare il problema dell'unione, si deve ritornare all'ecclesiologia eucaristica (p. 94).

Seconda parte: Con la molteplicità delle assemblee liturgiche nasce il concetto di potere sui presidenti dell'eucaristia, quindi l'idea del vescovo universale (pp. 112-113). A. nega al concilio la giurisdizione sulla Chiesa locale (p. 120). Il principio dell'autocefalia riconosce inoltre che una Chiesa autocefala sia governata oltre che da un primate personale, anche da un sinodo che lo affianca. La polemica contro il primato di Roma a base dell'ecclesiologia universalistica non è valida. È sbagliato identificare, nel simbolo, "cattolica" e "conciliare" (*sobornaja*) (p. 123). Ci sono differenti tipi di primato locale e regionale nella Chiesa ortodossa, opposti a quello romano, ma fondati sull'ecclesiologia universalistica. Questo dimostra in definitiva l'infondatezza della polemica ortodossa contro il primato giuridico ed universale del papa (p. 128). Per A., la Chiesa ortodossa deve coordinare il credo ecclesiologico con la prassi canonica. Anche se Cristo non ha istituito un capo della Chiesa universale, questo non significa, per A., che non può esserci un ministero primaziale dell'unità universale (pp. 157-158). Siccome il primato può essere trattato solo come conseguenza della dottrina e della vita della Chiesa, la priorità di una Chiesa su altre deriva dalla cattolicità delle Chiese locali eucaristiche, dove cattolicità significa partecipare alla pienezza di Cristo (pp. 158-159). La cattolicità appartiene alla Chiesa locale in quanto possiede la pienezza del mistero della Chiesa di Cristo, mentre l'universalità è estensione empirica, storica, spaziale (pp. 161). C'è solo una Chiesa, perché le Chiese locali non si sommano (pp. 161-162). Il modello del primato deve essere, invece, la Trinità, in quanto comunione. La vera cristologia cerca l'equilibrio tra pneumatologia e cristologia. Lo Spirito non crea individui, ma persone ecclesiali. Il fondamento escatologico del primato è decisivo in ecclesiologia, in quanto fa esistere la Chiesa e le conferisce l'identità finale (p. 181). A. e Z. si oppongono solo ad un primato giuridico universale e oggettivo.

Terza parte. La Chiesa universale, per A., è una comunione di Chiese locali e come tale necessita una direzione unica (p. 189). Ma il capo sarà un vescovo o una Chiesa? La priorità delle Chiese locali si articola in "ricezione" e testimonianza, metodo della comunione organica e mistica (p. 191), non in giudizi di una Chiesa su un'altra, perché sarebbe giuridico. Proprio per frenare le frequenti e arbitrarie scomuniche si è ricorsi a norme giuridiche (p. 192). Il sistema della "ricezione" ecclesiale e della priorità nell'amore fra le Chiese locali, non pregiudica l'esistenza di un primato personale (p. 200). I vescovi di una regione si riunivano per confermare i nuovi vescovi. Alla luce del can. 34 degli Apostoli il primato riflette l'unità divina e la monarchia del Padre, mentre le membra del collegio dei vescovi ne rappresentano le ipostasi, senza che vi sia traccia di *subordinazionismo ecclesiale*; can. 34 si applica sia alla regione, sia alla Chiesa universale, anzi è questo canone che deve servire come modello per il primato universale (p. 229). Z. sembra assegnare il primato universale principalmente al collegio dei patriarchi, mentre mette in secondo piano il primato strettamente personale di un *primus universale*. Z. si pronuncia a favore dell'esistenza della sinodalità e del primato a tre livelli:

locale — regionale — universale (p. 234). Nel caso dei cattolici, il primato intermedio, conferenze episcopali è debole. Il primate che guida l'assemblea dei vescovi gode di un'autorità particolare, non onorifica (p. 241). Per Z., il ministero primaziale è essenzialmente *relazionale*, dipendente costantemente da Dio attraverso lo Spirito, e dalla comunione ecclesiale (p. 245). A. e Z. riconoscono un certo primato personale. In seguito però Z. fa sua la posizione di A. e sostiene la possibile indipendenza del primate dall'accordo sinodale previo dei vescovi. Analizzando infatti le relazioni intercorse fra il primate e il concilio nel corso del primo millennio, conchiude che si trattava di due entità ecclesiali in tensione feconda e talvolta contrapposte, che però finivano sempre per arrivare alla concordia e ad esprimere la piena comunione. La posizione di A. va letta essenzialmente in questa ottica, senza trasportarla nel linguaggio giuridico, che finisce per portare alla perdita della sua ricchezza mistica. La teologia ortodossa, se considera il patriarca *primus inter pares*, sbaglia (p. 262).

Quarta parte, sul primato romano universale. Sia A. che Z. riconoscono il ruolo primaziale della Chiesa di Roma e del suo vescovo nella Chiesa del primo millennio (p. 275). Per Z., la storia colloca il primato romano nel contesto della pentarchia. Non si può negare o tacere — la funzione particolare di Roma nella sfera della *ricezione ecclesiale* come presidenza alla carità, sollecitudine in favore delle altre Chiese (p. 282). A. avanza dubbi sulla fondazione petrina a Roma, non sul soggiorno di lui a Roma (pp. 284-285), o sul fatto che Pietro abbia presieduto l'eucaristia a Roma. Anche se ogni vescovo è successore di Pietro, il vescovo di Roma lo è in maniera speciale — perché Roma è la cattedra più petrina (presidenza e morte di Pietro). Una serie di fatti storici hanno accresciuto l'autorità di Roma (p. 292). A. è originale, in quanto fonda il primato di Roma non su fattori storici, ma sulla volontà positiva di Dio manifestata nella storia, mentre Z. invece oscilla tra principio empirico e teologico. Z. tende a ridurre il primato di Roma a quello di un patriarcato, con un futuro primato universale (sul piano teologico). Per A., il "convenire" è spontaneo, non giuridico e Roma non prende iniziative (fede, disciplina), ma è arbitra! "Se vi è stata un'epoca in cui la formula *Roma locuta, causa finita* era veramente rispondente alla realtà, questo fu proprio al tempo in cui la Chiesa romana non possedeva nessun potere giuridico" (p. 299). Stefano (papa, 254-257), nonostante Cipriano e il concilio di Cartagine, ristabili i vescovi spagnoli destituiti dalla loro Chiesa. A. riconosce nel primato romano la somma autorità nella Chiesa. Poi, per A., la teologia ortodossa riconosce tutti i vescovi successori *in solidum* di s. Pietro, mentre per Roma, successore di s. Pietro è solo il papa. Per A., il papa è nel sinodo, come *primus inter pares*. In UR 2 si legge che a Pietro sono state affidate "tutte" le pecore; come osserva Krivocheine, "tutte" è un'aggiunta a Gv 21, 15. Sia A. che Z. vedono nella "collegialità" un organo al di sopra delle Chiese locali. Z. ipotizza due concezioni riguardanti la collegialità: giuridica e di comunione (p. 316). Stando ad A., solo la dottrina della Chiesa locale può risolvere il potere dell'insieme dei vescovi e il rapporto episcopato-primato romano (p.

317). Abbiamo bisogno, dice Z. che la comunione condizioni, non solo il bene-essere, ma lo stesso essere della Chiesa. Liberato da ogni forma di autoritarismo attribuitogli dalla Riforma Gregoriana il papato può essere modellato sul dono di sé di Cristo (p. 333).

Il libro è di valore, ma ci vorrebbe un confronto più dettagliato con il dogma cattolico.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

John D. Zizioulas, *Eucharist, Bishop, Church: The Unity of the Church in the Divine Eucharist and the Bishop during the First Three Centuries*, translated by Elisabeth Theokritoff, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, Brookline, Massachusetts 2001, pp. 280.

In the first part of this classic of modern Orthodox theology, Zizioulas exploits the intrinsic link existing in worship between the Eucharist, the bishop and the Church. The Church, in the first three centuries of her existence, experienced her unity as a historical reality, but interest went to this unity itself rather than to the bishop's or the Eucharist's share in it. Seeing unity antithetically F. C. Baur, in Hegelian fashion, pits Peter's "Judaism" against Paul's "Hellenism" (pp. 11f) and A. v. Harnack contrasts the local dimension with the universal (p. 12), whereas P. Batiffol strikes a balance between individual submission to the clergy and world-wide submission to Rome (p. 13). Protestants and Catholics thus reflect modern ideals of human rights and cosmopolitanism. As with Scholasticism and its individualizing tendency, they forgot the bond that exists between the bishop and the Eucharist, and not merely as one of the seven sacraments, but as the supreme revelation of the Church (pp. 13f).

Part I starts with a discussion of the connection of the Eucharist with the initial appearance of the term "church" (p. 45). Since the ecclesiology of early Christianity was practical rather than theoretical, we come across no definition, or even a theoretical description of the Church in the sources, but the term was either used in the singular as the Church of a particular city, or as Churches of a wider region, or as the Church of God in the abstract or as the "church in the household" (p. 45). Thus, Paul's Epistles use "Church" with reference to the Church of a particular city, and "Churches" with reference to Churches in a wider region (p. 47). The term "church in the household" illustrates the identification of the Church of God with the Eucharistic assembly (p. 49). "Church in the household" does not belong to those passages which refer to the Christian family in general (p. 50); it is rather the celebration of the Eucharist which brought "house" and "church" together (p. 51). For this identification there existed a parallel between the divine Eucharist and the early Church's consciousness regarding unity in 1 Cor 10:15-17 (p. 53). Indeed, the designation of the Church as the body of Christ is incomprehensible outside the context of the Eucharistic assembly (p. 57).

Through this juxtaposition the Church of God came to be identified with the Eucharist. As may be gathered from the situation in Corinth around 55 AD and 1 Clem there were those who led the Eucharist and those who answered Amen, which in St Justin's Rome around 150 was placed on the lips of the laity (p. 63). This gives us some indication of how the president of the Eucharist emerged as the "Bishop" of the Church (p. 62). Church order was thus conceived of as stemming from the liturgy (p. 66).

The unity in the Eucharist and the bishop, in Part II, sheds light on the origin of the Catholic Church. Ignatius' "one Eucharist under one bishop" raises the issues of the domestic churches and Christians in the countryside (p. 88). As with Priscilla and Aquila (p. 90), all Christians in a place gathered in that one household, as the whole Church, therefore, not just as a semi-official church (p. 91); nor was the breaking of bread celebrated in several houses simultaneously but only in one of them, unlike preaching, which took place from house to house (p. 92). In the West, Christianity developed *chorepiscopi* to organize rural life after the mid-second century (p. 95). In the East Eusebius speaks of them with reference to the Paul of Samosata affair. Ignatius' "one Eucharist, one bishop, one altar" reflects the reality throughout the first three centuries, epitomized in can. 8 of Nicaea I, against the Cathari, which enjoined only one bishop in one city (p. 105). The first to attribute the meaning of universality par excellence to the "Catholicity" of the Church, rather than to the local Church, was St Augustine (p. 108). Neither the NT nor the LXX uses the expression "Catholic Church", for the terms "bishop" and "Christian" appeared for the first time in Antioch. Roman Catholics, such as Batiffol and Bardy, think that "Catholic" here means "universal" (pp. 110f). Others have interpreted "Catholicity" as the opposite of heresy, but Ignatius is addressing those within the Church (p. 111). For Zizioulas, the text refers to the unity of the local Church, which revolves around the Bishop (p. 112). A fundamental conclusion: the local Church, according to Ignatius, is the very Church of God, the eternal, full, and whole Church (pp. 114f), because the whole historical Christ is made incarnate within her through the Eucharist. Thus the "Catholicisation" of the Church leads to the sequence: the Father's will, Christ's will and the Bishop's will (pp. 116f). As directly connected with the divine Eucharist the Bishop represents the whole Church in the same way as the whole Christ represents the Church taken as a whole (*kath' olou*) or Catholic Church. The Bishop is the centre of visible and true Church, and the local Church is the Catholic Church itself. We can explain the origin of the Catholic Church neither through universal consciousness nor on account of polemics against heresies (p. 117). Each local Church with its own Bishop is Catholic in itself, for it is the concrete form in space and time of the whole body of Christ, of the Church taken as a whole, i.e. of the Catholic, or "generic," (*kath'olou*) Church (pp. 117f). Each local Church is the incarnation of the whole Christ and of the Church (1 Cor 14:23), not in terms of Plato's or Philo's thought (118f). 1 Clem, too, identifies the local Church with the very Church of God

(p. 123). Polycarp is described as Bishop of "*the Catholic Church in Smyrna*". The local Church, as a *paroikia*, does not make up a segment of the Catholic Church, but is rather the place where the whole Catholic Church is to be found (p. 125). In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* the expression: "of the *Catholic Church* throughout the world" is not to be translated as "universal." Even Cyprian in his *De Catholicae ecclesiae unitate* speaks of the local Church as the Catholic Church in Carthage, and goes on to reject N. Afanas'ev's claim that Cyprian was the first to formulate the idea of Church organization on the basis of the Roman empire (p. 126). Following the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* the Catholicity of Church came to be associated not so much with the Eucharist as with the orthodoxy of the Church (p. 128). For Ignatius, the bishop is not necessarily a teacher, but the *Martyrdom* extols Polycarp as an apostolic teacher. Hegesippus (c. 175) judges Catholicity in terms of doctrine and apostolic succession (p. 128). For Irenaeus (c. 185), the bishop's authority as a teacher derives from both apostolic succession and his ordination (pp. 128f). As the last living bearer of the Apostles' teaching died with Polycarp, subsequent generations could no longer appeal to living memory as proof of the Church's orthodoxy. It became imperative to stress the bishop's teaching authority to answer the Gnostics, for it was they, not the Orthodox, who first introduced the idea of apostolic succession (pp. 129f). We come across the first reference to apostolic succession in AD 165 in the Gnostic epistle of Ptolemy to Floras, which insists on Valentinus' claim to apostolic succession so as to ward off charges of innovating. As they emphasized succession of teaching in the fashion of Greek schools, the Church felt the need to upgrade the teaching office of bishop. In parallel fashion developed the expression "Catholic Church": previously, the Church understood herself as Catholic in the sense of the full presence within her of the whole Christ in the Eucharist, now, with Irenaeus, Tertullian, the author of the Muratori canon and Clement of Alexandria (end of 2nd cent.), there is a shift to "orthodox Church". For Irenaeus, "the church of God" is always contrasted with heretics, the Gospel teaching now serves as a pillar; the whole Church is proof of orthodoxy (p. 131). The Corinthian crisis I Clem tries to cope with is, in Irenaeus' eyes, a question of faith rather than liturgy (p. 132). In brief, c. 150-200 the bishop was no longer considered successor of the Apostles as leader of the Eucharist, but as guarantor of the apostolic teaching. Still, orthodoxy without the Eucharist is as unthinkable as the Eucharist without orthodoxy, for Irenaeus says: our doctrine conforms with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist confirms our doctrine (p. 133). The Eucharist's material character is by nature anti-gnostic; and the creeds incorporated into the liturgical texts of the NT show orthodoxy to be its pre-requisite (p. 134). Heresy's ecclesial shape becomes fixed c. 150-200, for Hippolytus' *Refutation of all Heresies* (*Philosophoumena*), the Catholic Church understood itself as being *one* in each city (p. 135). From the debate between Origen and Heracleides about the Son's relationship to the Father Origen seeks confirmation in the Eucharistic prayer and thus affirms the harmony between Eucharist and

doctrine (p. 136). At the beginning of the 3rd cent., the bishop becomes the expression of both the correlation between bishop and the Eucharist that obtained in Clement of Rome and Ignatius and that between bishop and doctrine in Hegesippus and Irenaeus. Thanks to Cyprian, the concept of "Catholicity" was farther clarified through schism, for the right to pardon raised by the *lapsi* helped the Catholic Church see her unity grounded in the bishop (pp. 137f). Harnack was thus wrong in taking the schism of Novatus as starting point for Cyprian's "*ecclesia super episcopos constituatur*" (p. 140); likewise, when Cyprian says that Novatian's election was *contra ecclesiam Catholicam*, it is Rome — not the universal church — which is meant (p. 141). Nobody has the right faith if he is not connected with the chair of Peter, which is occupied by every bishop (p. 142). For this reason, Cyprian held — in answer to Magnus, a layman — that the Novatians cannot validly baptize. Heretics and schismatics cannot baptize because they are outside the Catholic Church (p. 143). Therefore, not orthodoxy is the criterion of the Catholic Church, but the Catholic Church that of orthodoxy. As may be gathered from Firmilian of Caesarea (Cappadocia) the eastern churches concurred wholeheartedly in these views. Alexandria, though in theory probably more in agreement with Cyprian, followed in practice Rome (p. 146). In a word, Cyprian has given us an ecclesiology of schism based on one Eucharist of one Church under one bishop (pp. 148f). Did Cyprian solve the problem of schism? Stephen and Augustine reject completely this identification of the canonical with the essential boundaries of the Church, whereas the East basically followed Cyprian. Catholicity comes to mean universality only from the fourth cent onwards, especially Augustine, but it had been prepared over 3 centuries (pp. 149f). Let us look at this preparation! When the Church first appeared, it was living within the Roman *oikumene*, and the Church had the consciousness of being universal, the Israel of God, as in the *Didache* (pp. 150f). Paschal controversies and Montanism led to the first councils of bishops in the third century. Common union in the Eucharist is the supreme expression of union of Church throughout the world (p. 152). Even at the universal level, unity comes through the bishop; thus it is the bishop who concedes the Eucharist to the visiting Bishop. The strong unity among Christians all over the world was necessarily manifested through the local Church (p. 153). Zizioulas agrees with E. Mersch that, in Cyprian, no external criterion for unity among the local churches may be found, otherwise his objections to Rome would remain inexplicable (p. 154).

Part III deals with the emergence of the parish, which has compromised the principle "one Eucharist, one bishop" established by Irenaeus (p. 197). Presbyters offer along with the Bishop, for the *Apostolic Tradition* knows nothing of their right to offer the Eucharist (pp. 202f). The Eucharistic sermon remains mainly the function of the bishop (p. 204). As the chart on p. 280 shows, existing texts of the first three centuries know of no right of presbyters to lead the Eucharist *individually*. The most notable change takes place in the fourth century elaboration of third century texts, for example, in

the pseudoepigraphical edition of the letters of St Ignatius, in which the presbyters have become priests (p. 205). Similarly dramatic changes take place in the *Apostolic Tradition*, where the priest is described as a bishop without the throne and the power to ordain (p. 206). That such a dramatic change took place unobtrusively reminds us that Ignatius had said that Eucharistic leadership belonged to the Bishop or "one to whom he has entrusted it" (pp. 208f). However, the presbyter did not receive this right as a right of ordination (Hippolytus). By the fifth century the practice was well established. Zizioulas disagrees that the parish started with ethnic groups in Rome in the second century (pp. 210-212), for Justin's evidence is ignored, and, maybe, the *fermentum* as well! But especially after the outbreak of persecution under Decius in 249 led to the question of who should lead the Eucharist in view of the bishop's absence (p. 214). First indications of parish emergence are found in mid-third century North Africa (pp. 215f), a natural, not revolutionary, development (p. 217). The awareness of "one Eucharist, under the leadership of the bishop" went through a transitional period around this time (p. 218). The practice of the *fermentum* shows a Church hesitant to abandon the principle of one Eucharist under one bishop (p. 221). But even after establishment of parishes, all liturgies go under the name of the bishop and not of presbyters, and not just any bishop is commemorated, but the bishop of the place, as we do today in the anaphora (p. 222). The antimimension, signed by the bishop, arose maybe against the iconoclasts, and has been adduced as an example of communion between the bishop and the presbyters (pp. 223f). In this way the parish ended up being nothing other than the spatial distribution of the presbyters' *synthronon*, while the bishop's throne remained the centre (p. 225).

Thus, as the Eucharist was the foundation on which the Catholic Church was built, it was regarded as the act of the *whole* Church and was unthinkable without the bishop; only after the fourth century did the bishop become primarily an administrator while transferring to the presbyter the Eucharistic ministry (pp. 248f). Both Ignatius and Cyprian asserted that where there is the bishop there is the Church; see the appeal is to can. 18 of Nicaea I (p. 250; can. 8 is meant!). To the question whether in the world there were not several Churches, because each Church was the Church (p. 251), Zizioulas answers that the question is serious but modern; there was no room in the early Church for the dilemma between the universal and the local. Mystical identity of full circles, not addition of incomplete parts, is what the idea of Church was then (p. 253). With the parishes, what happened was not so much the proliferation of Eucharists, as the mere extension of the one bishop-centred Eucharist (p. 255). "Intercommunion" between Churches divided by heresy or schism was unthinkable, for, as Nissiotis notes, "intercommunion" is an inept term, because communion makes sense only in a united Church (pp. 257f). Carried to its extreme, the principle "where there is the Eucharist, there is the Church" would destroy any notion of *canonical* unity of the Church (pp. 258f).

Zizioulas' doctoral thesis has not been thus far accessible in English. The present translation is thus, for many, a first reading.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Europæe orientalis

Paul Best – Jaroslaw Moklak (eds), *The Lemkos of Poland: Articles and Essays*, Carpatho-Slavic Studies Group and the Historia Iagellonica Press, Kraków – New Haven 2000, pp. 240 + 4 maps and registration form.

Apparently, two editors, one in Poland and the other in the United States, were responsible for putting together this useful but flawed volume. Paul Best is Professor of Eurasian Studies in the Political Science Department of Southern Connecticut State University at New Haven and is himself partially of Lemko origin. The book itself is divided into three sections. Each presents a different set of papers. All were delivered under the auspices of the Carpatho-Slavic Studies Society in three different places and at three different times: 1) Harrogate (England): 21-26 July 1990; 2) Krakow (Poland): 2-24 July 1992; 3) Warsaw (Poland): 6-11 August 1995. All were authored either by Paul Best himself or by one of several Polish experts. All concern the *Lemkos* or more properly *Lemki*, an Eastern Slavic people which formerly constituted the majority of the indigenous population in the mountains of what is today South-Eastern Poland.

After the death of Polish General Karol Świerczewski at the hands of the extremist Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1947, most Lemki were deported and resettled in Western and Northern Poland, whether or not they had co-operated with the rebels — and many were innocent. The Lemki themselves, as well as outsiders who have studied them, are divided as to their ethnicity. Some view them as one of the three Western Ukrainian tribes, along with Bojki and Hutsuly. Others consider them Russians. Still others see them as constituting a separate people of Carpatho-Rusyns along with their brothers in Czechoslovakia, Ukraine and Hungary. Finally, a group of Lemki consider themselves a completely independent people but officially registered as Poles: *gente Lemko, natione Poloniae*.

The papers included within this study deal mostly with politics and ethnicity among the Lemki: archival materials from mostly Polish sources, their political orientations as well as their social and cultural life: first in Austria-Hungary and later in Poland as well as in the diaspora. But religious questions — particularly the Orthodox movement — and national orientation is also explored as well as the history of a now decimated Lemko village, the origin of the Lemki and their dialect, the Lemki in the Polish press, as well as Lemko poetry, literature and Carpathian church architecture.

The volume ends with an essay detailing events during the last ten years affecting the history of the Rusyn movement and the efforts made to ethni-

cally unite the Rusyns of the Danube-Carpathian basin which are divided politically among four countries. Finally, there is a chatty bibliography, an index and a series of maps.

Ecclesiastical questions are dealt with mostly by Bernadetta Wojtowicz in her article *The Role of Religion in the Development of National Consciousness among the Lemkos* (207-218). Both the Ukrainian and the Russian tendency marked Lemko church life. Bishops Julian Pelesh of Stanislawow, Sylvestr Sembratovych of L'vov and Iosaphat Kotsylovskyj of Przemyśl were all Lemki. All eventually espoused the Ruthenian and later the embryonic Ukrainian ideology. But Metropolitan Iosif Sembratovich of L'vov — contrary to the supposition of the author — supported the Russophiles and this was the reason why eventually he was forced to resign. Calling the *Uniate Church* in Poland in 1681 *Greek Catholic* or worse, *Ukrainian Catholic*, is a definite anachronism. The term *Greek Catholic* only began to be used in the eighteenth century in Austria-Hungary by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. *Ukrainian Catholic* appeared only around the middle of the twentieth century and was used mainly in the diaspora. The Russophile movement developed paradoxically among the Western Lemki, while the lands to the end were more open to the Ukrainophiles. In 1926, the entire village of Tylawa went over to Orthodoxy. Between 1926-1932, around 19.000 Greek Catholics mostly in the Lemko region changed their faith. Of course, this led to a religious war with excesses and atrocities on both sides. Around the same time, a delegation of Lemko Greek Catholics, disgusted by the constant turmoil, petitioned Polish church authorities to be attached to the Latin rite diocese of Tarnow. Finally in 1933, 1500 Lemki met with the papal legate to Poland in order to protest the pro-Ukrainian policies of Kotsylovskyj and requested a separate bishop. No separate bishop was granted, but instead in 1934 the apostolic Administration for the Lemko Region was created which lasted until World War II. Its seat was later fixed at Sanok. It consisted of nine deaneries, taken from the Greek Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl. To appease local sentiment, the Apostolic Administration pursued a generally anti-Ukrainian policy, seeking to pacify the Russophiles as well as the Polish government. Around the same time, the Lemko region contained about 127.000 Greek Catholics, 17.500 Orthodox and 298 adherents of various non-mainstream Protestant sects (Baptists, Adventists). But Wojtowycz's final conclusion that the establishment of the Apostolic Administration solved nothing and only led to greater confusion must be questioned. Had political and social conditions been more favourable, the Administration might have successfully managed to keep more Greek Catholics within the fold and offered a viable alternative to the Ukrainophiles for those who did not share their views.

Although the papers presented offer much interesting material for readers unfamiliar with these questions, regrettably it must be admitted that the poor English translation, faulty scientific apparatus and primitive technical preparation of the texts do this material a great disservice. Most of the text seems as though it needed to be revised at least once more and put into

proper English. Many sentences are all but incomprehensible. Mistakes and omissions abound. Some examples follow. First off, no diacritical marks whatsoever are used in quoting the original Polish texts or even single words. *Cracow Voyevodstvo* (94) appears in precisely such a mangled form. Polish uses the Latin alphabet. Why substitute other Slavic letters for Polish ones? *Latini, Rutheni sen Valachii* (92) should, of course be *seu*, but perhaps this is a misprint. On page 94, we read: *A Pater Familias can come in and settle*. Surely some English translation (maybe — *head of household*?) can be found for this historical legal term. Very often an article is inserted where it is not needed. Example: *The Russian Orthodoxy developed...* (112). Translations of Lemko poetry are much worse: *... bounded in color creation we are carrying the outcry of the wounded domes of Byzantine cross outspread...* (169). What does this mean? *... On the domes really Christian crosses because they had three arms...* (172). Surely these poets deserve better! But sometimes prose is just as hazy: *The canonization of the determinants of national culture makes it a bounden duty to cultivate them* (170). On page 180, an author justifies his introduction of the term *Neo-Rus* into the already existent murky sludge of ethnic qualifiers. Why, when things are already so complicated? Why is *Rusalia*, the pagan Pentecost, translated as Summer Solstice (182)? During the census of 1931, ninety-five percent of Lemki indicated that their native language was *Rus'*, we read on page 192. But *Rus'* is no language anywhere. Did the author mean *Russian* but was afraid or loath to print it? In his discussion of the Orthodox movement among Lemki of the diaspora (57, the author reduces the argument to a drastic over-simplification. The concrete reason for the movement's success did not lie solely in nostalgia or in a sentimental longing for the faith of the ancestors — although that too may have played a role — but in the prevalence of over-bearing lay-trustees among the parishioners. Surely a better translation could be found for the Polish *krajoznawstwo* (local ethnography?) than *country knowledge* (5). Finally, the last map appended to the end of the book shows the Bojko area as encompassing the Lesko region. This is highly questionable since the area is usually held to be populated by descendants of the *Dolinjany*.

C. Simon, S.J.

Encyclopaedia of Rusyn History and Culture, Edited by Paul Robert Magocsi and Ivan Pop, University of Toronto Press, Toronto – Buffalo – London 2002, xiii + 520 pp. + 13 maps + 2 pages of illustrations of traditional domestic and wooden church architecture.

This reviewer can recall a conversation he had with a Ruthenian priest of a Greek Catholic diocese in the United States. *Our people are not concerned with the poverty of their European past*, the cleric unambiguously declared, *but are looking only towards their bright American future*. Unfortunately, he

and those like him will not find much use in this brilliant new encyclopaedia which covers the whole gamut of Carpatho-Rusyn history, geography, culture and much else. But those Carpatho-Rusyns who wish to better know their past as well as serious scholars will find much to admire in this gem of scholarship. Indeed, Professor Paul Robert Magosci, who himself is apparently neither a Greek Catholic nor an Eastern Orthodox, the two most prevalent religious confessions among the Carpatho-Rusyns, has done more for them than most clerics of these denominations who are supposedly at the service of their people.

Of course, he was not alone. The volume is actually a collaborative effort between Magosci and his European colleague Ivan Pop, a retired professor of history of Moscow State University. In addition, they had the help of a comprehensive *équipe* of seventeen authors and twenty-four advisors, whose contributions are not all of equal value but include innumerable first-class entries. As the authors relate, this encyclopaedia contains 1,072 alphabetically arranged entries in the most diverse areas including persons (626), organisations and political parties (135), as well as periodicals (105) and definitions of historical terms (61). Other themes include geographic regions, historical events along with peoples and nationalities which have interacted with Rusyns throughout their history. Finally, come several entries regarding architecture, archaeology, cinema (yes, there is also an entry on Andy Warhol!, probably the most famous export of Carpatho-Rus' to the field of contemporary culture), ethnography, economy, language and literature. As such, it is the first encyclopaedic work on Rusyns to appear in English — or probably any other major western language — and will indeed take its place as an indispensable resource for anyone dealing with Slavic studies or its related domains.

As Magosci tells us in his introduction, Carpatho-Rusyns number around 1.2 million but dwell divided by the borders of five states: Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania and Hungary. All these governments have in the past and still today hold their own agenda which does not necessarily include the fostering of still another Slavic ethnicity, as the Carpatho-Rusyns would themselves emerge if they were allowed to unite and further develop their specific culture and language. Since they have never had a state of their own, they have had to fight hard to retain their identity, culture and language. This process has not been easy — neither at home nor in the emigration. In old Hungary, the Rusyns were known as aborigines, the least developed of all the kingdom's nationalities. Attempts at further developing their nationality have met with recent resistance at the hands of those who would promote a Ukrainian identity, both from within and without their own people. The Ukrainian movement was promoted at home by Communist authorities both in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia. In the latter, Carpatho-Rusyns simply woke up one morning to find out that they were from then on to be considered as Ukrainians — no questions asked. In the emigration, a similar ideology was promoted by the leaders of the Greek Catholic Ukrainian

Church with the result that in Canada and other lands outside of the United States except for Serbia, the Rusyns do not possess ecclesiastical structures of their own, and outside the homeland, it is well known that one's own church community is often the sacred guarantee of a particular ethnic identity. A case in point is England, where at the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of Rusyns from the Prešov region settled to toil in the mills towns of the Midlands and the North. Although letters were sent to Rome describing their situation and asking for clergy of their own (the case is documented in the Roman archives) none were dispatched and the Rusyns were eventually assimilated into the Roman Catholic diaspora or later into the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Exarchate, headed, curiously enough by an embattled Rusyn from Yugoslavia (Bishop Augustine Eugene Hornyak — who, perhaps might also deserve a mention in the encyclopaedia) and who was much maligned because of his ethnicity. Later a number of Lemki families also came to the United Kingdom but they too were assimilated into the vehemently Ukrainian fold. Although, the Rusyns were allowed to freely evolve as a separate ethnic group in the pluralistic United States, they were formerly subjected to the crucible of the melting pot, an ideology at least in part voluntarily willed. Their Greek Catholic religious leaders were of little help in forming a national identity since they deliberately avoided all use of the term Carpatho-Rusyn (Rusyn or Rusin was probably too close for comfort to Russian and since Russian equals Orthodox the traditionally Orthodoxophobe hierarchy was loath to tempt fate) employing instead *Greek Catholic*, the inappropriate *Byzantine* or meaningless euphemisms such as *Our People* and its kin when referring to their national and ecclesial orientation. The fact that many priests spoke better Magyar than Rusyn did not help at forging a place among the Slav nations. Slovak activists (the Jesuit Michal Lacko was unfortunately in the forefront) led a campaign particularly in North America (Canada) to declare significant segments of the Rusyn population Slovak. In most countries ruled by Communist regimes (Yugoslavia, particularly Serbia, so maligned for ethnic cleansing was a notable exception, since it gave the Vojvodinian Rusyns considerable cultural freedom!) any individuals, organisations or publications which did not support the Ukrainian orientation among the Rusyns were simply ignored or disregarded. Even today after the fall of Communism, attempts were made by Ukrainophiles within the Diocese of Munkács/Mukačevo to subordinate the eparchy *sui juris* to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolia of L'vov in spite of the fact that the two enjoyed historically little in common. As the editors of the encyclopaedia rightly claim, this volume represents a new attempt at redressing the loss of historical memory and knowledge experienced by the Rusyn people during the last half century. In this sense it is a sort of purification of memory in line with that promoted by the present pontiff in regard to Eastern Europe.

On such highly charged ground, one might well tread lightly. But herein precisely lies the success of the volume which knows how to superbly navi-

gate such a nationally volatile mine-field with equanimity and aplomb. The entries are almost completely free of any hint of demagoguery or tendentious flag-waving, defects which all too frequently mar the immigrant school of historiography and make its products all but unreadable. For the most part, the authors are able to maintain a truly scholarly equanimity. But of course, they do argue the irrefutable right to exist of a separate Carpatho-Rusyn people, something their adversaries may well be loath to concede. Another plus is the serenity with which the authors, mostly Magocsi and Pop, explain their topics — not in order to primarily demonstrate their erudition but rather to simply convey knowledge and impart information in the simplest and most understandable way possible. All too often, the scientific world has seen examples of the other extreme, especially but not exclusively from Teutonic scholars, who seek to edify more than to teach.

Among the particularly well conceived entries are those on *Historiography, Language, Literature* and finally the articles describing not only the ethnography of surrounding peoples but also their particular historical relationship with the Rusyns (Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Russians, Slovaks, Ukrainians).

The editors include the Lemki within their definition of Carpatho-Rusyns and this may not be to everyone's taste but the entries concerning Lemki are well researched and include a variety of information which is for many hard to locate: *Talerhof, Battle of Gorlice, Kolberg, Oskar*, as well as the more ecclesiastically oriented *Kabaliuk, Aleksey* and *Sandovich, Maksim*. In fact, more knowledgeable readers may discover that Maksim Sandovič, the martyr of Gorlice and the heavenly patron of Orthodox Lemki, was the subject of a Russian language play (292), written in the American emigration by Adam Philippovich, who himself played a role in the Orthodox ecclesiastical politics of his day.

Scholars looking precisely for the rare and obscure detail may slake their thirst on the following entries which provide accurate and succinct information on the topic: *Calugers* (53), *Dumen* (101), *Durkot, Serhii* (101), *Jabogiones* (212), *Koliadky* (231), *Marchia Ruthenorum* (308), *Nemeshi* (335), *Ostrovnygovskiy-Andrella, Mykhail* (349), *Sukha Korchma* (452), *Tylava Schism* (472). One discovers that the first Czech historical film was based on the life of the Rusyn national hero Fedor Korjatovyč (67-68), one obscure piece of trivia found in the article on *Cinema*. There are also outstanding entries regarding the religious history of the Rusyns, those detailing the Greek Catholic Church as well as the entries on the *Orthodox eparchy of Mukačevo*, the *Unia* as well as the *Maramorosh-Sighet trial* which ignominiously accused local Orthodox activists of high treason against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Entries also exist for many of the little known newspapers and periodicals published in the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland as well as in the emigration. Among them: *Kelet, Karpats'kyi proletar, Nedilia, Nedilia Rusyna, Nauka, Naukovyi zbornyk*.

The volume is replete with a series of historical maps, also including one locating religious foundations and another delineating language and dialect areas. Finally, there are also sketches and diagrams of wooden Carpathian churches. As in many resource works of this type, its treasures are best uncovered through continued use. But, *lector caveat!* this reference becomes addictive for anyone who has even a mild interest in the topic.

Every *magnum opus* has its slight imperfections and the present volume is no exception, although they in no way detract from the utility of the whole. The Cyrillic alphabet is attributed to Clement of Ohrid (76) while usually Konstantin of Preslav is credited with their invention. When the author of the entry on Alexander Dzubay relates that after the bishop's re-conversion to Uniat Catholicism, he spent the rest of his life in monastic seclusion (103), he is being unnecessarily kind. Actually Dzubay was remanded to a Franciscan monastery as a penance or rather the condition of his readmittance. At least at that time, ecclesiastical offenders within the Catholic Church were given no rewards for their presumed apostasy. The Italian for *Ruthenian* is actually *ruteno* and not *ruten* as is given in the text (408). The reference to Archbishop (today Metropolitan!) Laurus' (Lavr) as a *novitiate* (254) should actually be *novice*, but this is probably an orthographical error. Surprisingly, there is no separate entry on Gorazd (Pavlik), the head of the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church, although the history of the Orthodox eparchy of Mukačevo is well documented. The entries are clearly presented but one would have hoped for a more detailed alphabetical index of topics at the end.

The Slavs, even in recent centuries, were fond of calling their most eminent educators *prosvetiteli* — illuminators. Certainly, Dr. Magocsi and his colleagues also merit this title.

C. Simon, S.J.

Hierosolymitana

John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Newly translated with supporting documents and notes, Arys & Phillips Ltd, Warminster, England 2002, p. 420.

Si tratta della seconda edizione dell'opera uscita la prima volta nel 1977 e recensita in OCP (1978) 506-507. Rinviando alla recensione della prima edizione, precisiamo le novità di questa seconda. Il formato è migliore, non più in quarto ma in ottavo, il che, pure aumentando il numero delle pagine a 420 da 226, rende il volume più maneggevole e portatile. Nella prima edizione si dava la traduzione inglese di 18 testi. Adesso se ne danno di 22 e l'ordine cronologico è diverso grazie agli studi intercorsi fra le due edizioni che permettono di definire con più precisione le date dei testi. Ecco le 22 traduzioni in ordine cronologico: 1) *Lettera 108 di Gerolamo a Eustochio* (a. 385); 2)

Breviario di Gerusalemme (c. 400); 3) *Lettera a Fausto*, di *Eucherio* (c. 430); 4) estratti della *Vita di Pietro l'Ibero*, di *Giovanni Rufo* (c. 500); 5) *Topografia della Terra Santa*, di *Teodosio* (c. 518); 6) *Breviario A e B* (c. 525); 7) Estratto da *Topografia cristiana*, di *Cosma Indicopleuste* (c. 547); 8) Estratti da *Edifici*, di *Procopio* (c. 554); 9) *Viaggi del Pellegrino di Piacenza* (c. 570); 10) *Mappa di Madaba* (c. II^a metà del sec. VI^a); 11) *Anacreontica*, di *Sofronio* (c. 614); 12) *Guida Armena* (c. 625); 13) *Luoghi santi*, di *Adomniano* (prima del 683); 14) *Città Santa e Luogo Santo*, del monaco *Epifanio* (prima del 692); 15) *Luoghi Santi*, di *Beda* (c. 702); 16) *Misura del mondo*, di *Dicuil* (prima del 765); 17) *Vita di Villibaldo*, di *Hugeburc* (780); 18) *Commemoratorium* (c. 808); 19) *Domanda 316 ad Anfiloquio*, di *Fozio* (867); 20) *Viaggio ai Luoghi Santi e a Babilonia*, di *Bernardo il Monaco* (870); 21) *Pellegrinaggio*, di *Jachintus* (1025); 22) Estratto da *Storia*, di *Rodolfo Gaber* (1033). Si trovano dunque in questa seconda edizione varie novità rispetto alla prima. Le traduzioni di testi latini, greci e orientali costituiscono in proporzione maggiore la parte più corposa dell'opera. Il *Breviario* è riportato in tre redazioni diverse e cronologicamente distinte. La *Mappa di Madaba*, semplicemente riprodotta nella prima edizione, ha qui il suo spazio autonomo come i testi letterari. Ci sono i *Luoghi Santi*, di *Beda* e la *Guida Armena*. Di conseguenza le appendici sono diminuite. Nella precedente edizione le appendici erano nove: 1) luoghi di culto in epoca bizantina, 2) sviluppo del *Breviario*, 3) fonti della *Topografia* di *Teodosio*, 4) schizzi topografici di *Arcolfo*, 5) formazione del testo del monaco *Epifanio*, 6) *Guida armena*, 7) anonima *Vita di Costantino*, 8) Itinerario di *Jachintus*, 9) *Vita di Villibaldo* scritta da *Hugeburo*. In questa seconda edizione le appendici sono soltanto due: 1) Topografie di origine arcolfiana in manoscritti del testo di *Adomniano*. 2) Estratto dalla *Vita anonima di Costantino*. Il *Gazetter* o dizionario geografico, funzionale per la consultazione, è aggiornato e arricchito. Benché la dimensione delle pagine nella precedente edizione fosse maggiore, qui il *Gazetter* inizia a p. 175 e termina a p. 370. Seguono come nella prima edizione l'elenco delle fonti; le note bibliografiche per ogni testo tradotto, gli indici onomastico e generale. Se la recensione della prima edizione pubblicata in questa rivista aveva parole di lode, tanto più se le merita questa seconda edizione, aggiornata e arricchita. Forse si poteva aggiungere un estratto della *Vita di Costantino* di *Eusebio di Cesarea* III, 26-29, oggi edita criticamente da *F. Winkelmann*. Vi si dice che l'imperatore libera il luogo del santo sepolcro dai detriti che lo ricoprivano. Possono essere origine del gioco di parole polemico diffuso a Gerusalemme, di chiamare il santuario della risurrezione o *qiyāma*, luogo dei detriti o *qumāma*.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Historia ecclesiastica

Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, *Dall'Oronte al Tevere*. Scritti in onore del cardinale Ignace Moussa I Daoud per il cinquantesimo di sacerdozio,

a cura di Gianpaolo Rigotti, Edizioni "Orientalia Christiana", Roma 2004, pp. 310.

Un omaggio limpido e trasparente, una Festschrift offerta dalla Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali al suo Prefetto, che celebra il cinquantesimo anniversario dell'ordinazione sacerdotale. Il titolo non poteva essere più "scorrevole", alludendo all'Oronte che bagna la terra d'origine di Sua Beatitude, il cardinale Ignace Moussa I Daoud, fino al Tevere, a pochi passi da dove abita e lavora oggi. Non bastasse la chiarezza del titolo e del sottotitolo, c'è la foto di copertina con la facciata della sede della Congregazione, l'antica Casa di Raffaello, ahimè distrutta nella Spina di Borgo e ricostruita sulla via della Conciliazione. E sul retro della copertina c'è lo stemma ecclesiastico del cardinale, descritto con precisione nei suoi quarti e nel motto del cartiglio. I contributi del volume sono diciassette. Una dedica augurale del Papa, con foto, firma autografa e speciale benedizione. Viene, in secondo luogo, la prefazione del Segretario della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, l'arcivescovo Antonio Maria Vegliò. Ricorda il cinquantennio di sacerdozio del festeggiato, ordinato prete dal Patriarca Tappouni a Beirut il 17 ottobre 1954 e introduce le tre sezioni della Festschrift: persona e ministero di Sua Beatitude; la Congregazione di cui è prefetto; riflessioni e studi sulle Chiese Orientali. Infatti il contributo del vescovo di Homs, Teofilo Giorgio Kassab, narra la vita del Prefetto, nato a Meskané, poco distante dall'antica Emesa, il suo primo apostolato alla scuola S. Giuseppe, l'incarico di vicario generale, gli studi di diritto canonico all'università Lateranense, la consacrazione episcopale con nomina a vescovo dei Siri cattolici al Cairo, la fondazione del dispensario Sittna Maryam, l'insegnamento a Maadi e a Sakakini. Ritorna in Siria come vescovo di Homs, fonda un centro catechetico e un laboratorio per handicappati a Zaydal, promuove il restauro del monastero di Mosè l'Abissino, partecipa ai lavori per il codice dei canoni delle Chiese orientali, fino all'elezione a Patriarca della sua Chiesa nel 1998. L'anno giubilare 2000, è chiamato, lui vero orientale, a dirigere il dicastero per le Chiese Orientali.

Il contributo del capoufficio Mons. Maurizio Malvestiti (pp. 9-83) o "cronistoria", segue efficacemente le numerose attività e gli spostamenti del Prefetto. Mi soffermo soltanto su alcune pagine: inviato del Papa in Slovacchia, benedice i cattolici di rito bizantino in aramaico cioè nella lingua di Gesù (p. 50). A Grottaferrata presenza la celebrazione del millennio del monastero (p. 52). In Egitto visita il Seminario di Maadi (p. 53) Visita pastorale in India del Sud (pp. 56-61). A Gerusalemme e a Betlemme (pp. 62-66). A Lungro (pp. 66-68), in Turchia (pp. 68-71, in Bulgaria (pp. 71-77), al teatro romano di Bosra (p. 77) nel Libano (pp. 79-80).

La seconda sezione del volume, dedicata alla Congregazione che il Prefetto dirige, conta sei contributi. Il primo, di Mons. Michel Berger (pp. 87-111) riflette sul patrimonio iconografico conservato nella sede della Congregazione e precisamente di opere di Pimen Sofronov (1898-1973) e di Padre Gerolamo Leussink OSB, (1898-1952) monaco di Chevetogne. L'articolo, con rife-

rimento alle tavole fuori testo 2-5, fra le pp. 120-121, rende giustizia a due pittori, l'uno russo, dei Vecchi Credenti e l'altro, benedettino, che collaborarono ecumenicamente. Il secondo contributo di Mons. Francesco Giovanni Brugnarò, capoufficio, si occupa di un argomento importante per la Congregazione, cioè della formazione dei giovani delle Chiese orientali e commenta il n. 24 della *Oriental Lumen*: "Formare in istituzioni specializzate per l'Oriente cristiano teologi, liturgisti, storici e canonisti che possano diffondere a loro volta la conoscenza delle Chiese di Oriente".

Il terzo contributo della seconda sezione è di Mons. Lucian Lamza capoufficio emerito che dal 1 novembre 1973 al 31 marzo 2004 ha lavorato alla Congregazione complessivamente 11.114 giorni in trenta anni e cinque mesi, Lamza trae fuori dal suo taccuino *Nova et vetera* come dice il suo titolo. È indubbiamente ben informato sull'andamento della Congregazione per essersi occupato della Chiesa siro-malankarese, della Chiesa greco-cattolica, della Chiesa italo-albanese, dei Russi di rito bizantino-slavo all'estero, della Chiesa caldea, della Chiesa Maronita, della Chiesa Sira e della Chiesa rutena negli Stati Uniti, nonché responsabile dell'amministrazione. Questo vero israelita in quo dolus non est è contento degli anni al servizio della Congregazione e ricorda ancora la prima liturgia orientale cui assistette a Fulda il 5 settembre 1954 in occasione del Katholikentag!

Il contributo del Sottosegretario della Congregazione, Krzysztof Nitkiewicz, ricorda la figura di un predecessore di Sua Beatitudine, cioè il cardinale Władysław Rubin. E cita anche una risposta che quel Prefetto dette a chi gli chiedeva come era possibile sobbarcarsi a tanti incarichi: "Sono costretto a fare un'economia selvaggia a scapito della salute". Con il risultato che sappiamo. Infatti, gravemente malato dette le dimissioni dall'incarico.

Gianpaolo Rigotti, archivista, firma il quinto contributo della sezione. Disegna i medaglioni biografici di Isaia Papadopoulos, "assessore" della Congregazione quando un cardinale ne era Segretario e il Papa Prefetto; di Gabriele Acacio Coussa, anche lui assessore prima di essere cardinale Segretario. Di Giorgio Milanik, sottosegretario per quattordici anni. Di Miroslav Stefan Marusyn, che possiamo ancora incontrare a Roma, visitatore apostolico dei fedeli di rito bizantino ucraino in Europa occidentale, vescovo dal 1974 e Segretario della Congregazione dal 1982 al 2001. A Rigotti si deve pure la redazione generale del volume e la tavola fuori testo 6, riproducente la "Lettera di Carità" del Katholikos georgiano Kyrion II, che annuncia il 25 settembre 1917, a Benedetto XV la propria elezione.

L'ultimo contributo della seconda sezione è del canonista Dimitri Salachas che affronta un problema difficile. Come la Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, creata per rendere autonomi da Propaganda i Cristiani di Oriente, che dal 1862 ne costituivano una sezione distinta, ma dipendevano dallo stesso Prefetto, possa esercitare la promozione dell'unità e la imprescindibile dimensione missionaria. Salachas conclude che la promozione dell'unità e il sostegno dell'azione missionaria degli orientali cattolici, costituiscono priorità della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali in collabora-

zione con il Consiglio per l'unità, il Consiglio per il dialogo interreligioso e la Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione.

La terza parte del volume consta di sette contributi. Il primo, dell'ufficiale François Akl, si occupa dei rapporti giuridico-politici fra il Patriarcato Maronita e lo stato libanese. Cita il diritto libanese, la tradizione canonica maronita con il Libro della Guida e il CCEO che esclude il clero dalla vita politica attiva salvo un permesso espresso della autorità ecclesiastica, in questo caso patriarcale.

Il secondo intervento di questa sezione, di Jihad Battah Rettore del Collegio di S. Efrem, riferisce del nuovo convitto ecclesiastico romano che ospita giovani sacerdoti caldei, copti, melchiti e siri, inaugurato da Sua Beatitudine l'8 marzo 2003.

Il secondo contributo della sezione è di Gisèle Harb, Superiora Generale della Congregazione del Rosario cui appartiene suor Bernadette Der Mesrop, che lavora da venti anni alla Congregazione. È una breve storia della Famiglia religiosa del Rosario, fondata a Gerusalemme nel 1880 e diffusa in Palestina, Giordania, Libano, Siria, Egitto, Golfo Arabico, Kuwait e Roma.

Il terzo contributo, dell'ufficiale Bernard J. O'Connor, è una approfondita riflessione, in prospettiva teologica e in base alle regole del dialogo diplomatico, sul concetto di unità espresso nella Lettera apostolica *Orientale lumen*. Il saggio identifica nell'unità secondo la Lettera apostolica, cinque elementi: il pluralismo permette la coesistenza, riconosce la reciprocità, suppone un progresso, una mutua gioiosa gratitudine e un avvicinamento degli uni agli altri.

Una visione storica caratterizza il saggio di Luigi Padovese, delegato della Congregazione per i Collegi e Seminari orientali. Vi afferma a ragione la sensibilità storica e l'amore per la lettura di Mons. Roncalli in Turchia. Sono d'accordo con lui quando corregge il giudizio di Melloni: "Non si può dire che Roncalli fosse un uomo di cultura per l'estensione delle sue letture e per la vastità delle sue conoscenze". Padovese invece afferma: "l'immagine che i suoi quaderni ci trasmettono svela piuttosto un erudito con una cultura enciclopedica, animato da vivo desiderio di conoscere" (264-265).

Olivier Raquez, già Rettore del Collegio Greco e del Collegio Romano, si occupa nel suo contributo dell'*Anthologhion* greco stampato dalla Congregazione lungo gli anni 1967-1980. Questa parola greca che significa raccolta di fiori indica un'"opera sufficientemente estesa per rendere possibile una celebrazione normale e relativamente completa dell'Ufficio divino bizantino". Quella in quattro volumi edita dalla Congregazione ebbe tanto successo da essere imitata in lingua araba, italiana e romana.

L'ultimo contributo gratulatorio lo offre il benedettino di Chevetogne, Michel Van Parys, consultore della Congregazione. È il testo di una conferenza tenuta a Tiflis, nella quale si sofferma sulla figura di Grégoire Peradze che si sacrifica ad Auschwitz al posto di un altro detenuto, sublime esempio di solidarietà europea di un monaco georgiano.

Sua Beatitudine il cardinale Prefetto può essere grato di questa Festschrift.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Джузеппе Албериги (под ред.), *История II Ватиканского собора*, том I: Навстречу новой эре в истории католичества: Провозглашение и подготовка собора (январь 1959 – сентябрь 1962), под редакцией Д. Албериги, русское издание под редакцией Алексея Бодрова и Андрея Зубоа, Peeters, Leuven 1997, Библейско-богословский Институт св. Апостола Андрея, Москва 2003, с. xxxiv + 621.

Both for its informative value and its ecumenical significance, especially at this point of post-Vatican II relations between Russia and the Vatican, the translation of the first volume of Alberigo's five-volume history of Vatican II into Russian is more than welcome. The first volume tells the story from the moment of the announcement of the council by John XXIII on January 25, 1959, to the eve of its convocation at the end of September 1962.

The announcement caught people generally by surprise, as G. Alberigo says in his Preface, but for a number it came as a shock. É. Fouilloux, in her "Preliminary Preparations," recounts how the world woke up from its slumbers and started grappling with the immense problems of preparation. How the "Struggle for the council," entailed in preparing agenda and selecting experts, took shape (1960-1962), is told by J. Komonchak, whereas J. O. Beozzo, in "The External Climate," recounts of the impact on the outside world right up to "The eve of Vatican II," as portrayed by K. Wittstadt. In the "Conclusion" G. Alberigo poses the question for which kind of Council all these preparations were meant to be.

Since Vatican I had never been officially terminated, the question of continuing Vatican I became relevant under Pius XI, especially after the Lateran Treaty was signed (p. 74), and again under Pius XII when World War II ended (p. 75). In working out the *vota*, the need to carry the correspondence in Latin was a problem, and not only for Easterners (pp. 121f). It is noteworthy that many Latin American prelates demanded the condemnation of Protestant proselytism (p. 133). Some wanted to have J. Maritain condemned (p. 150), Rome's vicar Card. Micara, for one, holding him responsible for the laity's excessive independence of the hierarchy (p. 158). On close scrutiny the *vota* show that archbishop M. Lefebvre was less inclined than many other Europeans to thwart the Roman curia's desires (p. 156). Card. Tisserant's failure to send *vota* may be due to his aversion for John XXIII (p. 158). Theological conflicts, too, were brewing, what with the predominance of the idea of the Church as the mystical body of Christ (p. 175), calls to restore the permanent diaconate (p. 176) and the Holy Office's suspicion of ecumenism without supervision (p. 180) and its insistence that the term "Church" be reserved for Catholicism (p. 180). The author asks if the preparatory commis-

sion gave birth to a mouse (p. 181). And yet, by his side remarks to the report John XXIII drew attention to the Eastern Churches (p. 188). The upshot of the first phase was to curtail the prerogatives of the central commission in favour of the particular commissions (pp. 189f). After Card. Tardini persuaded John XXIII that no Council was possible without the Curia, a swing in mood came around not only through the choice of Pericle Felici as secretary, but also through the session of the WCC in Rhodes in 1959 (pp. 194-196).

In the third chapter concerning the struggle for the preparation of Vatican II (p. 198), we take a closer look at a number of outstanding personalities, such as Maksim IV Saigh (p. 215) and Cardinal Agagianian, President of the Commission of Missions (p. 228). The Commission for Eastern Churches was composed of Eastern Prelates living in Rome and experts mainly from the PIO, with an agenda concerning the: 1. change of rite; 2. sharing the divine liturgy with Eastern Christians (*communicatio in sacris*); 3. reconciliation with "Eastern Dissidents;" and 4. fundamental disciplinary problems regarding the East (pp. 237f). The first scheme of the Eastern Churches Commission had only three themes: the superiority of the pope over all rites; equality of all rites; freedom to change rite (p. 239). Latin was chosen as the language of the council (pp. 251, 253). As regards the schema "De Ecclesia," the Theological Commission could not agree with those who claimed that the Mystical Body is larger than Roman Catholic (p. 371). As for the question of the participation of non-Catholics at Vatican II (p. 379), Moscow's initial "*non possumus*" is to be noted (p. 386); after the official invitation to Athenagoras, there followed that to Moscow on 4 October (pp. 478f). Whereas John XXIII encouraged bishops to sharply criticize schemes (p. 415), his tolerance with regards to the lack of initiative manifested by the Congregation of the Eastern Church with regard to the Orthodox is somehow puzzling (p. 420).

The fourth Chapter on "The Outside Climate," concerning the impact on the outside world through mass information etc., passes in review the reactions of the press, as well as Yves Congar's *Journal* (p. 431), G. Dejaifve's publicity in Louvain etc. are duly noted (p. 438). John XXIII required cardinals having two posts to leave one of them (p. 455). Having lived more than 20 years in the East, John XXIII was one of those who brought about the change of attitude towards the Jews and so dropped the reference to the perfidious Jews (pp. 466f) and also became the first pope to bless the Jews (p. 468). Observers from the East accepted to come, and Moscow's initial hesitancy now changed into a yes, thanks to Nikodim (pp. 478f).

On the vigil of Vatican II under John XXIII we may distinguish four periods of preparation (pp. 485f). On the eve of Vatican II calls for the Curia's reform (p. 499) and criticism became the order of the day (p. 502). John XXIII did not like schemes if they were not pastoral (p. 514); indeed, John XXIII invoked St Francis of Assisi's patronage (527). Although K. Rahner practically played no role in the preparatory work he became undoubtedly the most important theologian of Vatican II (p. 536). In spite of his trouble

with the Holy Office (p. 539), John XXIII nominated him official theologian of Vatican II and was appointed member of the commission for the discipline of the sacraments (pp. 538-540). Rahner was asked to write about the restoration of the diaconate (p. 539). Congar, on ecclesiology, advocated the move from a juridical to an eschatological ecclesiology of the people of God (p. 542). Gérard Philips exercised an influence on DV, GS & LG (p. 546).

In the Foreword to the Russian translation A. B. Zubov notes the difference of perceiving the Council, which sat while communism was entrenched in power, before its demise and afterwards, and compares Vatican II to the Russian Synod of 1917-1918, with its tall agenda on reform (pp. XXVII). From a Russian viewpoint, the comparison is telling, but needs to be complemented by an awareness of the differences, too. On the debit side, a list of the Russian abbreviations (EU, DD, MO etc.) is given from the Latin viewpoint on p. XIII (see pp. 218, 253f, etc.) and only the Latin ones are given at the beginning. The work is obviously replete with detail and therefore slow-moving, but this guarantees in-depth knowledge of the *iter* of the various documents, with the frustrations that entailed and the good results at the end.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Historia religionum

Ugo Bianchi. Una vita per la storia delle religioni. A cura di Giovanni Casadio. Biblioteca di storia delle religioni 3, Editrice "il Calamo", Roma 2002, pp. 525.

Parmi les sciences humaines avec lesquelles il importe que tout spécialiste de l'Orient chrétien entre en dialogue, l'histoire des religions devrait tenir une bonne place, non seulement pour étudier comment le christianisme s'est inculturé dans un espace donné aux premiers temps de sa mission, mais aussi pour comprendre des phénomènes religieux d'aujourd'hui, qu'il s'agisse de rites ou de comportements. Ce que l'on taxe, souvent de manière péjorative, de folklorique peut avoir des racines profondes qui résisteront encore longtemps à toute globalisation. Se pencher sur la vie et la pensée d'un maître de la discipline n'est donc pas hors de propos dans cette revue, d'autant plus qu'il a consacré une bonne partie de son œuvre à l'Orient.

Ugo Bianchi (1922-1995) fut élève de Raffaele Pettazzoni à l'Université de Rome. Sa propre carrière le mènera à Messine, puis à Bologne et enfin à la chaire même de son maître à "La Sapienza". Les 14 et 15 avril 1997, deux journées d'étude furent organisées en sa mémoire par l'université de Salerne et le volume présenté ici en constitue les actes. Dans son introduction, l'éditeur retrace sur un ton alerte et parfois sarcastique, les heurs et malheurs du colloque et publie en Appendice une partie de la correspondance entretenue

à cette occasion. L'épais volume est divisé, quant à lui, en quatre parties: la vie, l'œuvre, la méthode et des *varia*.

La première partie (p. 29-83) nous fait connaître la vie de Bianchi à travers le regard de quatre disciples (E. Sanzi, C. Giuffré Scibona, G. Casadio, S. M. Chiodi) et de P. Antes, président de l'International Association for the History of Religions, charge que Bianchi assumait de 1990 à 1995. Bien des thèmes sont abordés dans ces esquisses biographiques qui reviendront comme en écho dans les parties plus systématiques, où elles prendront du coup une épaisseur qu'elles n'auraient pas eue autrement. La liste des cours donnés à Messine (p. 53-54) et à Bologne (p. 65) montre le large éventail des intérêts et des connaissances du maître. Relevons aussi ce témoignage qui en dit long sur l'homme: "La dignità ed i valori di ogni persona che ebbe il privilegio di conoscerlo furono al centro della sua costante attenzione, rispetto e affettuosa disponibilità, sentimenti che nascondeva spesso dietro quel suo modo di essere, o meglio di sembrare, a volte distratto, riservato, persino chiuso in se stesso e nei propri pensieri" (Giuffré Scibona, p. 52). Les réflexions d'Antes sur le changement de nom de l'association internationale d'histoire des religions, dernière lutte de Bianchi et victoire posthume — il était partisan du statu quo — valent aussi la peine d'être relevées: "La discussione sul nome della I.A.H.R. ha di fatto rivelato due concezioni diverse della nostra disciplina che meritano uno studio approfondito: una molto legata alla sociologia e l'altra, quella di Bianchi, basata sulla storia come disciplina scientifica" (p. 81).

Dans la deuxième partie (p. 85-326), c'est l'œuvre qui est présentée de manière critique, comme un bilan de ce que Bianchi a apporté à sa discipline: à propos des religions de la Mésopotamie (P. Mander), de l'Iran ancien (A. Panaino), de l'Égypte pharaonique (L. Albanese), de la Grèce antique (G. Casadio), du monde romain (J. Aronen), à propos du mithraïsme (P. Pachis), de l'ethnologie religieuse (A. Ciattini) et du dualisme, un de ses thèmes favoris (M. V. Cerutti). L'article qui retiendra davantage l'attention de l'orientaliste chrétien sera évidemment celui qui parle des études de Bianchi sur les rapports entre le christianisme, la gnose et le manichéisme (G. Sfameni Gasparro, p. 233-257). Grand amateur de rencontres internationales, il organisa au printemps 1966 le fameux colloque de Messine sur les origines du gnosticisme qui assure aujourd'hui encore à lui seul la renommée internationale de Bianchi.

"Il metodo e gli antenati", tel est le thème général de la troisième partie (p. 327-432), avec une étude de Fr. Brezzi sur les rapports entre histoire et philosophie des religions, un essai pointu de A. N. Terrin intitulé "Fenomenologia 'criptica' della religione in Ugo Bianchi?", une comparaison méthodologique entre Bianchi et Pettazzoni (S. Giusti), une autre entre le maître romain et Mircea Eliade (N. Spineto) et, par R. Gothóni, une recherche sur la notion de "becoming" chez notre auteur. La quatrième partie contient un article de L. Kákosy, "Egyptian Elements in Gnosticism and Hermetism" (p.

435-440) et un autre de G. W. Trompf, "Easter Island: Site of the First Pacific Cargo Cult?" (p. 441-465). En appendice, on trouvera la bibliographie d'Ugo Bianchi, établie par son fils Lorenzo (p. 469-496).

Ce gros volume a le mérite de nous offrir, comme son titre l'indique, un panorama de la vie d'Ugo Bianchi toute mise au service de l'histoire des religions. On peut découvrir ainsi, grâce aux études de la première partie, les étapes de cette vie, du point de vue scientifique extrêmement riche: sa vaste formation universitaire, les domaines plus vastes encore qu'il a parcourus lors de ses cours, les combats qu'il a voulu mener. Il en ressort la figure d'un maître aimé, d'un savant qui a été capable de collaborer avec autrui et former de nombreux disciples, sans concéder en rien à la rigueur et à l'honnêteté intellectuelle. Les critiques mêmes qui sont apportées ici et là à son œuvre et à sa méthode ne diminuent en rien la stature de Bianchi, mais révèlent plutôt la fécondité de son enseignement.

De fait, on pourra toujours se demander si la formation philologique n'entraîne pas nécessairement des limites dans le champ des investigations: personne ne peut dominer des domaines aussi amples que l'Iran, la Mésopotamie ancienne, l'Égypte, la Grèce, Rome etc. et dans les détails, il ne sera pas difficile de prendre en faux certaines interprétations philologiquement peu sûres (cf. e.g. p. 152, n. 29). Il y a là une sérieuse question de méthode et dans ce sens, on admirera la cohérence de la pensée chez Bianchi, lequel défendra toujours sa vision de l'histoire des religions comme discipline historique et comparative. G. Sfameni Gasparro, après avoir cité les premières lignes du maître dans les Actes du colloque de Messine, écrit: "quelle argomentazioni costituiscono il 'manifesto' dell'intero percorso scientifico dello studioso, la cui qualità di storico delle religioni implica costitutivamente un'acuta sensibilità alla comparazione dei fenomeni e il rispetto rigoroso della loro individualità storica" (p. 241). Quant à l'"impostazione" de l'histoire des religions, elle doit être "rigorosamente induttiva" (Sanzi, p. 33), autrement dit: "La storia delle religioni è una scienza storica che si avvale del metodo induttivo" (Casadio, p. 59), ce qui devrait la protéger des conceptions a priori d'une certaine phénoménologie. Mais Bianchi ne refusait pas de parler de "fenomenologia storica della religione", à condition d'insister sur l'attribut (cf. p. 335 et les réflexions de Fr. Brezzi p. 334).

Il faudrait nous arrêter encore sur d'autres thèmes traités en profondeur ou juste effleurés dans le volume, comme la notion de "divinità in vicenda" (p. 60, 128), celle de "tempo in situazione" (p. 167), d'"analogia", "tipologia storica" et "universale concreto" (p. 252-3), ou la discussion des rapports entre religion et culture (p. 81). Plus que d'autres, Bianchi aura beaucoup écrit sur sa discipline et les problèmes de méthode qu'elle implique. Si cet ouvrage est une invitation à relire les essais du maître, il aura sans doute atteint son but!

Indica

Bosco Puthur (ed.), *St. Thomas Christians and Nambudiris Jews and Sangam Literature: A Historical Survey*, (Liturgical Research Center Publications 7), Mount St. Thomas, Kochi (682, 021, Kerala), 2003, pp. x + 234.

The origins of the Thomaschristians of India are often regarded as shrouded in the mist of history, so that some would start speaking of them with the arrival of the Portuguese on the Indian shore at the end of the fifteenth century (OCP 2001, p. 221). That is surely to play it all too safe, if only for the historical evidence of the ninth century royal grant of privileges on copper plates, amounting to a kind of Indian nomocanon.

The question of historical origins is not one of armchair discussion among the Syro-Malabar Catholics, but a matter of war or peace. One cannot return to one's roots or "ancestral traditions," as directed by the Second Vatican Council, without ascertaining them. And how far back is one to return? To the pre-Diamper traditions, or still beyond? What is the precise content of the "Law of Thomas," if history cannot assert anything for certain regarding the Indian tradition of St. Thomas the Apostle beyond his being the founder of Christianity in India and his martyrdom there? Obviously, without answering these vital questions, to set out on return will only stir up dust, unleash more disputes and threaten further divisions. Having learnt this lesson to its cost, the Syro-Malabar Church set up in 1999 a Liturgical Research Centre, which with the present volume is trying to answer some of these questions.

The book contains the proceedings of two seminars conducted at this centre (L.R.C.) in 2001 as well as some related studies. A notable feature is interreligious dialogue in the form of papers presented by Hindu specialists in Kerala history. Historiography in Kerala has made considerable progress since the middle of the twentieth century, breaking lose from the previous trend of uncritical reliance on legends and myths. Prof. M.G.S. Narayanan, currently chairman of Indian Council for Historical Research, New Delhi, says (p. 81): "The discovery and publication of epigraphic and literary sources had been going on for about a century. The publication of the *Travancore Archeological Series* (1910-38), *Rama Varma Research Institute and Cochin Epigraphical Supplement* (1930-49) and *Kerala Society Papers* (1928-32) contributed to a virtual revolution in the historiography of Kerala. The Archeological Department of Cochin conducted a few small excavations at Kodungallur with the help of the Archeological Survey of India. A few megalithic sites were opened. Several *Manippravalam* works of Kerala were discovered and published.... The cumulative impact of all these discoveries and debates induced a paradigmatic change in the discipline."

According to this newborn Kerala history, the migration of Brahmins into Kerala from the north took place in the 7th-8th centuries; and the Chera dynasty ruled in Kerala from 9th to 12th centuries. But the Thomaschris-

tians used to see their Apostle St. Thomas make several Brahmin converts, and not a few families still glory to be descendants of these converts. Again, the Knanaya Christians would see their patronymic founder Thomas of Kynai being received and installed in Kodungallur in the fourth century by King Cheraman Perumal. But are the Christians ready to march with the new history? According to Prof. Narayanan, "the vested interests of communities and groups have been responsible for the persistence of certain traditions like the myths of Parasu Rama, St. Thomas, Ceraman Perumal, etc." (p. 82). Against this pitiless sentence there was a chorus of protests from the seminar participants (pp. 205-210, 214, 219, 224, 232). Thomas is no mythical figure, they held out, and his Indian apostolate can stand, even if he converted no Brahmins at all; indeed, even if the great Brahmin immigration belongs to 7th-8th centuries, this does not mean that previously there were no Brahmins at all in Kerala. Is not the learned professor throwing the baby away with the bathwater? Indeed, according to his colleague Prof. Rajan Gurukkal, "it is not unlikely that a few ... proto-Brahmin settlements" existed in Kerala already before the Christian era and that "there is nothing unlikely about the Apostle meeting ... a few Brahmin households in Kerala," apart from the question of their conversion. In any case, the caste system was not yet there and the Brahmins were too few to dominate society as they would do after the eighth century (pp. 109-111).

In fact there is some mention of the early presence of Brahmins in Kerala also in the Sangam ("academy") poems, the earliest classical Tamil literature (300 BC to 200 AD), discovered and published in the first decade of the twentieth century. Certain portions of this collection of poems were understood by some Christians as referring to early Christianity in India (p. 163). By the end of the century not a few Thomaschristians felt that there was urgent need to examine more closely the Sangam literature. Hopes were raised high when the LRC seminar enlisted the cooperation of three Tamil scholars, two of them Hindus (Prof. Sirpi Balasubramaniam and Prof. Balachandran) and the third a Malayalee, P. K. George S.J., with a doctorate in Sangam literature. Their unanimous conclusion: there is nothing specifically Christian in the Sangam writings, although there is much that is virtuous and noble. A similar negative verdict comes also from Prof. Sadasivan that nothing distinctively Christian can be traced with certainty in the post-Sangam Tamil work *Tirukkural* by Tiruvalluvar.

Our book presents the pre-Diamper Thomaschristian history in two papers by Pius Malekandathil (pp. 1-48) and K. S. Mathew (pp. 55-74), the latter dealing with the period from 9th to 16th centuries. Before the Thomaschristians came under the jurisdiction of the East Syrian patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon they were under the metropolitan of Fars for several centuries. "The separation of the Persian Church from the Nestorian Patriarch of Ctesiphon was based chiefly on differences about monasticism, the ordination of the bishops and on the use of language," says Malekandathil (p. 42). Whereas Ctesiphon used Syriac, Fars used Pahlavi (ancient Persian). Al-

ready from 420 Bishop Ma'na of Rew'Ardashir had a Pahlavi Bible for use instead of the Syriac Pshita. In 1966 a copy of the Pahlavi Bible was excavated from Turfan in China, which is now kept in Berlin. Pahlavi was in use in the Church of Fars till the eleventh century, and bishops were ordained by the metropolitan of Fars for Oman and Socotra and India. Not until the ascendancy of the Seldjuq dynasty in Iran did Rew'Ardashir lose its pre-eminence and bishops for these places began to be ordained by the patriarch of Baghdad. "It seems highly probable that Syriac came to be used as a liturgical and ecclesiastical language in Malabar only after these developments in the 11th century, when the Church of Kerala got linked directly with the seat of the East Syrian Church" (ibid. p. 44). The doyen of Thomaschristian church history, A. M. Mundadan, after commenting that the mercantile history ably traced in this paper "makes ancient references to Indian Christianity more credible" (p. 49), adds: "it may be revealing to many that the language used for Church purposes by the Rew'Ardashir Church and consequently in the Indian Church was not Aramaic or Syriac but Pahlavi till the 11th century." This runs counter to the generally held view "that the language of worship in India at least from the 4th century onwards was progressively Syriac or Aramaic" (p. 50), if not already from the very time of the Apostle Thomas himself.

These are not neutral alternatives, but are two positions charged with fire power. For, the Fars-India connection explains why the royal grants of copper plates to Mar Sapor and Mar Peroz bear Pahlavi signatures and that a few stone crosses excavated in South India carry Pahlavi inscriptions; it also renders less persuasive the opinion that these crosses are Manichean. Moreover, if Pahlavi had been the liturgical language in the Thomaschristian Church before Syriac came into use, much of the mystique with which Syriac is sometimes invested would lose its halo. Why not push the question of return to ancestral traditions beyond the pre-Diamper traditions farther back to pre-Syriac traditions? Why only delatinization? Why not also desyriacization? Why not return to the Pahlavi Bible instead of the Syriac Pshitta? Thus the problem of return the present book sets out to solve may have got only more complex, to the exasperation of the traditionalists prone to simplistic solutions.

G. Nedungatt, S.J.

Liturgica

Stefano Rosso, *Un popolo di Sacerdoti, Saggio di Liturgia fondamentale*. Ed., LAS Roma, 1996, pp. 396.

Si tratta di studio monografico sulla Costituzione liturgica del Concilio Vaticano II, "Sacrosanctum Concilium" (SC). Tutta la liturgia, secondo l'Autore, trova inizio e si ricapitola nella *salvezza*, con centralità nella profondità

del *Mistero di Gesù Cristo*; con un legame inscindibile: Teologico, storico, spirituale, pastorale e giuridico, in quanto: *Approccio, metodo, struttura* (19-20); *norme giuridiche e magistero liturgico* (22-25). È il percorso storico-teologico, di una liturgia che si confronta con molte discipline, quella *antropologica, biblica, teologica, storia della salvezza (evento e rito, 20), storia della chiesa (historia salutis, 21), spiritualità* (21ss.). Liturgia-scienza, aperta alle discipline affini, partita da un'antica considerazione cristiana, in particolare orientale, dove la liturgia è *theologia prima*, e la riflessione dogmatica è *theologia secunda*. L'Autore analizza nei vari capitoli e per gradi, i *valori antropologici* (17-28), l'aspetto sacramentale, con linguaggio che è ad un tempo *simbolo e rito* (29-138). La traccia di fondo, di tutto il percorso è la *fede applicata alla liturgia*; e la fede è insostituibile per *comprendere la liturgia* (18-30). Stefano Rosso, pensa che il cammino di comprensione della liturgia cristiana occidentale, deve partire dall'analisi della *dimensione simbolica della liturgia orientale* (25; 49-66), del simbolo liturgico nella *storia della Chiesa* (49); con occhio attento alla linea di *teologia biblica del culto cristiano* (68-140), cioè alla concretezza del *dato teologico* (26); all'oggettività della fede e del culto, e all'aspetto conciliare (SC 7). L'A., descrive l'importanza del simbolo, della funzione *soggettività-oggettività* (42-45); simbolo biblico e simbolismo della SC, e dei documenti della *riforma liturgica* (55-66). È necessario studiare il simbolo storicamente; nella filosofia antica, medioevale, moderna (50-55); nell'arte. Il materialismo ebbe influsso negativo, la *via giusta è quella biblica e sacramentale* (52ss.), perché la liturgia è *azione sacramentale della Chiesa* (SC 6) (288-307). Infatti il regime liturgico si pone sulla stessa linea dell'incarnazione, il *tempo di Cristo linea di cammino verso l'eschaton* (288ss.), che lega il tempo della Chiesa a quello di *Gesù di Nazareth* (288). Di conseguenza i sacramenti, scrive l'A., sono azioni del Signore Glorioso e della Chiesa; eventi di culto e di santificazione, in continuità con i *Mysteria carnis Christi*, e con *l'essere di tutta la Chiesa* (289-307). Quindi La Chiesa è: *sacramento globale di Cristo* (299), secondo quanto spiega la *teologia liturgica del Concilio Vaticano II* (299-327). Centralità, e unificazione di tutto questo discorso è la *celebrazione del Mistero di Cristo* (329-349), con le tre componenti fondamentali della celebrazione cristiana: *assemblea, parola, sacramento*, e con la *stessa celebrazione*, ossia, *soggetto, oggetto, azione liturgica* (329). Nei 7 capitoli dell'opera, Stefano Rosso, studia i singoli elementi come il *simbolo*, la *pluri-disciplinarità*, la visione globale del Concilio Vaticano II, nella dimensione biblica, della cultura storica e storico-teologica. Esamina l'aspetto antropologico e giuridico della Chiesa, i sacramenti, nei due percorsi: *Cristo e l'uomo che si eleva a Dio, mediante il culto* (67-138). Interessante la parte riguardante la *teologia della liturgia lungo la storia* (140-264); dove il pensiero dei Padri antichi, riflette le difficoltà che la Chiesa ha dovuto affrontare fin dalle sue origini. Utili i riferimenti *all'arte cristiana* (148ss.) e ai *riti* (154-168). Inoltre alle pagine 264-265, l'A., mette a disposizione del lettore, piantine di templi e di chiese antiche. Il capitolo sulla *teologia liturgica del Concilio Vaticano II* (265-328) è incentrato sulla celebrazione del *Mistero di Cristo* (329-

384). L'A., osserva con attenzione, il linguaggio simbolico e rituale, che appartiene alla sfera della liturgia, dove il simbolo rischia di perdere il suo valore, a motivo dell'*illuminismo*, del *positivismo* e del *razionalismo* (54-140). Stefano Rosso, ritiene che, recuperando l'intuizione platonica e aristotelica, il simbolo ritorna a fare da ponte tra *corpo e spirito* (55), e, il *simbolo e il rito, rientrano appieno nella sfera liturgica* (61-70), nel *culto* (80-115); nella *dimensione teologica-biblica* (80-140) e nell'*aspetto storico* (141-260). Sono così individuate, le *concezioni fondamentali del Concilio Vaticano II* (265-327). L'A., ricapitola tutto il senso della liturgia nella celebrazione del *Mistero di Cristo* (330-384). Un Mistero che si comprende, se guardiamo al grande valore del *sacrificio* (69), come *Liturgia della vita* (68-69); *dialogo ecumenico* (386-387), e la *liturgia che celebra salvezza* (385-386). L'A., conclude il suo saggio, spalancando le porte: sulla liturgia, c'è ancora molto da *capire e da scrivere* (392).

A. Celia

Boris Uspenskij, *In regem unxit. Unzione al trono e semantica dei titoli del sovrano*, (= Piccola Biblioteca M. D'Auria 10), M. D'Auria Editore, Napoli 2001, pp. 172.

Un libro suddiviso in due parti o capitoli, con relative note, un excursus, una scelta bibliografia e, prima dell'indice, un riassunto del contenuto. L'A., russo, professore universitario in Italia, che ha pubblicato tra l'altro *Storia e semiotica*, Milano 1988, applica la semiotica storica all'investitura regale attraverso l'unzione. La prima unzione è praticata sul capo di Pipino il Breve, nel 751 a Soissons, dall'arcivescovo di Magonza, Bonifacio. Pipino riceve una seconda unzione a Saint-Denis nel 754 dal papa Stefano II. E il basileus? Il basileus a quell'epoca era incoronato senza essere unto, mentre Pipino il Breve, in ambedue i casi, è unto, senza essere incoronato. Cosa porta all'unzione di Pipino? L'A. adduce due spiegazioni: la prima è l'attrazione modale della liturgia del battesimo, praticata in Occidente. Il battezzato è unto con il crisma senza essere cresimato, diversamente da quanto avviene in Oriente ove il battezzato, nel corso della liturgia, è pure cresimato. L'unzione auspica il conforto dello Spirito per l'adempimento delle promesse battesimali e, ora, perché l'unto eserciti la sua missione regale. La connessione con il battesimo fa del re un *homo renatus*.

Non si può trascurare l'altro elemento, cioè il sacerdozio regale (I Petr 2,9), di cui ogni cristiano è rivestito, grazie al primo Unto = Cristo. Il monarca unto è assimilato a Cristo. Carlo Magno fu unto tre volte (754, 758 e 771), ma a Natale dell'800, non fu unto perché il titolo di imperatore non era associato a Cristo. In greco Cristo è *basileus* e anche un imperatore è *basileus*. Invece in latino solo il titolo di re (e non quello di imperatore) associava il monarca con Cristo. Questo spiega perché Carlo Magno fu unto come re, ma non come imperatore. Poi la tradizione dell'unzione del monarca si estese

anche all'imperatore. Nell'816 il figlio di Carlo Magno, Ludovico il Pio fu unto imperatore. L'unzione inizialmente era soltanto del capo, (non della fronte!), e questo corrisponde all'unzione del battesimo, non della cresima. L'unzione di Ottone I nel 962, praticata dal vescovo di Ostia, riguarda soltanto la zona interscapolare. Il papa Giovanni XII lo unge imperatore lo stesso anno. Un altro papa, Innocenzo III, nel 1204, con *De sacra unctione*, proibisce l'unzione del capo con crisma, esclusiva della consacrazione episcopale, permettendola però con l'olio dei catecumeni. Nello stesso 1204, dopo il malaugurato sacco di Costantinopoli, Baldovino di Fiandra è incoronato *basileus*, e nel corso della cerimonia è unto sul toracc. Quando inizia a Costantinopoli l'unzione del *basileus*? La maggior parte degli studiosi pensa che dipenda dall'unzione di Baldovino l'anno 1204. L'A. dissente da questa opinione. Sappiamo come erano unti gli imperatori bizantini nel Medioevo. Se ne ungeva il capo (come era unto Pipino e tutti i monarchi occidentali prima dell'unzione di Ottone l'anno 962). Invece Baldovino fu unto sul torace (in accordo con il decreto di Innocenzo III). Questo prova che la tradizione dell'unzione del *basileus* a Bisanzio precedeva l'unzione di Baldovino. In Russia la prima incoronazione dello zar avviene nel 1547 per Ivan IV. La prima unzione dello zar riguarda Fedor Ivanovič, il 31 maggio 1584. L'unzione non precede l'incoronazione, ma la segue. Infatti nel rito comune a bizantini e Russi, la cresima segue immediatamente il battesimo. In tale contesto l'incoronazione richiama il battesimo e l'unzione la cresima. L'incoronazione dello zar si accompagna con il mattutino e l'unzione con la messa, durante la quale lo zar si comunica.

La seconda parte del volumetto studia il rapporto fra *zar*, *rex*, *imperator* e *basileus*. Oggi sappiamo che *zar* proviene dal latino *Caesar*. La spiegazione di questo passaggio da *Caesar* a *zar* è simile a quella del passaggio dal latino, *Caesar* al tedesco *Kaiser*, imperatore, dal latino *Carolus*, riferito a Carlo Magno, al polacco *król* che significa re. Ma per molti questa etimologia era impensabile. Uspenskij cita vari non russi che rifiutano la provenienza di *zar* da Cesare. Avrebbe potuto aggiungere anche il caso del gesuita boemo David, vissuto alcuni anni a Mosca, verso la fine del secolo XVII°. Padre David, non accettando altra etimologia, pretende nel 1690 che *zar* venga dall'ebraico *sar*. (Georgius David S.J., *Status modernus Magnae Russiae seu Moscoviae*, Edited by A. V. Florovskij, The Hague 1965, 74). Un'altra causa di controversia è il fatto che il termine greco *basileus*, come il termine russo *zar*, possono tradursi in altre lingue con due termini diversi, re e imperatore, *König* e *Kaiser*, *king* e *emperor*, *roi* e *empereur*.

Il breve *Excursus* riferisce sentenze di vari teologi russi sull'unzione dello zar. "Non è ripetizione, ma forma particolare della cresima, in grado più alto, in ordine a doni specifici, relativi alla suprema carica". "È grado diverso, più elevato, di trasmissione dei doni dello Spirito". "Conferisce una grazia particolare dello Spirito Santo". "Non è consacrazione di natura gerarchica, ma atto sacramentale con cui il sovrano riceve dall'alto forze e saggezza per governare". "Attraverso l'unzione lo zar riceve i doni della grazia per guidare

lo stato russo e la Chiesa, ma non entra a far parte della gerarchia ecclesiastica come avveniva per gli imperatori bizantini”.

L'A. confronta ecumenicamente tali sentenze con il giudizio di Giuseppe Olšr S.J. il quale si esprime così: “L'unzione dello zar ha tutte le caratteristiche di uno speciale sacramento analogo alla cresima. Lo zar incoronato e unto con il crisma occupa una posizione particolare tra i membri della Chiesa. Però rimane sempre un laico”.

Il libro si impone all'attenzione per la sua chiarezza e la sua documentazione storica e filologica. Congratulazioni a chi lo ha redatto.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Oecumenica

Johannes Oeldemann, *Orthodoxe Kirchen im ökumenischen Dialog. Positionen, Probleme, Perspektiven*, (= Thema Ökumene, Herausgegeben vom Johann-Adam-Möhler-Institut, Bd. 3), Bonifatius Verlag, Paderborn 2004, 200 S.

Come annunciato nel *Vorwort*, il libro vuole dissipare dubbi sulla disponibilità ecumenica delle Chiese Ortodosse. Infatti l'aggettivo “ortodosso”, “di retta fede” secondo il Duden, per assimilazione alle espressioni “ebrei ortodossi” e “luterani ortodossi”, acquista erroneamente connotazione negativa, sinonimo di irriducibile intransigenza. Considerando che ogni liturgia eucaristica ortodossa prega per l'unità dei cristiani, l'aggettivo ortodosso dovrebbe suggerire apertura verso gli altri. Infatti vari ortodossi preferiscono far dipendere *ortho-doxos* da *doxazo*, “stimo retto”, piuttosto che da *dokeo*, “credo rettamente”. Il libro ricorda che le Chiese Ortodosse, già prima del Movimento Ecumenico iniziato a Edinburgo nel 1910, avevano sentimenti ecumenici. Infatti il Patriarca di Costantinopoli Gioacchino III invia nel 1902 e nel 1904 due encicliche per convincere le Chiese Ortodosse all'adozione del calendario gregoriano e ad avere contatti con Chiese Cattoliche e Protestanti. Nel 1903 il sinodo della Chiesa Ortodossa Russa riconosce il battesimo di Chiese occidentali. Nel 1920 c'è un'altra enciclica del Patriarca Ecumenico. Le Chiese Ortodosse sono rappresentate a Stoccolma nel 1925 e a Losanna nel 1927, ed è memorabile la figura del metropolita Germano di Thyatheira. A lui si affiancano il greco Alivisatos, il bulgaro Zankov e il russo Sergij Bulgakov. Teologi dell'École Saint Serge partecipano al movimento ecumenico gli anni 30 e 40 del secolo ventesimo, Arsen'ev, Florovskij, Zander e Zernov. L'Unione Sovietica tenta sfruttare il movimento ecumenico in occasione del raduno di Mosca nel 1948. Reticenze ortodosse in ambito ecumenico sono dettate da ramarichi circa poca attenzione all'unità della fede; esagerata importanza concessa a questioni socio-politiche; pressione indebita per l'intercomunione; proselitismo nei confronti di fedeli d'altre Chiese; sincretismi sotto colore d'inculturazione; esagerato femminismo, an-

che per il sacerdozio; liberalismo riguardo all'omosessualità; pretesa di applicare criteri democratici a problemi ecclesiologici. L'A. affronta la storia del dialogo bilaterale dell'Ortodossia con le varie Chiese Ortodosse Orientali, negli incontri di Aarhus, Bristol, Ginevra, Addis Abeba, fino a quelli organizzati da Pro-Oriente. Menziona il dialogo della carità instaurato dal patriarca Atenagora e le risposte di Giovanni XXIII e di Paolo VI. Cita l'invio di osservatori ortodossi al Concilio Vaticano II, i dialoghi ortodossi con gli Anglicani, i Vecchio-Cattolici e le Chiese Evangeliche. Nel dialogo della verità, si può studiare insieme il termine di "Chiese sorelle", che Paolo VI ha usato. Alcuni problemi rimangono. Dopo il fallimento del congresso di Baltimora, i tentativi di ravvivare il dialogo non superano la fase di stallo. Soluzioni proposte, come la formula di Balamand, lasciano insoddisfatti ambedue i partners. Un capitolo del libro è dedicato alle divergenze culturali che alzano barriere più insormontabili delle differenze teologiche, come il contenzioso tra Roma e Costantinopoli, il deprecabile sacco crociato di Costantinopoli. Perché è difficile il dialogo fra Chiesa Ortodossa Russa e Chiesa Cattolica? Caduto il Comunismo molti Russi cercano nella Chiesa Ortodossa una difesa e un sostegno di unità e identità. Sotto i Sovietici l'ecumenismo era esercitato soltanto da gerarchi della Chiesa senza raggiungere le masse. Un atteggiamento protezionista dell'apostolato di ortodossi fra ortodossi, è comprensibile. Mentre alcuni sacerdoti cattolici, dimenticano, agli occhi ortodossi, l'ammonimento "di non annunziare il vangelo se non dove ancora non è giunto il nome di Cristo, per non costruire su un fondamento altrui" (Ro 15,20). Un ostacolo all'ecumenismo sono anche certi problemi dell'Ortodossia (per es. l'autocefalia della Chiesa macedone, la deposizione del patriarca bulgaro Massimo, l'autonomia da Mosca della Chiesa estone, ecc.). Il sinodo panortodosso dovrebbe risolverli, ma stenta a convocarsi per la difficoltà oggettiva di mettere d'accordo tante Chiese autocefale. L'A. esorta a rispettare l'immagine che la Chiesa Ortodossa dà di se stessa: comunità di comunità, depositaria del mistero trinitario e della divina liturgia, Corpo di Cristo secondo S. Paolo. Quanto al giudizio ortodosso sulle altre Chiese, ci sono due tendenze. La rigorista si ritiene unica Chiesa di Cristo. L'altra, della 'economia', ritiene appartenenti alla Chiesa i battezzati che credono in Gesù Cristo. Il vescovo russo Ilarione ha proclamato: "Noi Ortodossi non tentiamo di imporre agli altri Cristiani la nostra cultura, la nostra morale, il nostro rito". L'ideale ortodosso non è dunque l'unità dei cristiani che supponga fusione, ma una comunione di comunità che si riconoscono a vicenda. "Unità senza riunione", dice il russo Zander.

L'A. scende a consigli pratici per superare la crisi attuale. Bisogna conoscersi gli uni gli altri, scambiarsi alunni e docenti nelle facoltà teologiche, moltiplicare incontri soprattutto dove c'è esperienza ecumenica fruttuosa (cita esplicitamente, Pro-Oriente, Chevetogne e Bose). Certi problemi come dell'uniatismo non possono risolversi se non bilateralmente, affrontando insieme il primato, il proselitismo e la missione universale della Chiesa. Il movimento ecumenico è nato nelle missioni ed è indispensabile testimoniare ai

non-cristiani l'intesa ecumenica fra cristiani, nell'aiuto dei poveri, nell'etica, nell'ecologia, nella bioetica, nel dialogo interreligioso e in vista dell'incontro delle Chiese dell'Unione Europea progettato per il 2007.

Il libro, piccolo di mole ma ricco di saggezza cristiana e umana fa onore all'Istituto Ecumenico di Paderborn, di cui l'A. è Direttore.

V. Poggi, S.J.

Othomanica

Paschales M. Kitromelides, *Κυπριακή Λογιοσύνη 1571-1878*. Προσωπογραφική θεώρηση, (= Κέντρο έπιστημονικών έρευνών. Πηγές και Μελέτες της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας XLIII), Leukosia 2002, pp. 315.

Das Buch, ein *instrumentum laboris*, des Athener Kultur- und Literaturwissenschaftlers ist das Resultat zehnjähriger Forschungsarbeit in vielen Bibliotheken und Handschriftensammlungen Europas. Es handelt von der Literatur Cyperns in den drei Jahrhunderten der Türkenherrschaft und kann als Weiterführung eines früheren Werkes (L. Philippu, *Tà Ἑλληνικά Γράμματα ἐν Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878)*, I-II, Leukosia 1930) gelten. Eine hermeneutische Bewertung dieser Literatur wäre nach Meinung des Verfassers noch verfrüht, wie auch eine genauere Periodisierung, wenngleich bestimmte Einflüsse der Renaissance, der Diaspora und der Aufklärung deutlich zu unterscheiden sind.

So setzt sich das Werk zusammen aus einem Prolog (S. 12-16), einer Dankadresse (S. 17-21), einer allgemeinen Einleitung (S. 25-62), in der u. a. der Begriff Literatur sowie der Forschungsstand näher umschrieben werden, einer generellen Bibliographie (S. 67-84), ferner dem wichtigsten Teil, dem alphabetischen Verzeichnis von 161 Autoren (mit Biographie, Werkliste, Editionen bzw. Kodes und Sekundärliteratur: S. 85-273), einem englischen Summary (S. 277-280) und schliesslich zwei Indices (Handschriften/ Allgemeines Register: S. 283-315).

Das Schwergewicht liegt auf chronographischen Werken; als bekanntere Theologen figurieren Aloisios Andrutzes, Athanasios Rhetor, Hilarion Kigalas, Neophytos Rhodinos usw. Viele biographische Daten wie auch Werklisten sind noch lückenhaft, wenngleich mancher Phantomautor inzwischen aus dem Katalog gestrichen werden konnte. Der Eigentext des Verfassers ist zuweilen etwas weitläufig; die biographischen Angaben zu den einzelnen Autoren sind nicht mit Anmerkungen versehen. Der Druck ist durchweg gut; die Bibliographie in deutscher Sprache z. T. noch fehlerhaft. Vierzehn, teilweise farbige Abbildungen schmücken den Band (S.275 f.), der insgesamt einen nützlichen Beitrag zur literarischen Rezeption und Ausstrahlung Cyperns bis zur englischen Okkupation (1878) darstellt.

G. Podskalsky, S.J.

Vasilios N. Makrides (Hg.), *Alexander Helladius the Larissaeen*. International Conference Larissa, 4-5 September 1999. Proceedings. Larissa 2003, pp. 550 (mit vielen Abbildungen).

Viele griechische Gelehrte aus der Zeit der Turkokratie (1453-1821) sind dem breiten Publikum nur oberflächlich oder überhaupt nicht bekannt, weil die Quellen zu ihrer Biographie in mehreren Ländern zerstreut, unaufgearbeitet oder auch definitiv verloren sind. Einer von ihnen ist der aus Larissa stammende Alexander Helladios (1686 – nach 1715), ein weitgereister und auf verschiedenen Gebieten hochgelehrter Mann (Philologe, Philosoph, Theologe, Schriftsteller, Bucheditor und Arzt — *ιατροφιλόσοφος*), der die Mühe lohnt, ihn der Vergessenheit zu entreissen. Seine Geburtsstadt Larissa (an der Bahnstrecke Thessalonike-Athen) hat nun die begrüßenswerte Initiative ergriffen, dem berühmten Sohn ein wissenschaftliches Symposium zu widmen, auf dem 15 Historiker ein buntes, nahezu vollständiges Bild seiner Persönlichkeit zeichnen (mit Ausnahme der noch dunklen, letzten Phase in Rußland, 1714-1716?). Man darf sich darunter aber nicht ein lokal-patriotisches Sammelwerk vorstellen, vielmehr eine erstmalige, nüchterne Dokumentation der bisher bekannt gewordenen Nachrichten und Schriftstücke; Ausstattung und Bildmaterial des Bandes entsprechen dem hohen, wissenschaftlichen Anspruch.

Nach den Einführungsworten macht der Herausgeber selbst, Professor für Orthodoxe Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte an der Universität Erfurt, den Anfang, indem er das Zustandekommen des Symposiums in Zusammenarbeit mit verschiedenen Wissenschaftlern und Behörden schildert und zu den folgenden Aufsätzen hinführt (S. 13-21). Jedem Artikel folgt übrigens, falls er nicht in englischer oder deutscher Sprache geschrieben ist, ein ausführliches, englisches "Summary". — Ein zweiter Artikel desselben behandelt die frühen Jahre Alexanders in dem von Türken besetzten Griechenland und Rumänien (S. 23-51) sowie an verschiedenen Orten Westeuropas (England, Holland, Deutschland). Die Geburt in Larissa ist in seinem späteren, Peter d. Gr. gewidmeten Hauptwerk "*Status praesens ecclesiae graecae*" (Altdorf/b. Nürnberg 1714) vermerkt. Sein Studium begann in Istanbul, fand seine Fortsetzung mit dem Stipendium in Oxford (englisches Kolleg), dann in London (5 Jahre) und Altdorf/Nürnberg (5 Jahre); in der zweiten Lebenshälfte auch noch in Tyrnovo (Thessalien).

Der nächste Beitrag von Frau A. Skarveli-Nikolopulu zu den Beziehungen Alexanders zu Markos Porphyropulos (S. 53-68) beruht auf einem Briefwechsel (Ed.: S. 62-68). Der letztgenannte Korrespondent war Scholarch in Bukarest und dozierte dort Physik (nach Aristoteles bzw. nach Theophilos Korydaleus). Helladios seinerseits war Schüler des Frankiskos Prossalentis. Der besagte Briefpartner erwähnt auch die späteren Schwierigkeiten des Helladios mit den deutschen Pietisten.

Die Person des Prossalentis steht noch einmal im Mittelpunkt des folgenden Artikels von A. Pentogalos (S. 69-80). Während Prossalentis, später

Mönch auf Korfu, Alexander auf der Patriarchalakademie unterrichtete, gingen später beide nach Oxford, wo der ältere ein Buch gegen religiöse Propaganda veröffentlichte, während der Schüler in seinem schon genannten Hauptwerk die Unterschiede zu den Protestanten (Halle) und Anglikanern (Oxford) hervorhob. — A. E. Karathanasis überprüft Alexanders Aufenthalt in der Walachei (S. 81-100), von wo aus er mit Prossalentis und Eustathios Plakidas im Gefolge des englischen Gesandten nach dessen Heimat aufbrachen. — Besonders aufschlußreich sind die Untersuchungen U. Moenings (S. 101-13) über die Polemik des Helladios gegen die "überflüssige" Neuübersetzung des Neuen Testaments durch Maximus Kalliupolites (Halle 1710, veranlaßt durch H. A. Francke): die heutigen Griechen verstünden durchaus die Originalsprache der κοινή; kritisiert wird auch die Einrichtung des "Collegium graecum" an der Universität Halle (im Vergleich mit Altdorf/Nürnberg). — Daran schließt sich die Veröffentlichung dreier Briefe (Autographe) des Helladios an Francke an durch denselben Autor (S. 125-149); inhaltlich geht es um die erwähnten NT-Übersetzung. — Ein weiteres Mal meldet sich der Herausgeber mit einer Briefedition (S. 151-179) zu Wort; es geht um ein Schreiben des Matthaios Lefa aus Paros, in dem die heterodoxen Kollegen von Halle und Oxford einander gegenübergestellt und verglichen werden. — Sehr allgemein gehalten ist der Beitrag von R. Wilson über die moderne Diaspora und ihre Treffpunkte im Osmanenreich (S. 181-194). — Der Altmeister der Nürnberger Lokalhistoriker, Dr. E. F. Schultheiß, war bereit, einen breiten Überblick (S. 195-284) zu geben über die nachreformatorische Universität Altdorf (Nürnberg), ihre vier Fakultäten, einige herausragende Professoren (mit reichem Bildmaterial) sowie besonders die Studienzeit des A. Helladios, seine Spezialisierung (Medizin) und Buchproduktion (z. B. Grammatik). — Die Präsentation eines zweisprachigen Glückwunschgedichts des Helladios ist eine Gemeinschaftsarbeit von V. N. Makrides, J. E. Karamanolis und E. F. Schultheiß (S. 285-332). Es handelt sich um ein langes Hochzeitspoem nach klassischem Vorbild (mit freier deutscher Übersetzung) für die Tochter eines befreundeten Patriziers und Universitätskurators in Nürnberg, dem der Grieche wohl ein Stipendium verdankte. — Der in Oxford promovierte G. E. Karamanolis erörtert auch die Ansichten des Helladios (= Grieche) über die Aussprache des Altgriechischen sowie die Theorien einiger seiner Zeitgenossen (S. 333-413). Es wird klar, daß Alexander die erasmianische Aussprache ablehnte, ähnlich wie die deutschen Philhellenen zuvor (M. Crusius u. a.) das "Barbarogriechische" ablehnten. — Als treibende Kraft überprüft V. N. Makrides nochmals die Rezeption des "Status praesens" im Westen (S. 415-515; 451-515: Abdruck der Gegenschrift J. N. Gesners, a. 1716); Helladios verurteilt alle ostkirchlichen Pläne der Westkirchen, speziell bei den Pietisten (Halle); es wäre interessant gewesen, einen Vergleich mit dem Pamphletisten David Chytracus ("Oratio de statu Ecclesiarum... in Graecia"..., Rostock 1569) auszustellen, über den unlängst eine ausgezeichnete Monographie erschienen ist: O. Czaika, *David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich*,

Helsinki 2002. — Die letzten Ausführungen gelten einmal der Bildung des griechischen Volkes "in der Morgenröte der griechischen Aufklärung" (S. 517-537; Verfasser: N. K. Psimennos); der Verfasser rühmt — zuweilen übertrieben — den hohen Bildungsstand der Griechen, während I. E. Panagiotidu das Umfeld an griechischen Ärzten in Rußland aufweist (S. 539-550).

Alles in allem, eine Fülle neuer Informationen über einen bisher nur in Umrissen bekannten griechisch-europäischen Gelehrten, der größere Beachtung verdient. Zwar ist die Darstellung — wie bei einem Sammelband leicht vorstellbar — nicht frei von Wiederholungen und gelegentlich etwas langatmigen Ausführungen. Aber die Initiative der Geburtsstadt Larissa, des Herausgebers und seiner Kollegen ist nachahmenswert für viele weitere Namen. Auch die Korrekturarbeit war vorbildlich; es blieben nur wenige Druckfehler stehen: z. B. S. 285, Z. 3: nicht; S. 448, Z. 27: 1761. Erst aus einem gewissen Abstand wird man entscheiden können, ob das Angewiesensein Griechenlands während der Türkenherrschaft auf den Beistand und das Vorbild Westeuropas für das Volk ein Gewinn war oder nicht.

G. Podskalsky, S.J.

A. Γ. Κ Σαββίδης, *Δοκίμια Οθωμανικής Ιστορίας*, Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση, Αθήνα 2002, σ. 237, εικόνες + χαρτες σ. 239-285.

The present work contains a Prologue, five essays, an "Appendix: Oriental historiographical and chronographical sources on 14th-15th century Byzantine-Ottoman relations," a Chronology of Ottoman history, a Glossary of Ottoman military and administrative terms and connotations, a list of Ottoman sultans, a General bibliography of books and monographs and a section of Illustrations and maps.

Savvides points out, in the Prologue, that the negative connotation of Turk stopped with Atatürk in 1924. Yet recent Turkish historiography, while distinguishing between the Ottoman and the Turkish periods, sometimes uses the term Turk to embrace both (p. 12). He divides Turkish rule in Greece (1453/1461-1821) into five periods (p. 13): (a) the first Turkish settlements in Europe: 1288/1289-1354; (b) the conquest (1354-1479) (c) and the period following it, leading to Lepanto (1479-1571); (d) the onset of decline (1571-1774); and (e) the decay and end of the Ottoman Empire (1774-1924). The new government which arose on the ashes of the Ottoman empire must be seen in continuity with it (p. 14).

"Major Ottoman Sources on the Fall of Constantinople" agrees with Steve Runciman that, by and large, the Turkish sources for the siege and fall of Constantinople are curiously disappointing (p. 32). The few official accounts of the Turkish version add nothing important to what we already know (p. 34), unlike the four unique Byzantine sources, Sphrantzes, Doukas, Kritoboulos and Chalkokondyles. The minor sources sometimes complete, but

often complicate, our picture. 29 May 1453 happened to be a Tuesday, and not, as mistakenly reported in the Turkish source, a Thursday. Some Turkish historiographers are listed on pp. 38-41.

The second essay, "The sultanate of Mehmet II the Conqueror (1451-1481)," treats of Mehmet II, whom F. Babinger calls "demonic" (p. 42). Mehmet II spoke a number of languages (pp. 45f). At the age of 12 or 13 he came to power after his father, Murad II, retreated to the Balkans in 1444 to chase the Crusaders after Varna (p. 46) and succeeded him definitely in 1541. The third son from Murad II's Christian slave, Mehmet II showed respect only to his mother, the Serbian Maria-Mara Brankovitz, "Sultana Mara," who remained a Christian (pp. 48-49). Mehmet II seems to have broken with Constantine XI when the latter received the pretender to the Turkish throne as his guest. Two castles on the two sides of the Bosphorus formed the "knife of the channel (neck)" (p. 50). The siege of the city lasted 54 days with a colossal Turkish army of 80,000-100,000, against some 7,000-8,000 defenders, including mercenaries from the West (p. 51). On Mehmet II's behest a synod was convoked in 1454 to elect a Patriarch, for whom he secured a number of privileges (p. 54). Lepanto (Naupaktos), however, remained an independent Venetian possession (p. 57).

"The great conquests and the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire (early 16th – early 17th cent.*)" depicts Selim I (1512-1520) as a great military leader who extended borders to Algeria and was interested in mysticism and Sufism (pp. 71f). Probably he poisoned his father (p. 73). The parts of Tunisia he conquered remained Turkish until 1830 (p. 75). Selim beat the Mameluks in Egypt (1250-1517) (pp. 76f) and had their sultan hanged outside of Cairo (p. 79). The last Abbasidian ruler was taken bound to Istanbul and Selim assumed the title of Caliph, used until 1924. Selim was succeeded by Soleiman II, the Lawmaker or "Kanuni" (pp. 78, 80, 90). Solciman II had to lift the siege of Vienna (1529), but imposed John Zapoulas as king on the greater part of Hungary (p. 82). A second attempt to take Vienna, in 1532, led to the peace treaty of 1533 (p. 82). In 1541 Buda-Pest fell into his hands, Tripoli in 1551, but the attempt to take Malta in 1565 failed (p. 88). To affirm that the Knights defended Valletta is simply anachronistic, since Valletta was built only *after* the Great Siege and as its result (pp. 88, 256). As the first-born had been executed, Selim II (1566-1574) succeeded to the throne; with him appear the first signs of instability (p. 92). Known as the "Drunkard," Selim was a playboy, but the Serbian Sokollovitz was a capable chief minister. Chios was taken from the Genovese in 1566; and, in 1571, Cyprus was taken from the Venetians, with the governor's corpse being brought in hay as trophy to the Sultan (p. 93). To Don Juan of Austria and admiral Andrea Doria goes the glory for 7 Oct 1571, but Don Juan could not repeat his performance the following year. Falling under the influence of the Harem, Murad III (1574-1595) had his best minister executed when calumniated (pp. 96f). Murad extended Turkish rule to Azerbaijan and to Georgia by capturing Tiflis (p. 97). He made trade arrangements with European rul-

ers (p. 97). He left behind 103 (or, according to others, 130) children (p. 98). Mehmet III (1595-1603) spells out the beginning of the end; he started by destroying his relatives, including 19 brothers (p. 99).

The fourth essay treats of "The Köprülü dynasty: The decline of the Ottoman empire and its temporary halt (mid-17th – early 18th century)". Mehmet threw out the Venetians who had saved Constantinople and ordered Parthenios III hanged for writing that Islam is approaching the end (p. 106). Fazil Ahmed was favourable to Christians (p. 109). But the ambitions of the Grand-vizier Kara Mustafa hurt the Sultanate very much; Hungary was lost to Russia in 1681 and the siege of Vienna had to be raised in 1683 when Sobieski of Poland came to the rescue (pp. 109f). Mustafa was strangled on Christmas Day 1683 on the Sultan's orders, yet only he was capable to withstand the Sultanate's enemies (p. 111).

"The 'uncertainty' of the Ottoman Empire's possessions in the 17th century — The period 1603-1703" shows court intrigues. Sultan Mustafa II ruled twice, because the Sultana supported him a first time 1617-1618 and again when Osman II was strangled four years later (pp. 118-121). Murad IV, perhaps the most significant sultan of 17th cent, (1623-1640), implemented reforms (p. 121). When he was a minor, his mother carried on government business. In 1632 he achieved absolute power. Murad IV left a great name as general (p. 127). His basic aim was the creation of an absolute and uncontested power, for which reason he founded the Ulema, the Counsel of the Wise, but did not hesitate to execute its highest member, Aphenti, in 1633, the first Sultan who ever dared to do such a thing. Murad IV died of cancer of hepatitis due to alcohol abuse at the age of 28 years, in spite of his law prohibiting it. He was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim (1640-1648), who brought chaos; he had his Vizier, a capable man, executed (the Sultana Mother had a role in this) (pp. 127f). Mentally sick, he took the decision to fight the Venetians in Crete (1645-1669) (p. 128). After the Janissaries in 1648 had Ibrahim executed, there followed the long reign of Mehmed IV, son of the hanged Murad IV (1648-1687), who preferred to hunt than to do his duty as Sultan (p. 129). In 1687, the Sultan was forced to retire, and his brother, Suleiman, became sultan (p. 131). From Ibrahim's rule onwards — chiefly — princes passed their lives in the isolation of the palace (p. 132). When Suleiman I was freed to become sultan, he thought that they had come for his execution and told the officers: "If my execution has already been decided, give me time to pray — because it is better to die than remain here imprisoned!" (pp. 132f).

The work, though open to criticism on a number of points, is useful for the story it tells and its bibliographical references. But the key to understanding these studies may well be Savvides' own word "essay," an attempt to survey Turkish history from a Greek perspective.

Patristica

Isacco di Ninive, *Discorsi Ascetici, Terza collezione*. Introduzione, traduzione e note a cura di Sabino Chialà, Edizioni Qiqajon, Comunità di Bose, 2004, pp. 204.

Leggere la spiritualità di Isacco di Ninive, o il Siro, è come respirare aria pura, che ossigena il cuore e la mente. Isacco visse una vita solitaria nel deserto, tranne un breve periodo come vescovo di Ninive nel 680. Sabino Chialà, Monaco di Bose, traduce e commenta la *Terza collezione* dei *Discorsi ascetici di Isacco di Ninive*, un pilastro della spiritualità orientale, che ispirò l'Occidente fino al XVII secolo, ma oggi, come dice Chialà, manca di *biografia* seria e completa, che renda giustizia a questo antico Padre. La *preghiera* è il tema dominante e il filo conduttore di tutti i *Discorsi* di Isacco. Il curatore, introduce l'opera di Isacco, spiegando il valore di questa *collezione* (1-42), attento ad inserire un *glossario* delle parole siriane (36-42). Una riflessione di Isacco, suggerisce il succo della sua dottrina: La *lectio* fatta su una pericope della Scrittura, dà pienezza alla meditazione (131-132; 185). La traduzione dal siriano dei *Discorsi ascetici* si trova nelle pagine 45-195. L'opera si chiude con un indice biblico (197-200), patristico (201-203), e generale (203-204). Questa *terza collezione*, è caratterizzata da temi spirituali specifici: *Dalla preghiera alla preghiera spirituale* (18); *potenza del peccato e dell'amore di Dio* (23); *due lettere indirizzate a solitari* (30); *tracce per la preghiera* (34). Seguono i XVI *Discorsi di Isacco*, che partendo dalla vita solitaria per cercare Dio, (45), giungono alla vera contemplazione attraverso la compunzione, per mezzo della preghiera, vera scala dell'anima (133-135). *L'ordine del corpo quando è in solitudine, e decoro delle membra esteriori* (51-53). Per educare il cuore, occorre effettuare un *distacco anche esteriore*, cioè *fisico* (51), e la *conoscenza consiste nell'uscire dalle tenebre* (53). Il III *Discorso* (55-67), valuta la preghiera che allontana l'uomo dalla materialità e dalla caducità del mondo; la preghiera perfetta è desiderare il Regno di Dio (58). L'assiduità della preghiera introdurrà l'uomo nella quiete che annulla la ragione della carne (48). Si deve chiedere il pane quotidiano, nel discernimento delle cose celesti da quelle terrestri (61). Isacco, come Evagrio, è convinto che la preghiera renda forte la mente e annulli le passioni (63). Nel *Discorso XVI*, c'è l'esaltazione della preghiera pura e spirituale (193ss), dove la seconda è maggiore della prima (194). Isacco, spiega che la preghiera perfetta consiste nel sentire in Dio (Disc. IV- 69). In definitiva, l'Autore desidera che il lettore giunga, attraverso la preghiera alla perfezione del cuore, della mente e dell'intelletto (74-84). La vera giustizia (Disc. VI 87ss.), non viene dalle opere, bensì dalla fede, cioè dalla [fede] in Gesù Cristo, per mezzo della Grazia (89-103; 191; 159ss.). Isacco si sofferma sul fatto che le opere non salvano, salva invece, *l'intervento della Grazia* (98). Grazia che trova origine dall'*Economia Divina* (145-146; 150-151; 161-164), riferendosi alla compunzione (101) che riempie l'anima umana, quando questa si riconcilia con Dio; e l'intelletto trova il suo

compiacimento in Dio (123-125). Isacco tratta della preghiera incessante o continua (Disc. VIII 121): "*Vedi dunque come è resa degna dalla santità, quella bocca che in ogni momento parla con Dio, e come è santificato quel cuore in cui continuamente il Nome del Signore è benedetto!*" Preghiera e lettura della Bibbia (130-139), costituiscono il cibo per l'anima e per l'intelletto, un cibo che non perisce.

Isacco insegna in modo semplice e luminoso, come un cristiano, possa essere in grado di salire, con la pratica della preghiera, dalla imperfezione alla perfezione. È necessario *crocifiggere l'intelletto* (143; 157), un tema caro ad Isacco che lo riprende in tutte e tre le collezioni dei suoi *Discorsi*.

La traduzione in lingua moderna del testo siriano, è facile a capirsi e scorrevole. Il lettore odierno potrà trovarvi ispirazione, e spunti per riflessioni personali. Forse l'aggiunta di un piccolo dizionario di termini come: *contemplazione, preghiera continua, tenebre* ecc., poteva rendere l'opera ancora più utile.

Si deve esser grati, alle Case Editrici, come Qiqajon, che traducendo opere antiche di spiritualità, fanno conoscere al vasto pubblico il pensiero dei *Padri*, che altrimenti rimarrebbe lettera morta, o riservato ai soli addetti ai lavori.

A. Celia

Mario Maritano (a c. di), *Historiam perscrutari. Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. Ottorino Pasquato*. Presentazione di Sua Em. il Card. Paul Poupard (= Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 180), LAS, Roma 2002, pp. 882.

La Miscellanea offerta al Prof. Ottorino Pasquato, diventato emerito dopo più di 30 anni di insegnamento universitario, è un'opera ponderosa che consta di 56 contributi di docenti e ricercatori collaudati, distribuiti in quattro parti. Non è semplice dare l'idea di un'opera così ricca e differenziata, perché gli studi ivi compresi riescono difficilmente omologabili, nonostante il possibile ed auspicabile "denominatore comune" offerto dal campo di ricerca del festeggiato. Da questo campo appunto, vengono elencati quattro nuclei dal Prof. Manlio Sodi, decano della Facoltà di Teologia dell'Università Pontificia Salesiana, nella breve presentazione della figura e dell'opera del Prof. Pasquato (pp. 23-30): Il Crisostomo al centro, il pensiero storiografico del Marrou — donde l'onorificenza di "Chevalier dans l'ordre des Palmes Académiques" da parte del Governo francese nel 2002 —, una rinnovata attenzione al Medio Evo, un serio impegno nella ricerca storica e patristica.

Ecco come si articolano le quattro parti di questa Miscellanea, presentata dal Card. Paul Poupard, presidente del Pontificio Consiglio per la Cultura:

La *prima parte* (pp. 41-227), che apre la Miscellanea, offre un nutrito numero di studi sul rapporto tra storia e teologia da una parte (M. Bordoni, G. Coffele, E. dal Covolo, B. Forte, J. Janssens, C. Naro, P. A. Sequeri, A. M. Triacca [+], P. S. Vanzan), e tra storia e cristianesimo dall'altra (J.-D. Durand,

B. Gherardini, E. Poulat, L. Sartori). Questi studi cercano di stabilire il valore della storia e il modo in cui essa va rapportata alla teologia e al cristianesimo. A ragione, essi illustrano e ribadiscono il fatto che la storia è il "luogo teologico" della salvezza, in modo tale che la storicità sia da considerare come categoria *a priori* della riflessione teologica.

La *seconda parte* (pp. 229-464), che si occupa della storiografia religiosa antica (P. C. Charalampidis, L. Cracco Ruggini, G. Cuscito, M. Forlin Patrucco, C. Kannengiesser, G. Penco, L. Pietri, D. Ramos-Lissón, M. Simonetti) e medievale (G. Bonney, D. Cervato, E. B. Ferme, P. Stella), dedica inoltre un breve capitolo a Henri-Irénée Marrou (P. Chenaux, G. Fornasari, P. Riché, J.-I. Saranyana), capitolo introdotto da parole commoventi di gratitudine della figlia del grande storiografo, Françoise Marrou-Flamant, indirizzate al Prof. Pasquato, che si è dedicato con passione e competenza allo studio delle opere paterne (pp. 423-424). La gamma variegata di studi offerti qui si distingue sia per il metodo che per il contenuto. Mentre alcune *quaestiones disputatae* sono rivisitate (ad esempio l'ermeneutica biblica di Ticonio, la categoria del "tardo antico", la disputa delle immagini, l'edizione delle *Antichità Giudaiche* di Flavio Giuseppe), altre tematiche ricevono un approfondimento nuovo (soprattutto la pittura paleocristiana tra Oriente ed Occidente, Osio di Cordoba, la storiografia di Beda, due questioni quodlibetali inedite del domenicano Giovanni Regina, senza dimenticare l'opera di Marrou e il suo influxo).

La *terza parte* (pp. 465-608) tratta della formazione alla fede nella storia (C. Bissoli, G. Leonardi, B. Maggioni, M. Dujarier, G. Laiti, R. Tremblay, M. Caprioli, L. La Rosa), ambito che richiama le radici salesiane del Prof. Pasquato. Questi studi si protraggono sulla falsariga della teologia pratica, nonché dell'evangelizzazione e della catechesi. L'arco di tempo coperto dai contributi si limita al periodo neotestamentario e patristico, tranne un contributo che cerca di cogliere il retto atteggiamento di fede nel Medio Evo (dal VI al XIII secolo). Si evidenzia nuovamente quanto la fede nasce dall'ascolto, per cui si tratta prima di tutto di determinare gli autori, i destinatari e la metodologia nel processo di trasmissione della fede.

La *quarta ed ultima parte* (pp. 609-870) presenta vari studi sui Padri della Chiesa nella tradizione ecclesiastica (L. Dattrino, A. Olivar, M. Spanneut, E. Dassmann, G. Trettel, V. Grossi, P. Allen), con un'immane attenzione alla figura e all'opera di San Giovanni Crisostomo (K. Akanthopoulou, B. Amata, M. Cimosà, A. Cioffi, A. Miranda, I. Oñatibia, M. A. Schatkin, W. Turek, S. J. Voicu, S. Zincone), di cui il Prof. Pasquato è anche grande conoscitore. Si procede letteralmente, per così dire, dal generale (= *Padri e pastori per una nuova umanità*) al particolare (= *Aspetti del rapporto uomo-donna nelle Omelie di Giovanni Crisostomo sul Vangelo di Matteo*), passando in rassegna i temi più vari della letteratura patristica, come la passione del Signore, l'*apatheia* divina, la pietà in Ambrogio di Milano, l'ecclesiologia di Crimazio di Aquileia, la ministerialità della Chiesa in Agostino d'Ippona, la

pietà laicale in Severo di Antiochia, e soprattutto la catechesi, l'esegesi e la spiritualità di Giovanni Crisostomo.

Questa opera di grande respiro iscritta in una prospettiva interdisciplinare si raccomanda da sé. Essa recupera felicemente il grande valore della storia, o meglio ancora la coscienza storica, invitando appunto a "historiam perscrutari" nel senso agostiniano dell'espressione ("... homines doctissimi antiquissimas historias perscrutantes": *De civ. Dei* 16, 11, 99-100 [= CCL 48, 515]), per discernere in essa il cammino del regno di Dio e farlo proprio, vivendo pienamente la propria vocazione di figli e amici di Dio, chiamati alla comunione di amore con la Santissima Trinità, principio e fine di ogni storia e di tutta la storia (cf. presentazione del Card. Paul Poupard). Infatti, la storia è il luogo del dispiegamento dell'azione di Dio uno e trino, dell'Eterno nel tempo, in cui l'uomo da parte sua è continuamente chiamato dalla Parola all'esodo, cioè all'apertura trascendentale, alla continua tensione verso l'Assoluto (cf. Bruno Forte).

A. Musoni

Russica

Sergo Beria, *Beria, My Father. Inside Stalin's Kremlin*, Edited by Françoise Thom. English translation by Brian Pearce. Duckworth Publishers, London 2001, xvii + 397.

For many people today, Lavrentij Pavlovič Beria, the *Red Himmler*, long time chief of Soviet intelligence operations, is the archetypical mass murderer, Stalinist thug and toady. One might expect that his son does not share this opinion although he does euphemistically admit that his father, as a major figure in the Soviet apparatus, had to get his hands dirty. On the other hand, his claim that, had his father survived the purge which followed the death of Stalin, he would have led the Soviet Union into a sort of perestrojka *avant* perestrojka is worthy of consideration, based on the evidence which he provides.

This book, a translation from the original French, and one would suppose, from a Russian manuscript, reads well. In fact, *Le Figaro* hailed it as *the best contemporary source on Stalin's regime* when it was first released and it elicited much favourable comment from other knowledgeable sources. The editor, Françoise Thom, a noted sovietologist and professor at the Sorbonne, based most of the excellent notes which follow the central account, on interviews with the author, as well as on exhaustive research in declassified archives. The notes precede a listing of extensive bibliographical material, seven pages of biographical summaries and two indexes. A subject index, besides those geared to name and place would also have been useful.

Sergo Beria, Lavrentij's son, and the author of these memoirs was born in Georgia in 1924. He traced his genealogy on both paternal and maternal

sides, almost perversely for a Communist, from the princely aristocracy which once ruled Mingrelia (= Samegrelo), a Georgian dominion. His youth, spent in Tbilisi, was followed by time in Moscow, where he became an intimate of the highest echelons of Soviet government. His marriage to Marfa Peškova, Gorkij's grand-daughter stirred the ire of Stalin, who did not approve of an alliance with the family of an author he publicly courted but privately suspected of harbouring mixed feelings toward the regime. After Lavrentij Beria's arrest and execution which followed Stalin's own death, Sergo was arrested and imprisoned at Lefortovo. Released a year and a half later, he was banned from Moscow and forced to change his name. But Chruščev, whom he despised, permitted Sergo to work as an engineer on missiles at Sverdlovsk, while his wife and children remained at Moscow.

Written in a lively and attractive style, the book alternatively appals, intrigues and amuses the reader — the last in a somewhat twisted way, given its often repellent subject matter. It provides a wealth of trivia, not only concerning the protagonist and Stalin, but also sheds light on the uppermost echelons of the Soviet bureaucracy: Ežov, Jagoda, Ordžonikidze, Vorošilov, Kaganovič, Molotov, Malenkov, Bulganin, Kamenev, Chruščev (depicted as a filthy oaf — little gratitude for the fact that it was he who released Beria *filis* and his mother from forced residence in Sverdlovsk), Andropov (cruel and wicked but intelligent) among others. A rogues' gallery, indeed! Even if the vignettes help to humanise their subjects.

Since the author is Beria's son, one would expect him to defend his father. But the crux of his argument, that Beria, a covert Georgian nationalist who secretly nourished an all consuming *mépris* for the russophile Stalin, the Communist party and the whole oppressive Soviet system, only to later fall victim to the Russian chauvinist clique within the politburo, gives pause for thought. Of course, filial affection must be balanced against the fact that Beria, arrogant and abrasive, was responsible for the purges within the Georgian party and the slaughter of many of his compatriots even before he was called to a higher post in Moscow. It must also be weighed against the claims of Russians who pretend that it was the non-Russian element (particularly Caucasian and Jewish) which dominated the party in early years and with typical *Asiatic* fury and despotism humiliated the Slavs. But the charges placed against Beria at his trial seem to agree with many of the claims of his son. Beria was not simply accused of crimes against the people, or of being a British spy, but of being a bad Communist, of overturning Soviet foreign policy and wishing to reunify Germany under capitalist aegis, of setting aside the Communist party by depriving it of control over the economy, of trying to reform the empire by releasing the republics from Russian domination and of attempting to introduce an embryonic glasnost by ending the jamming of western radio broadcasts. Indeed, after the death of his master, Beria did begin a campaign of de-Stalinisation, deleting Stalin's name from the press and muting anti-western propaganda. In addition, he reduced police control of the economy and stated that he wished to endow the Minis-

try of Justice, and no longer the secret police, with responsibility for the gulag. He ordered the NKVD to re-examine the most notorious show trials and ended persecution of the Jews. According to Sergo Beria, his father was an avowed oppositionist even during Stalin's lifetime, combating the most fundamental tendencies of Bolshevism, its use of force and its predilection for slavery, its innate messianism and its tendency to provoke aggression against foreign countries. But in reality such a divisive attitude of a subordinate would have never been tolerated by the Generalissimo, at least according to the historian Dmitrij Volkogonov, who studied Stalin's private notebooks. The Soviet leader rarely took cognisance of his underlings' opinions. The atmosphere at politburo meetings never resembled the democratic gatherings which Sergo Berio describes and which he may have gleaned from his father's boasting of his ability to vent his thoughts before a fellow Georgian.

Filial portrayal of Lavrentij Beria's character must be compared with the reports of other contemporaries especially Nikita Chruščev's own memoir, although the latter is hardly free from prejudice. Clearly, the author idolised his father. It is also true that every memoir is subjective and reflects the personality and experiences of its creator. But still it is difficult to reconcile this icon of Beria, family man and sagacious pedagogue, with the sex crazed maniac who kidnapped women from the wind-swept avenues of Moscow and the sadistic inquisitor who, whip in hand, repressed and murdered thousands, which can easily be culled from other sources. Is the account of Beria *filis* at all credible? Yes, but only through the haze of lies, half-truths, hypocrisy and meretricious ideology which coloured the youth and formative years of a sheltered child. Similar incongruities emerge in the portraits which the children of Hitler's closest associates have left of their own fathers.

As a fellow Georgian, Sergo had direct contact with Stalin's own family. His son Vasja and his daughter Svetlana were Sergo's playmates. Svetlana was early enamoured of Sergo and saw him as a future husband. Sergo later expressed indignation at Svetlana's repudiation of Stalin and claimed that she had publicly spat upon her father. If this reviewer's memory serves him, Patriarch Pimen expressed similar thoughts in an interview with an Italian journalist. Stalin's eldest son, Jaša, hated the party to such a degree that he refused to join until his father forced him. Jaša died a German prisoner after Stalin refused a prisoner exchange which would have liberated his son but also a higher ranking German.

Sergo's own first meeting with Stalin took place in the rear of a freezing Moscow automobile. Sergo was but a tender youth, and had just been treated to a private Kremlin showing of the *Three Little Pigs* and other animated children's films. After Stalin set his eye on the fragile boy, shaking with cold, he opened his wolf's skin coat and allowed the child to snuggle into its welcome warmth. Back at his dacha, Stalin himself put little Sergo to bed, at the foot of which lay a polar bear's skin with gaping jaws. Yet, there is no hint of the perverse in all this and it would seem that Iosif Džugašvili,

who was awful enough, actually liked children in a normal, even fatherly way. Sergo admired Stalin for his intelligence but thought him essentially wicked, *Satan incarnate*, who took sadistic delight in committing crimes and trampling on people. Yet, this monster could also be a charmer. Sergo's own mother idolised Stalin and tolerated no harsh word about him. Even in 1990 and at the age of eighty-six, she was interviewed and emerged a convinced Stalinist: *Stalin wished to build a great and powerful state. And he succeeded...*, she told the world. The great dictator adored the opera and theatre, sang Georgian songs and thought of himself as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great *redivivi*. He once invited a troop of actors to his dacha, where amid the vodka fumes (Stalin himself rarely imbibed but enjoyed seeing others under the influence), they serenaded him with the tsarist anthem to his churlish amusement. Unlike the Beria family, who were Georgian to the core, disliking Russians and Russian culture (Beria compared Russians to locusts who feel at home everywhere and devour neighbouring countries and cultures), Stalin downplayed his Georgian heritage, gave his children Russian names and opted for a great-Russian identity, although he himself was thoroughly literate in his mother tongue and in his youth had composed good verses in Georgian. A bibliophile, Stalin was an avid reader, but never made marks or annotations in the books he read and abused those who returned his books with dog-eared pages or with, God forbid, underlining. But the Soviet leader had even higher intellectual ambitions. In contrast to other party chiefs, Stalin admired intellectuals and artists, although he rarely trusted them. On one occasion, he corrected in his own hand a Russian translation of Shota Rustaveli's Georgian epic *The Knight in the Tiger Skin*. The actual translator had been arrested and imprisoned but received improved treatment after the highly placed censor admired his work. Sergo thought that Stalin was the actual author of at least a part of the voluminous series of linguistic and economic expositions attributed to him.

Neither was Lavrentij Beria an illiterate. He especially admired three historical figures: Flavius Josephus, a Jew, George Saakadze, a Georgian, and more inaptly, Ivan Mazeppa, the Ukrainian hetman anathematised by Russian historiography. All three spent most of their lives in what they considered the thrall of a hostile power while watching the destruction of their native lands — the parallel with Beria, the Georgian, slaving for Russian occupiers is salient. While Beria did not write verses, he drew and admired classical music. Listening to a recording of organ selections, he deplored the fact that Georgian church choirs sang *a cappella* without the benefit of such stirring accompaniment. His wife, realising that the whim of such a man could instantly become law, did her part for Georgian culture by immediately changing the subject. Of course, this leads to the question of how Beria viewed religion as a whole, as well as religious confessions in particular, always through the spectrum of his son's selective recall. Certainly not a believer, Beria, at least in the privacy of the family circle, objected to forcing atheistic convictions on Christians. In contrast to Stalin's mother, Ekaterina

Džugašvili, who is revealed as a sceptic and a seedy panderer, Lavrentij Beria's mother is described as sincerely devout. After Sergo received a bit of atheistic indoctrination, he smashed his grandmother's icon but earned a stern reproof from his father, who defended his own mother *for having faith*. According to Sergo, Beria was against religious persecution which he felt counterproductive. Instead the churches should exist but be manipulated for political purposes. Sergo thought his father responsible for saving Georgia's religious monuments as well as for a more lenient religious policy pursued in his native republic. But this seems to contradict what we know about recent Georgian church history since Georgia was actually one of the regions hardest hit by raids of atheistic propaganda and an area where few churches survived the red terror. Sergo likewise credits his father with stimulating Stalin to relax religious persecution during World War II and with inspiring the dictator to re-establish the patriarchate of Moscow in 1945. Indeed, his most novel statements attest to Beria's apparently authentic admiration of the Roman Catholic Church. Beria was always open to restoring contacts with the Vatican and wished to use newly communist Poland as a base. One wonders how this would have been feasible while the virulently anti-Communist Pius XII reigned on the throne of Peter. For the same reason, Beria opposed the liquidation of the Uniat church in the western Ukraine as well as the repression of leaders of the Ukrainian separatist front (Beria often equated Ukrainian separatism with Georgian independence although the Georgians had had a kingdom while the Ukrainians lacked all experience in statehood) since he felt that their destruction would lead to a complete breakdown with Rome and make for a bad press. Sergo claimed that the Beria family often played host to Roman Catholic priests, Italians or Germans but most probably Poles, all of whom spoke good Russian! Moreover, the older Beria was fond of praising the Vatican curia to his son, since according to the wily Georgian there were *no more cultivated people than those one met in the Catholic hierarchy, and none cleverer in politics and more expert in collecting information, thanks to a centuries-old tradition...* Of all Roman Catholic religious orders, Beria particularly admired the Jesuits, albeit for the wrong reasons: *They're the ones that diplomats and spies should learn from. The Jesuits have a system for shaping and preparing people. They even open schools and colleges in the provinces and are good at attracting students to them. Every state should learn from them how to govern...* Lavrentij lent his son books about Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuit missionaries which Sergo devoured like adventure stories just like any good novice of the Society of Jesus. But Beria was not the first Communist to admire Saint Ignatius. Although Stalin, the former Orthodox seminarist, had nothing good to say about Jesuits, Lenin also admired Loyola and recommended the *Exercises* and *Constitutions* to those who wished to develop their *organisational* skills. Lavrentij Beria — a crypto Catholic? Most certainly not since his musings were most certainly political and far removed from the spiritual: *Religion is a colossal force, especially Catholicism in Europe. And the Orthodox Church has*

outlets in the Balkans and the Near East... — Christianity as a tool in the tentacles of a Soviet octopus. For similar reasons, Beria suggested supporting the Jews and Israel instead of the Arab countries in the Near East, since he glimpsed evident economic advantages in the former. At first, Stalin seemed to agree, but the Soviet leader grew ever more anti-Semitic, in what Sergo claimed was a concession to the Russians in the politburo who, as a rule, held such a prejudice. While Beria senior was, according to his son, no anti-Semite, he had a low opinion of Islam which he felt was tolerant but derivative. He did, however, favour improving relations with Turkey and Iran, a point to which the violently anti-Turkish Stalin would not acquiesce.

Finally, an error in the introductory notes which is unworthy of such fine material: on page xiv, Yosyf Slipyi (= Josyf Slipyj) appears as the *Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church* with whom Beria was supposedly negotiating in view of legalising the Uniat Church and improving relations with the Vatican. Although Slipyj did claim at one point that he had been offered the Patriarchate of Moscow by Soviet authorities, these claims were never substantiated and Slipyj certainly never served in that capacity.

C. Simon, S.J.

Mary Halász, *From America with Love. Memoirs of an American Immigrant in the Soviet Union*. Written together with Piroska É. Kiss and Katalin É. Kiss. With an introduction by István Deák. East European Monographs. No. DLXIV. Classics of Carpatho-Rusyn Scholarship published under the auspices of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Centre. Patricia A. Krafcik and Paul Robert Magocsi, editors, Volume 12. Colombia University Press, New York 2000, pp. xv + 183.

Mary Halász is a United States citizen who lived her entire adult life in a forgotten corner of what for a good part of the last century was the Soviet Union. Her story is remarkable in that she has articulated in disarmingly simple language that which many others experienced but were unable or unwilling to express. For this, she deserves the gratitude of the reader for making her experience a shared one. Equally meritorious are her Hungarian friends in Budapest, Piroska and Katalin É. Kiss, who cared enough about her story to encourage her to tell it and to record it. Finally, Doctor Magocsi and his associates should be thanked for including such a lively and vibrant account of life in the Carpathians in their distinguished series. It proves that not only scholarly monographs are worthy of perusal. True wisdom issues forth not only from the mouth of babes and sucklings, but also from the lips of faithful daughters, wives and mothers like the author of this book.

Mary was born at Leles (Leclesz) in 1921. At the time, the town was part of the new Czechoslovak republic, but prior to World War I and the great changes in the map of Europe, it was a part of the Hungarian Kingdom. She was brought to North America as an infant and acquired United States citi-

zenship, which she apparently still holds, in spite of an absence of over sixty years. A Hungarian Roman Catholic, she enjoyed an idyllic childhood in an industrial suburb of Trenton (Roebing) — much rosier than this reviewer's own youth spent not far away, but then again he did not end up in the Soviet Union and can make no comparisons. Mary's father was employed in a wiring factory and as part of the package assigned a house with *all the modern conveniences* of pre-World War II America including a Hoover. Like many immigrants of a time past, Mary downplayed her ethnicity and preferred speaking English, which she continued to consider her mother tongue, although she did not speak it for decades.

But her snug working class existence *im Lande der unbergrenzten Möglichkeiten* came to an end in 1937, when she left the United States for Užgorod (Ungvár) to marry Sándor Laszota, a Hungarian school teacher of Rusyn ancestry and a Lutheran who spoke several Slavic languages, whom she had met during a visit to the Carpathian region undertaken in early adolescence. Even in Hungarian times, Užgorod was something of a backwater located at the eastern end of the Kingdom, but it managed to retain some of its central European flair even into the period when it functioned as the centre of Czechoslovakia's province of Podkarpatská Rus' and into the Second World War. Living during her prolonged betrothal with her future sister-in-law, she found that their dwelling lacked plumbing and a toilet. Housekeeping was drudgery even with the help of servants. Water came from the well in the courtyard. At the same time, women of a certain social status could afford to have their dresses made by professional seamstresses, visit a haberdashery for finery and gorge themselves on delectable pastry. Mary's wedding was an exquisite affair with a traditional bridal dance at midnight, a veil twelve-meters long embroidered with tiny myrtles and an elaborate trousseau.

But the happy couple were soon separated after Sándor was drafted, first into the Czechoslovak and later into the Hungarian army. After the Vienna Award of 1938, Užgorod once more became Hungarian and Mary's family celebrated by being the first family to set out a Hungarian tricolour as a greeting to Admiral Miklós Horthy de Nagybánya, Regent of Hungary, who rode through the town astride his white charger at the head of his army. But terrible years followed. During the brief Nazi terror, some of Mary's Jewish friends were deported to extermination camps. Worse was yet to come.

After Užgorod was incorporated into the Soviet Ukraine at the end of World War II, borders were hermetically sealed. A devastating assault was aimed at all non-Slavic elements of the population — Hungarians, Germans, Jews and even educated Rusyns who wished to create an independent culture — in order to create a new élite unconditionally loyal to the Soviet Ukrainian state. Hungarian teachers, the mostly magyarised Greek Catholic priests, businessmen and artists were all systematically liquidated. Hungarians, as the previous masters of the region, were singled out for brutal treatment. Ethnic cleansing brought about by World War II and the consequent Soviet occupation sounded the death knell for the diversity of religion

(Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Orthodox, Protestants Jews) and nationality (Rusyns, Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Romanians, Czechs, Russians), indigenous to the Carpathian region. In 1949, Sándor was arrested, tried on trumped up charges and sent to a labour camp near Archangel'sk, where he was put to slave toil at logging and digging out roads in the taiga. Ironically, he was able to overcome adversity and arrive at the point where he could take actual pride in this, otherwise senseless, labour. Sentenced to the not uncommon yet draconian term of twenty-five years in the gulag, he served six in ghastly conditions before being amnestied.

At home in Užgorod, Mary attempted to support her children as the wife of a political prisoner. With Soviet rule, the standard of living plummeted, quality goods became difficult to obtain, culture was subjected to an enforced proletarianisation (widespread alcoholism!), and on the practical side, family members spent endless hours in daily queues waiting their turn to obtain life's necessities. Twice, Mary attempted an adventurous trip to Moscow in order to obtain an American passport and begin the hazardous process of emigration. All was in vain — in spite of the support of her family in the United States. Later, her husband was refused a US visa on the excuse that he was an *enemy alien*. For no apparent reason, the Soviet government loved to publicly humiliate its citizens. Travellers to the Soviet Union can recall how foreigners were permitted to board the plane before natives and claim the best seats. Mary and her family were no exception. When her mother was finally allowed to visit, the meeting place was L'vov — Užgorod was still off limits probably because it was too near the border — in the presence of a Soviet *guide* and with accommodations in separate wings of the same hotel. But at least with time, a certain economic and social stability took hold in the region, while morals continued to decay. When Mary's family moved house, the neighbours sawed off most of her pear tree, appropriating the fruit without bothering about the roots, before the owners had time to transplant it.

Much changed — and by no means all for the better — when Ukraine declared its independence after perestroika. Greeted with accolades by émigré communities in Canada and the United States (they did not have to live there!), it meant anarchy and the loss of Mary's personal savings when the ruble was replaced with worthless *kupony*, social infrastructures fell apart, law enforcement broke down, health care disintegrated and pensions decreased by two-thirds. Factories ceased to function or no longer paid their labourers, flats received no electricity one day a week and had to make do with irregular heating even in the freezing winter. Mary described the common arcas of her building as dirty and a shambles, open to pillage and thievery. Even new lighting fixtures could not be installed without their being almost immediately ripped out of their sockets and stolen. Hooliganism was widespread. Shops were once again full of food, as before World War II, but Užgorod's citizens had no money to buy it. Neither were Rusyns accorded

any hoped for autonomy or ethnic rights in the new Ukraine where their nationality was treated as simply an older form of the Ukrainian ethnonym.

Although she lived her life in one place after coming to Užgorod, Mary witnessed the rise and fall of at least four regimes, all of which were at loggerheads with their immediate predecessors. In spite of these contradictions, her account is free from the type of acrimonious recrimination which mars many a personal memoir particularly in the emigration. Her story is surprisingly accurate in historical detail and shows a prodigious memory and lack of fabrication — a fact noted by her friends in Hungary to whom she dictated it. She recalls not only the pain of Soviet times but also the little details of daily life which helped to make it liveable even under the most brutal of conditions. When she was arrested and interrogated after speaking with some American tourists in town, the police sent her home with oranges and lemons, tea and coffee. Soda water served by means of glass-rinsing equipment normally associated with visits to the dentist, the availability of bananas and other tropical fruit during one unusual year, the wide range of delicious Russian milk products, the unusual coffee and cocoa cubes which her children liked to eat without mixing them in water, making home-made paper wrappers for sweets for the Hungarian Christmas tree as well as knitted caps and shopping bags (*avoski*) and selling them at a good profit — all this is the stuff of every-day Soviet reality and faithfully transmitted by the memory of the author. Of course, this reviewer, knowing how much valuable time is spent in North American schools on sports and other useless extra-curricular trifles instead of on solid scholastic preparation, could not suppress a smile when he read how Mary complained that her children were overburdened by their homework in Soviet schools and had little time for a social life.

For a short time as a newly married woman, Mary lived with her husband in a Rusyn village (Turia Bystra) outside of Užgorod in the mountains, where she had the opportunity to observe the harsh realities of Rusyn life. It was there she taught her Rusyn maid Olenka to dress and wash herself properly as well as the use of stockings and linen. She remembered the peculiar Rusyn cradle, swinging from the ceiling on a rope (probably to insure that mothers did not accidentally crush or suffocate their infants in bed) as well as the meagre Rusyn diet. Since the Rusyns were usually very poor, their meals consisted of products which grew in the mountains — potatoes, maize, cabbage and apples. Their main meal was *mamaliga* (= maize porridge or *polenta*), but they also enjoyed *strapačký* (potato noodles with curds of sheep cheese), *steranky* (noodles cut into small pieces and boiled in milk) as well as potatoes baked in embers. Mary learned enough Rusyn to be able to converse with the villagers and correctly defined it as a separate idiom distinct from both Russian and Ukrainian, although all three were close enough to allow mutual comprehension.

Before the Soviet occupation, the family attended three services on Sunday: a Roman Catholic mass, a Greek Catholic liturgy and finally a Lutheran

service. But Mary and her family were no religious dissidents. During Soviet times they celebrated Christmas and Easter behind closed curtains and Mary stopped attending church with her children once she realised that this could hurt their progress at school. Mary is correct when she defines the Greek Catholic church as the guard and symbol of Rusyn national identity, hit the hardest by the Soviet regime. Its priests were among the first to be arrested and deported, many to slave labour in the icy mines of Vorkuta. Ukrainians in the Carpathians, on the other hand, were associated with Orthodoxy and the East. The Soviet instigated destruction of the Greek Catholic Church and subsequent integration of the local Slavic population into Orthodoxy was seen by many as an attempt to assimilate the Rusyns into the Ukrainian nationality. Mary's memoir mentions the Christian faith only sporadically but it is nonetheless deeply religious. The awful political and social upheavals with which she and her family were confronted in the Carpathians tried her faith, hope and charity to the breaking point but also made her aware of the kindness of strangers who gave her lodging when she had nowhere to go, sent her milk in the mornings when her children needed it most and forwarded to her the letters of her imprisoned husband thereby keeping a spark of hope alive in her heart. Had she remained in North America, she may have known security but have never grown spiritually. She ends her account by recalling her mother's prayer during a storm at sea: *God gave it; it will be as He wishes it*. Choosing the existential over the superficial while keeping one's faith in Providence — one is reminded of Kazantzakis of the *Last Temptation*, of Saint Ignatius and of the *Way of the Pilgrim*.

C. Simon, S.J.

David C. Lewis, *After Atheism. Religion and Ethnicity in Russia and Central Asia*, Caucasus World, Series. Editor: Nicholas Awde, St. Martin's Press, New York 2000, pp. 320.

During the summer of 1992, a dramatic series of healings took place in the Russian Orthodox church of Our Lady's Nativity at Ufa, the provincial capital of Bashkortan. Oil, dripping from the hands of the Saviour in his icon, restored the sight of a priest's wife. Again, a haemophiliac's bleeding ceased when he was likewise anointed. A priest, anointing a crowd with the same liquid, could not stifle his wonderment when the small quantity of oil yielded many times its original quantity, sufficing for thousands. Old Testament visions of Elijah and Elisha immediately come to mind. But how does one explain the case of Tolya, a Chukchi lad, healed of crippling paralysis through the prayers of Pentecostals at Anadyr, a town on the edge of Russia's northern Pacific coast. Still more noteworthy is the story of a young man dying of internal injuries after a fall endured just days before his wedding. In this case, the patient was carried to a Chukchi shaman who proceeded with a traditional cure: killing a dog and applying its entrails (pagan ceremonies

are rarely aesthetic and hardly ever respect animal rights!) to the man's body, wrapping him in a bearskin and giving him mushroom soup to drink. Sceptics take note — a speedy recovery followed. Should a healing of this type be attributed to the power of suggestion or the paranormal — Francis Xavier would probably have suggested demonic powers as the cause — but the others to miraculous or heavenly intercession? Which criteria should be applied since all three procedures proved beneficial to the sufferer?

Questions such as these are posed by the author of this unusual book, the result of years of research or rather footwork undertaken by the author in the most far-flung and forbidding places in the former Soviet Union and its immediate neighbours. Dr. David C. Lewis is a social anthropologist who had worked as a research associate at the Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit of the University of Cambridge. He has previously written on healing phenomena as well as a book on Japanese culture. This rather disjointed but worthwhile volume is the result of time spent among both the tundra and forest peoples of the Russian Federation as well as on visits to Central Asia and Mongolia. More precisely, the author spent time living among and interviewing people living in the following settlements: 1) the Ugro-Finnic inhabitants of the Khanty-Mansi region of north-western Siberia (distant relations of the Magyars and Finns), including villages with people also belonging to the Komi and Nenets ethnicities; 2) the inhabitants of the state farm of Lorino, located at the Bering Straits in the far North Pacific where the locals are almost entirely Chukchi, an indigenous Siberian ethnicity, although a few Eskimos and Europeans were also interviewed; 3) the Andryushkino settlement in the tundra sector of the Sakha (Yakut) Republic, an ethnically diverse outpost which includes Evens, Sakha (Yakuts) and Yukagirs (the Yakuts are Turkic, the most northern of their racial group while the others are indigenous Siberians). In addition, Dr. Lewis also visited the Yakutsk and Neryungri areas of southern Siberia where he met with other representatives of the Sakha and Evenk peoples. He is also well travelled in and around Udmurtia (the Udmurts are a Finnic people — Lenin's father was apparently of partial Udmurt descent) and appears to be fluent in the local language. In addition, he has also done research in Chuvashia and Outer Mongolia. Most of these areas are in a deplorable state and local living conditions shock even Russian visitors. Many were until recently completely off limits to foreigners. The Mansi village of Lombovzh, where the author enjoyed a prolonged stay, had electricity only two hours a day — and before 1989, no electricity at all. Four days before the author's visit, a two-month old child succumbed after drinking polluted water. During the summer, dysentery and typhoid raged, due to the contamination of a stream with human sewage and animal excrement (Ah! Holy Russia!). At Lorino, just across the Bering Strait from Alaska, a Russian was so desperate to escape the desolation that he hoped to flee to America during the winter, once the water had formed into a frozen sheet.

With most of those with whom he came into contact, the author spoke of religion and the spiritual realm, although knowledge of the mystical was not to be presumed from those who had been raised as non-believers. Paradoxically, tension eased once the author revealed that he himself was a religious person. Akhtyam, a Tatar living at Almatevsk, a town three hundred kilometres from Kazan', the provincial capital, recounted to the author how he sensed his mother's voice in his sleep, only to receive a telegram with news of her stroke. Irina, racked by fever, became convinced that an angel hovered over her bed, guarding her sleep. Similar experiences would not surprise if their tellers were not confirmed atheists and were themselves at a loss to explain them. Almost every informed traveller to the former Soviet Union can relate a similar anecdote told to him by a non-believer. Nevertheless, this type of experience may best be described as spiritual awareness rather than the product of authentic religiosity.

The headings of the volume's chapters hint at their content: *Peoples and Cultures, Dreams and Visions, Fear, Death, Who am I?* (Self-Identity), *Finding One's Roots* (Ethnicity), *Orthodox Kaleidoscope, Free Market Religion, Human Rights, Human Rights, Compassion, Miracles* and *Facing the Future*. The book includes three well defined maps, footnotes and bibliographical references. Of course, a problem with this sort of travelogue is that it sits astride both the scholarly and popular genres.

One of the author's most intriguing sketches describes an actual neo-pagan liturgy as celebrated today among the Mari, a Finnic people of central Russia. Evidently, such excesses are frequent in formerly Communist lands even among the Slavs — a group of Ukrainians even publicise on the internet their newly risen cult of the pagan Dazhbog, a sun deity. But the rise of paganism in larger proportions is really confined to the non-Slavic peoples, where it is linked with the recovery of suppressed identity. During the ceremony he attended, the author met with a *kart* (= pagan priest), vested in embroidered coat and mitre, who placed him under a preventive curse lest he disparage the ritual in print. He witnessed the bringing of offerings and took part in a sacred meal, consisting of meat and pancakes. The ceremony took place in the open air, in a graveyard where a nearby cross on a grave-marker had been veiled in black, so as to avoid offending the Christian God and to prevent Him from interfering with other pagan gods and spirits who were summoned. On still another occasion, the author is led by his Udmurt guides into a sacred grove, the location of which passes as a highly guarded secret, where he is privileged to observe the sacrifice of a colt. Yet even in this pagan heartland, the old religion seems in decline. A Mansi man tells the author of a vision he had of a god who came to him in the form of fire. But such an epiphany could not be compared to those of old when the gods would reveal themselves in the form of a horseman. According to the Mansi informant, this decline signalled the end of the millenium and the age as well as the decadence of the present epoch.

Many survivals of animism are linked with the funeral and the world of the dead. It is natural that an element of trepidation is also present when recalling them. Perhaps this fear was also instilled in the Soviet subconscious by atheistic propaganda which repeatedly emphasised an allusion between religion and the darkness of the grave. On one of expedition, the author visits a traditional Mansi graveyard where the dead were once traditionally *buried* in wooden coffins above ground. Today, through Christian influence, they are interred within the ground but the coffins are still placed on top replete with cups and a stopper — tools which are used by relatives to push food under the grave covers, thus symbolically feeding the dead. We also learn about the burial customs of the Nenets, northern neighbours of the Khanti-Mansi in western Siberia. Nenets graves are usually not decorated with crosses since their occupants were only very superficially christianised. A fence surrounds their graves within which are placed a sledge and other possessions of the deceased. But first everything is broken since these tools are meant to accompany their owners to the next world. A Khant man reveals to the author what may be understood as an authentic pre-Christian religious experience. When he dreams of the dead it means that they wish to communicate with him. He retires to a sacred place to which he carries one of their favourite possessions together with food and drink. After pouring a libation upon the earth, he ties a white cloth to a tree branch. He believes the cloth will serve as a conduit, allowing the dead access to this world and enabling them to learn about his life. All this after centuries of Orthodox Christianity and decades of scientific atheism! One of the most poignant accounts is related by a Mongolian woman, raised in atheism mingled with a superficial Tibetan Buddhism: *After my sister died we put a khadag (sacred scarf), food and candles in front of her picture... We pay the lamas to read the sutras for my sister. Sometimes (such as at New Year) my mother lights a candle in front of my sister's photograph: I don't know the meaning of the candle but I think it is because the way my sister has gone is very dark and she needs a candle to light her way... (111).*

Traditional Orthodox Christianity is explored in the city of Ekaterinburg (the place of the last tsar's martyrdom) where recent headlines decried the corruption of the local bishop and his successor. But in the same city, the author met with an architect who plans to construct a memorial church over the blood of the sainted monarch and claims to have been given the secret of constructing the cupola for the proposed structure in a vision. He was prevented from carrying out his plan by bureaucracy and greed. On a different level, a group of committed Orthodox Christians organises charitable visits to a hostel for street children, which are legion in the Urals. A devout Orthodox priest of the same diocese has done his best to bring the gospel to the despised convicts of the state prison, an institution which otherwise served as a school for transforming petty thieves into hardened criminals.

The chapter entitles *Compassion* discusses charity work undertaken by Christian groups in Armenia. The organisation *Gnutiun* was founded by the

religious dissident Khachik Stamboltsyan. But the group is periodically persecuted both by the left (former Communists) and the religious right (Armenian Orthodox) who view it as a Protestant new religion although the majority of its members are devout faithful of the Armenian Apostolic Church. An older brotherhood which calls itself *Yeghpaizakstutium* claims foundation by the fifth century Armenian priest Mesrop Mashtots, a revered figure in the history of the country who is credited with inventing the Armenian alphabet. Although closely allied to the Gregorian Church, it organises meetings held in public halls where prayer is held kneeling but the sermon is preached in modern Armenian with the congregation seated in chairs. The author also mentions the problem of the integration of the Nagorno-Karabakh region into Armenia. Ultra-nationalists urge complete incorporation while many natives stress the fact that the region has already developed a separate identity — many inhabitants use Russian rather than Armenian as their first language.

Does this book in fact reveal the link between religion and ethnicity? Perhaps not, if one is searching for an abstract solution. But it does offer a glimpse into contemporary religious Russia and provides the reader with a myriad of extraordinary examples of religiosity, thereby making for highly enjoyable and informative reading.

C. Simon, S.J.

Россия и Ватикан в конце XIX – первой трети XX века. Материалы коллоквиума состоявшегося в Москве 23-24 июня, 1998 года. Под редакцией Е. С. Токаревой и А. В. Юдина, Санкт-Петербург 2003, с. 322.

Santa Sede e Russia da Leone XIII a Pio XI. Atti del Simposium, organizzato dal Pontificio Comitato di Scienza Storiche e dall'Istituto di Storia Universale dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Mosca, 23-25 giugno del 1998, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2003, pp. 316.

The present work goes back to a Symposium organized by the Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences and the Institute of Universal History of the Academy of Sciences of Moscow. The Symposium was held in Moscow on 23-24 June 1998. The order of the articles differs somewhat in the Italian and the Russian version; the former also has indexes compiled by Sever J. Voicu (pp. 293-316), whereas, in the Russian version, the translators are listed at the end of each article. Page numbers in this review refer to the Russian edition.

In his "Archival documentation and historical method for the contemporaneous and comparative study of the relations between the Holy See and the Grand-duchy of Moscow from 1439 to 1605" (pp. 9-24), Vittorio Peri traces variables and constants between then and now in this interrelationship and explains the shift from a deductive approach to bolster one's positions in 19th century historiography to a more inductive method in the 20th

(p. 18). Taking his cue from the opening of the secret archives in 1880, G. M. Croce's "Archival Sources at the Vatican on the relations between Russia and the Holy See (1878-1922)" (pp. 25-38) surveys the institutions, the archives and the themes involved; for example, "Rubric 47" in the Secretary of State is particularly rich with information on Vladimir Zabughin, Aurelio Palmieri, Max von Saxon and so forth (p. 35). O. V. Serova, "A look from St-Petersburg at relations with the Holy See" (pp. 39-57) shows that the chequered relations that St Petersburg's good will brought good results (pp. 56-57). Z. P. Jakhimovich's "Russia and the Vatican: problems in diplomatic relations between the XIXth and the XXth century" (pp. 58-79) deals with the fact that the development of the relations was anything but smooth, due, for instance, to the recognition of the Italian State by Russia in 1862 and the Polish uprising in 1863 (p. 58), and complicated furthermore through the various divisions of Poland (p. 61). V. P. Ljubin discusses "'Russian ambassadors in Rome and the relations between the Vatican and Italy between the XIXth and the XXth century" (pp. 80-94), among whom Murav'ëv, who had to live with a hostile press in preparing Nicholas II's visit (pp. 90-94). Claiming that much pertinent material in the Vatican archives have not been used (p. 97), Victor P. Gajduk, in his "Russia and the Vatican between the XIXth and the XXth centuries: dialogue according to unedited archival documentation" (pp. 95-114), thinks that Leo XIII's merit lay in recuperating Eastern values for Catholicism (p. 100). Writing on "Relations between Russia and the Vatican and the Catholic Armenians of the Caucasus" (pp. 115-147) Rita Tolomeo treats of the complex relations, including the offer made by St Petersburg to the Holy See (8.4.1902), whereas Mechitarists, on their part, present a petition to the Russian Government to open a church in Tiflis (pp. 138-139). But Vatican hopes were dashed when the young Armenian state was invaded by Russia, and, on 29 November 1920, proclaimed to be the Soviet Socialist State of Armenia (pp. 147). Sergej G. Jakovenko's "Paul Pierling (1840-1922) and Evghenij Šmurlo (1854-1934) and their research on the story of the relations between Russia and the Holy See (XV-XIX centuries)" (pp. 148-157) is dedicated to two noted historians. Pierling wrote a comprehensive history of those relations, Šmurlo wanted to put on record all the pertinent documents (pp. 150).

J. E. Karlov, "Soviet power and the Vatican (1917-1924)" (pp. 158-184), speaks of archbishop E. Ropp at the head of the Russian Catholic Church, his vicar and successor, J. Ceplak, and his vicar, K. Budkiewicz, later executed by the Soviets (pp. 159), as well of the Vatican aid mission to the Soviet Union led by E. Walsh (pp. 179-183), which ended in failure; the second attempt to normalize relations, under Krushev, ended likewise in failure, whereas the third, started with the meeting between M. Gorbachov and A. Casaroli in June of 1988, culminated in Gorbachov's visit to the pope in 1989 (pp. 184).

Two studies are dedicated to the theme of the Holy See's aid to Russia when famine broke out in 1921: G. Petracchi's "The Pontifical Aid Mission to

Russia (1921-1923)" (pp. 185-259) and E. S. Tokareva, "Relations between URSS and Vatican: from negotiations to the breakdown of the negotiations (1922-1929)" (pp. 260-320). Giorgio Petracchi (p. 208) recounts of the background of such a mission, for example, in the encounter between Archbishop Signori and Čičerin on board of the "Dante Alighieri" in the port of Genua on 22 April 1922, an idyll which triggered off French President's R. Poincaré's suspicions (pp. 208-209) and provoked Pacelli's criticism of the diplomatic plans of the Holy See; note the appendices (pp. 246-249). E. S. Tokareva studies in detail the dramatic progress of the Vatican's "crusade of mercy" (pp. 214). On 13 May 1922 Čičerin answered the Holy See assuring it of "legal" respect of religious freedoms. This almost convinced Mgr Pizzarro and sent a letter in favour of Tichon, who was under house arrest as of the 10th of May. W. Ledóchowski SJ did not in the least believe the Soviets; as his *Instructio* (p. 211ff) goes to show. In spite of his double "empowering" — from the Holy See and the USA — Edmund Walsh, SJ (1885-1952), met all sorts of difficulties and was ultimately recalled. Enter Michel d'Herbigny (p. 315), whose study, "L'aide pontificale aux enfants affamés de Russie" (*Orientalia Christiana* IV-I, 1925, 14) is nowhere mentioned.

The key-note to such a publication is struck by A. O. Chirubian and Mons. V. Saxer in their respective Presentations at the beginning. They throw light on the spirit that animates such encounters: to bring to light and to diffuse pertinent information on the variegated history of the relation between Russia and the Vatican, and the works published here contribute to that goal. Nothing like a clear presentation of the facts can so effectively dissipate long-standing grudges, they could have added.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

James P. Scanlan, *Dostoevsky The Thinker*, Ithaca, New York and London, Cornell University Press 2002, pp. 251.

The aim of this study by one of America's most eminent specialists in Russian philosophy is to elucidate and analyze the philosophical doctrine of Fyodor Dostoevsky by examining the author's thought not from a literary, but precisely from a philosophical point of view. In this fashion, it seriously takes to heart the judgement of Nicolas Berdyaev that Dostoevsky was 'a dialectician of genius, one of Russia's greatest metaphysicians' (p. 2). Most importantly, the present work breaks new ground, demonstrating that far from being the 'irrationalist' he is typically portrayed to be, Dostoevsky had a consistent, lifelong interest in select philosophical topics, even if largely in vehement reaction to the teachings of the 'Nihilist' Westernists Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, and Pisarev. Scanlan masterfully lays out his case arguing, in homage to Mikhail Bakhtin, that Dostoevsky's philosophizing is 'dialogical in style' and 'monological in substance' (p. 4). By this he means that Dostoevsky primarily addresses his topics through literary characters

who argue different points of view on certain key issues central to the understanding of man. By weighing their opinions against those Dostoevsky puts forth in his non-literary essays and letters, Scanlan claims one can, indeed, find a consistent, core philosophical outlook expressed throughout his literary corpus.

An overview of these topics include the questions of immortality and existence of God (ch. 1), the rejection of the 'Rational Egoism' of materialist 'Nihilists' (ch. 2) as contrasted with the ethics of altruism and the law of love (ch. 3), the true value of art and artistry in opposition to all utilitarian aesthetics (ch. 4), the possibilities of a Christian utopia above and beyond all socialist utopias that would deny human freedom and only be achievable by force and that would reduce genuine society into a human anthill (ch. 5), and finally the 'Russian Idea' that begins on the high note of 'universal pan-human unification' only to be degraded in Dostoevsky's understanding to a regrettable chauvinistic messianic nationalism (ch. 6). Fortunately, however regrettable this aspect of his thought is, it is clear from the exposition that it does not constitute the living core of his philosophical worldview. More importantly, in all these areas the author offers truly searching analyses.

Worthily of particular note, among other matters, is his novel interpretation of *Notes from the Underground* in which the Underground Man is by no means an irrationalist, but a 'genuine', even if a repugnant, rationalist or egoist of personal will rather than of personal interests in stark contrast to all utilitarian, rationalist egoists of the 'Nihilist' kind who founder on a deterministic theory of human motivation that would strip individuals of free choice and relieve them of moral responsibility.

In the aesthetic realm, Scanlan also is to be commended for his probing of the logic of Dostoevsky's famous dictum: 'Beauty will save the world'. Finding the utilitarian aesthetical position of the likes of Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov repugnant, Dostoevsky goes on to underscore the genuine aesthetic needs of man that cannot but highlight art's primary purpose in portraying beauty and not social reconstruction as in any reductionist, socialist realism. Still, in Dostoevsky's understanding, art also serves other values, truth being the chief of these. In this sense, artists bear responsibilities as teachers and seers, and their artistry can, indeed, promote the common good, even if the real bond between moral and aesthetic values does not render them identical.

No study of Dostoevsky, however, can ever be exhaustive. This is the case with the present work. For the most part, only the major novels of Dostoevsky are examined in detail supplemented by any ample citing of his non-literary essays, diaries, and letters. A listing of précis of other literary pieces treating the basic areas treated in this book is not given. In this regard, one immediately thinks of his 'Gogolesque' parody-short story 'The Crocodile', which can be variously interpreted as a critique of Chernyshevsky in particular, of Western Europe in general.

The author commendably sheds lights on Dostoevsky's preferred philosophical argumentation, the *reductio ad absurdum*. His exposition is so compelling that it merits translation into Russian for the native public.

R. Slesinski

Митрополит Минский и Слуцкий Филарет, *Путь Жизнеутверждающей любви*, Дух і літера, Киев 2004, с. 230.

This collection of articles and addresses by one of Russian Orthodoxy's most authoritative voices, Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Slutsk, the Patriarchal Exarch of Belarus, provides an advantageous look at Orthodoxy as this Church grapples with the ecclesiastical and social issues facing it now that it has entered into the twenty-first century. Entitled *The Way of Life-Affirming Love*, the book is divided into four parts, the first offering a theoretical cast for contemporary Orthodox theology, the following three being more practical in scope, covering such general concerns as pedagogy, ecclesial 'good neighborliness', and politics.

In his reflections on the nature of theology, the metropolitan highlights its dialogical character as it is rooted in God's self-revelation to man that elicits a 'dynamic synthesis of faith and reason' (p. 22) on the part of man. Stressing that theology is not 'Christian philosophy', he observes it is rather an encounter with the Word that God himself addresses to man, which in turn serves as the impulse for the search for truth. At the same time that it is affirmative of truth, it is equally apophatic or a negation of the word, essentially incapable of fully grasping the greatness of God. As an activity, the metropolitan adds that theology is a 'vocation' (p. 36) that is true to itself only as it is, at once, contemporary and yet faithfully to the supra-temporal spiritual experience of the Church.

As to specific burning issues of the day, three are especially highlighted (pp. 56-63), namely, ecclesiology, anthropology, and ethics. As to individual Orthodox thinkers, Metropolitan Philaret singles out the late Vladimir Lossky for emulation (pp. 83-96), while at the same time drawing attention (pp. 97-111) to the apostolic endeavors of Saint Methodius and Cyril, the Apostles to the Slavs, as equally relevant voices for redeeming contemporary secular society.

In this reflection on the call of Christian pedagogy today, Metropolitan Philaret repeatedly states that the model for this is to be found nowhere better than with the Lord himself (see, e. g., pp. 114, 117, 120, 124). The Lord's method as outlined in an address bearing the book's title is one of 'patient and wise love' (p. 17). At the center of this endeavor is the very personality of the teacher, whose joy in the Lord must be evident in all pedagogical activity as well as an evident yearning for divine truth in the service of love. No better sustenance for genuine pedagogy can there be, the metropolitan stresses,

than that provided by the family, which is the Church in miniature (see his reflections, pp. 149-165).

In this section on ecclesial 'good neighborliness', he underscores the unquestioned need for dialogue between religious confessions, if only as a 'way to self-knowledge' (p. 168). This dialogue is not only important; it is also inevitable. In the context of a united Europe, one no longer sees self-standing, autonomous territories. Underplaying the whole debate about 'canonical territories', the metropolitan prefers (p. 177) to place the accent on the need for brotherly attitudes in dealing with ecclesiastical activities and realities.

In a lengthy concluding piece on the spiritual foundations of politics (pp. 195-222), Metropolitan Philaret states that the pain of the world must become a personal matter for Christians with the governing principle at all times being the 'Golden Rule' (Mt 7:12). He then offers his own thoughts on the 'symphony of Church and state' in the context of the crises facing present-day Europe.

This book is a must read for anyone trying to come to grips with the state of the Church and ecclesial reality in Eastern Europe today, especially as it is seen through the lens of a leading Orthodox hierarchy.

R. Slesinski

Sergius Bulgakov, *The Friend of the Bridegroom: On the Orthodox Veneration of the Forerunner*, trans. by Boris Jakim, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K., Williams B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003, pp. 190.

First published in 1927 as the second volume in a trilogy of works dedicated to the elucidation of the manifestation of the Wisdom of God in creation, the first being *Kupina neopalimaia* (The Burning Bush) (1927), the third *Lestvitsa Iakovlia* (Jacob's Ladder) (1929), this study, like the others, offers a dogmatic interpretation of veneration in Orthodoxy taking as its particular point of departure the *Deisis* (entreaty) icon, featuring the Mother of God and John the Forerunner at the side of Christ surrounded by angels. In this context, the need for a distinct monograph on the Forerunner becomes clear. Taking his cue from Scripture ("among those born of women there has risen no one greater than John the Baptist" [Mt 11, 11]), Bulgakov offers a profound theological meditation that is not only faithful to the Scriptures, but, more radically, brings out their full ontological ramifications.

Noting in his introduction that John the Forerunner is truly the apotheosis of humility (p. 3), Bulgakov poignantly focuses on how the "doing," as it were, of his ministry as a preacher of repentance, a Baptist, a prophet, and a martyr is fully *one* with his *being*, that not only his mission, but also *his person* was necessary for the Savior to have come into this world. For him, John the Forerunner's indissoluble *link* to Christ is not less evident than that of the Mother of God. Indeed, he holds that the roles of the two are correlative. If the Mother of God was necessary for Christ's nativity, John the Baptist was necessary for His spiritual birth and reception of the Holy Spirit (see pp. 4-5).

Bulgakov is at his best in his ontological considerations. The talent is especially seen in his understanding of the precise import of the Forerunner being called the "friend of the Bridegroom" (see, e.g., pp. 11-13, 15). In truth, for Jesus to be fully Man, he is necessarily incomplete without an orientation to "the other." Because John was by divine design "the Forerunner," Bulgakov highlights the fact that "*the Lord was met in the world*" (p. 11). In this sense, John stands for all humanity and, more specifically, the whole Old Testament Church. In his person, the very meeting or encounter of the God-man with humanity was truly effected.

He also dwells on the reasons why in Church tradition it is held that not only in Mary, but also in John there was no stain of personal sinfulness (see pp. 14, 18-24, 133-134, 141, 177-18). In this regard, he rightfully draws attention to the dogmatic significance of the liturgical celebration of both his (23 September) and Mary's (9 December) conceptions as well as births in contrast to all other saints whose feast days coincide with the dates of their respective earthly dates, the moment of their realized victory over sin. Strangely, however, the present translation repeats the error in the original text that gives 24 September as the date of the Forerunner's conception and erroneously places the nativity of the Virgin on 9 September. The Church, as Bulgakov rightly stresses, venerates Mary and John as *saints* from the moment of their conceptions. It is precisely on this point that Catholic theologians could initiate a dialogue with the Orthodox on the Immaculate Conception. Even if Bulgakov rejects this dogma, could we not opine that Orthodox liturgical practice itself implies a personal superiority of Mary over John by the fact (not noted by Bulgakov) that she needed one *less* day in gestation than what is typically the case with the rest of humanity, whereas John needed one more day?

Bulgakov's searching analyses truly do point to the need for a unified Mariology and Johannology (p. 143). Catholic theologians, for their part, would do well to take his sagacious words to heart especially in developing Josephology. No Catholic theologian should pursue this more recent theological specialty without taking into account Bulgakov's Johannology. There is no better starting place for this dialogue to begin than his excursus on the Forerunner and the Betrothed (pp. 177-188). Curiously, whereas Bulgakov proffers a profound ontological understanding of the person and mission of the Forerunner, he underplays an analogous understanding of the person and role of Joseph, even if he acknowledges (p. 179) St Jerome's indications in this regard.

The translation and publication of this little known and studied, but moving text in English is truly a welcome event. It brings out the profound dimensions of Orthodox veneration in an incomparable way. Catholics can only be better off spiritually and ecumenically by carefully studying this momentous work in "praying theology."

John Breck, *The Sacred Gift of Life: Orthodox Christianity and Bioethics*, Crestwood, New York, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000, pp. 288.

This collection of essays offers a major Orthodox contribution for coming to terms with the principal bioethical challenges of today. Implicitly lamenting (p. 11) the position of some in Orthodoxy who would render "Christian ethics" a mere "Western category," the author tries to pave the way for the re-starting of Orthodox ethical reflection to enable it to move beyond the jaded framework of "traditional ascetical theology," rightfully understanding that there is a critical need for an Orthodox voice in the current debates over the implications of the advances in biomedical technology. Despite the views of many medical researchers, these "advances" are hardly of unambiguous merit. Indeed, what they portend for our understanding of the nature of the human person, the meaning of parenting, and the very process and vocation of human life is most troubling. Never more than in our own time is there the danger of reducing the human person to a mere object of technology. In classic, ethical terms, what *can* be done does not mean it *should* be done.

In this work, the author tries, on the one hand, to articulate the anthropological presuppositions of the Orthodox worldview that can, on the other, serve as a foundation for a systematic ethical reflection on their implications. After attending to this critical, initial task in his introduction and first chapter, he then proceeds to outline the basic issues before us for properly appraising the meaning and value of human sexuality and marriage (ch. 2), of procreation and the origins of human life (ch. 3), of the new reproductive technologies (ch. 4), and of human life in face of its approaching end (ch. 5) before closing with a brief recapitulation on the sacredness of human life (ch. 6).

Needless to say, this work is of profound Christian inspiration. Its many fine points of moral intuition need not be repeated here. One is only encouraged to read the text itself.

From a Catholic point of view, there are, however, some points of criticism to be offered. First, when the author refers to Catholic natural law theory (pp. 21, 180, 249), he seems to fashion it as somehow distinct from an Orthodox love-ethic and not in the precise personalist perspective that Catholic teaching presupposes. Secondly, even though he goes to great lengths to elucidate the personalist and covenantal meaning of procreation and underscores, along with Catholics, the fact that "the unitive value of marriage, therefore, is inextricably linked to its procreative potential" (p. 89), he seems to fail to grasp the full implications of this inseparability. In a truly unitary, non-dualist understanding of the *personalist* meaning of conjugal intercourse, why there should be an abhorrence of a number of sexual practices and assisted reproductive technologies becomes more clear. On the one hand, there is the matter of contraception (see the discussion, pp. 89-91); on the other, there is the approval of third-party procedures as entailed in homologous artificial insemination and in vitro fertilization (see his ex-

tended comments, pp. 175-190, 200). Differences on these and a few other matters notwithstanding, the author's openness to further dialogue over them is undeniable.

R. Slesinski

Sectaria russica

Laura Engelstein, *Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom. A Russian Folktale*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca – London 1999, pp. xviii + 283.

Readers with weak stomachs, be forewarned. This is not a book for them, but more about that, later. It is, however, a worthy contribution to an infrequently ploughed field — the study of the *skopcy*, a Russian self-castrating sect which emerged in the eighteenth century and proliferated throughout the nineteenth and first quarter of the last until it either succumbed or went completely underground. Students of indigenous Russian sectarianism must still depend on nineteenth century anti-sectarian manuals which usually make a mockery of that which they were trying to investigate. Now we have an author who takes the subject seriously and depends on contemporary archival reports, correspondence and in many cases the actual testimonies of the sectarians. She takes into account the observations of outsiders, reports of official commissions and local bureaucrats, folklorists' field-notes, evaluations submitted both by political radicals as well as Orthodox clergy, records of police searches and interrogations kept in the files of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, as well as, most significantly, descriptions of their own religion by the *skopcy*. This is one of the most penetrating studies written today on one of the most extreme avatars of Russian religiosity. A word of caution: the narrative is somewhat uneven in that it not only tries to transmit basic information about the *skopcy* or self-castrators, but also attempts a sociological and literary analysis of *skopcy* material. This causes the borders dividing history, religion, folklore, sociology and literature to jell and haze. But perhaps this is the author's intention. While the first chapters are an informative and objective analysis of the movement as revealed in first hand sources, the latter section tends to become bogged in the intricacies of the correspondence between *skopcy* leaders and Vladimir Dmitrievič Bonč-Brujevič (1873-1955). The latter was Lenin's close collaborator and an atheist intellectual, the administrator of Peoples' Commissars, head of the State Museum of Literature and director of the Museum of Religion and Atheism housed in Leningrad's *Kazanskij Sobor*. It was in these archives, still conserved under the cupola of the cathedral where some of the most valuable archival material was discovered. The author, professor of history at Princeton University, worked from a wide variety of sources quite difficult to find. She has gathered material from several leading Russian archi-

val collections, including the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the aforementioned State Museum of the History of Religion and the Russian State Historical Archive, all in Saint Petersburg, as well as from the Manuscript Division of the Russian State Museum in Moscow.

Who are, or rather, who were (they seem to be extinct, but one never knows) the skopcy or Russian self-castrators? A break-away group of the *Christovščina* (Christ-People) or *Chlystovščina* or *Chlysty* (= flagellators) — Russian sectarians emerging out of the murky semi-literate milieu of the folk-tale and rhyming popular verse loved to play with words and create ever more intricate puns — another ecstatic autochthonous sect which seemed to develop as a reaction of the Age of Enlightenment, the skopcy distinguished themselves by both male and female castration as well as by their absolute rejection of marriage and family life. The name *skopcy* (singular: *skopec* = castrator) seems to have been passed on to them by their adversaries, but they did not regard it as offensive and applied it willingly to themselves. It would appear the movement began in the disorder which accompanied the plague riots and lynching of Orthodox Archbishop Amvrosij at St. Barbara's Gates in Moscow. Around the same time, Michail Petrov, a peasant of Orel province in central Russia, was found to have castrated himself to avoid marital relations with his wife. But it soon became apparent that Petrov and others professed a *special faith* or *the best way to salvation*, a mystical epiphany which quickly spread among the local peasantry. To cite the colourful expression of the author: *the skopcy sprouted like wild flowers in grass already tinged with many coloured growth* (13). In a peasant milieu, the actual process of castration was probably viewed with less horror than it would be today since gelding of animals was common, pain levels were much higher, the sight of blood was common and there was little appreciation of the dangers of infection. It was not castration itself which seemed so awful, but rather its implications — repudiating nature and the natural order of life, abandoning marital obligations, the duty to procreate and the life of the extended family, so essential for the Russian peasant. But it was Kondratij Selivanov († 1832?), who was credited as the actual founder of the movement by the skopcy themselves. Although much of his biography is deliberately vague (his name appears in many variations as Trifonov, Trofinov, Nikiforov, Martyn, Andrej), probably to avoid arrest, he lived as a vagabond serf from the village of Stolbišče (Stolbov) in the Sevsk district of Orel province. Flogged, he was sent into Siberia. The account of his sufferings or *Pasion* (= *Strada*), is a corner-stone of skopcy faith. During his exile, he claimed to have met Pugačev and conversed with wolves and other wild beasts. He emerged two decades later in Saint Petersburg, pandered to by wealthy benefactors and courted by high society which at the time was enamoured of the esoteric. In 1820, a suspicious Alexander I confined him to a monastery where he was treated with respect until his death. His legend tells of interviews with Paul I, whom he advised to receive castration, and Alexander I, to

whom he revealed the future defeat of Austerlitz (a fact omitted by our author). Portraits of Selivanov, venerated by his adepts, show him in clover, enjoying an un-hoped for prosperity with fruit at his fingertips, a white cloth on his knees (the symbol of castration) and a beard, which probably indicates that he received the distinctive mark in adulthood. Calling himself the helmsman (= *kormščik*), surrounded by boats (= *korabli*) of disciples, he was venerated as the re-incarnation of Christ — a point of doctrine which the skopcy probably borrowed from the *chlysty* who honoured many re-embodied Christs. According to his disciples, Selivanov did not die but eclipsed into a sort of occultation, like the Mahdi of the Shiites, from which he would one day re-emerge to lead his followers to glory. The figure of Selivanov was eventually merged with that of the murdered Emperor Peter III, the unloved husband of Catherine II, and his adepts spoke of Empress Elisabeth as the Holy Mother and Napoleon (!) as the bastard son of Catherine the Great and likewise a castrate. But these political speculations brought the sectarians into conflict with the authorities and they were to pay dearly for their attachment to imperial pretenders.

What the skopcy actually believed is difficult to tell but castration as the great sign, the defining mark and the holy seal born by the elect of the Apocalypse was a central teaching in its double form as the smaller seal (*malaja pečat'*) and the larger or imperial seal (*car'skaja pečat'*), for men and for women, the particulars of which are best left to the author's text, where they are described and illustrated in detail. There were also spiritual skopcy who apparently lived a life of chastity without undergoing surgery but they were viewed as less worthy by the sealed. In 1872, a certain Kuz'min Lisin, a skopec of the Romanian colony of Galați, ascended a nearby hillock which he renamed Mount Zion, called himself Kondratij Selivanov in his second appearance, named his companions John the Divine and Basil the Great, and called into being the neo-skopcy or *Society of the Holy Elect*. Once again many skopcy took the holy seal, *blood flowed, the soul rejoiced and the body was purified* (169). Skopcy thought of themselves as lambs, castration as a form of bloody baptism (as another author points out, Christ's baptism and not his sacrificial death was central to Russian folk belief), a new circumcision and a crucifixion of the flesh. It turned mortals into angels or into the living dead since they were, in the words of the apostle, dead to sin and to the world but not yet joined to Christ in heaven. True sectarians, they were born to dissimulation. They lived in separate communities which functioned as mutual aid societies, brothers and sisters in the faith living together, all vowed to chastity. Since progeny was not an option, the survival of the faith depended on attracting new disciples. But their only sign in public was the white shirt or handkerchief placed upon their laps for formal portraits — it was the sign of perfection and of purity, the colour of the Lamb of God. Completing the castration of an initiate, the prophet-castrator called out the paschal cry *Christ is risen!* appropriated from the Orthodox liturgy. Although

their faith was heretical, they were not loath to import the externals of Orthodox worship into their homes. Many kept icons or at least sacred lithographs, although they did not venerate them in the manner of the Orthodox. They liked Michael and George, perched on white horses, John the Baptist with the Lamb of God and Barbara, dispossessed victim of her own father, virgin and martyr. In addition, they kept illustrations of their own. The author includes a reproduction of a skopce icon called *Lambs of God* with sheep floating on drifting islands (ships!) upon an azure sea -or is it a sky?, with the Good Shepherd at the top, but she does not mention other pictures beloved by the sect like the *True Image of Repentance* with its shepherd and dancing angels in the round or the *Crucifixion of the Flesh*, with its allegorical representation of the crucifixion of a monk, his lips sealed with a lock and a lamp in each hand, tempted by a leering demon.

Although noted for sobriety, hard work and economic success in both agriculture and trade — witness their colony of exiles at Jakuck, in the coldest and most forbidding corner of Siberia where they literally turned stones into bread — their lot was not an easy one and they looked for rest only in the heavenly pastures. In this world, they were hated and persecuted by Church and State. Questions of dogmatic orthodoxy aside, it seems difficult to justify state persecution of the sect especially in a country which exalted celibate monasticism. Under Nicholas I, they were dressed up as women with dunce caps and paraded before a jeering crowd, although they were neither effeminate nor homosexuals, in spite of the fact that a monastic source denounced them as such. The law defined them as particularly virulent and pernicious heretics, guilty of *čelovekooboženie* (worshipping man — an allusion to their veneration of Selivanov) and vile and unnatural vices. Penalties included the loss of civil rights and exile in perpetuity to remote areas of Siberia, populated by *inorodcy*, people of non-Christian faiths among which they could ostensibly do no harm. In 1870, the Senate ruled paradoxically that castration in itself was not illegal except in the context of skopce teaching with the offence defined not in religious but in legal terms as the physical and moral disfigurement of members of society and as the cause of irreparable damage to the family. Numerically, the skopcy were not that many. In 1845, they were estimated at around 1.700. Statistics were a problem since many members were but spiritual adepts and not physically marked. Some thought that there were as many as 400 spirituals to every 2 castrates, a calculation which would yield a total of 300.000. An enquiry from Dorpat University estimated them much more conservatively in 1905, castrated and non-castrated, as 100.000. They were not confined to any particular region. Although they began in central Russia, they had colonies in the Ukraine (Char'kov) and along the Black Sea coast, as well as in many other localities.

The author examines the way the skopcy were presented in both official and unofficial Russian nineteenth century documentation. One of the first to

be entrusted with gathering material on the sect was Vladimir Dal', a beloved Russian folklorist celebrated for his collection of fairy tales and his unsurpassed dictionary. But Nicholas distrusted Dal's religion (he was a Lutheran) as well as his ethnic background (Danish and German) as not sufficiently Russian and discounted his findings. Perhaps this was just as well since Dal' also believed that Jews murdered little children, draining their blood for their cabalistic rites. More influential were the reports of Nikolaj Nadeždin (1804-1856) who stressed the supposed political aims of the skopcy over their religious theories. According to him, the skopcy could imagine no other way to achieve the Kingdom of God on earth than through the accession of Peter III to the Russian throne — an apocalyptic orgy accompanied by terrible thunder and led by a false tsar, a people of marauders issuing forth by the legion, a mighty force, in military readiness. Behind the images of whiteness and purity, Nadeždin saw lurking the bloody reality of genital mutilation, threatening the nation's biological welfare (59). How the already paranoid Nicholas I received such reports can only be imagined. Around the same time, Evgenij Pelikan (1824-1884) compiled his *Sudebno-medicinskie issledovanija skopčestva i istoričeskie svedenie o nem* complete with ghastly illustrations of the mutilations. He unfairly described the skopcy as persons of listless demeanour and sallow complexion (actually many skopcy could not be distinguished in outward appearance from their Orthodox neighbours) and went on to include unabashed calumny, describing *infant boys pierced to the heart and drained of blood imbibed during communion and corpses ground to powder and used for communion bread*. One inadvertently thinks of the pagan lies flung against Christians at the time of Nero. At the side of these official researchers commissioned by the stiff hand of autocracy stand descriptions included within the works of the Russian populists, which were no less negative. Vasilij Kel'siev (1835-1872), with an explicit racist agenda, placed the skopcy on a level *between the Jews, the scourge of Moldavia and the Negroes of Turkey*. Afanasij Ščapov (1830-1876) remarked on their belief as a *vestige of oriental primitivism, imported from Turkey and transmitted by Finnish tribes with their crude shaman psychology*. The author also includes the testimony of skopcy apostates such as Matvej Birjukov and Gerasim Prudkovskij, the last of whom describes his castration in excruciating detail.

In 1905, Nicholas II freed the skopcy from most of the restrictive penal laws. He was hailed as a liberator. Nevertheless, like many other minority groups in Russia (Russian Catholics included!), they welcomed the revolution, with its separation of church and state and hoped for a better lot under the Soviets. Alas, their longings for heavenly pastures did not blend well with the utopian earthly paradise. The skopcy, both in tsarist and Soviet times, were exposed to humiliating public trials, one of the most infamous of which occurred in 1929. The last half of the book is a detailed survey of correspondence between a few of the skopcy leaders and Bonč-Bruevič, Soviet expert

on the sects in which he hoped to unearth a germ of revolutionary activity. Some twentieth century skopcy, however, differed from their nineteenth century forbearers in one vital respect. They welcomed publicity and the chance to express their beliefs in public. Gavriil Prokopievič Men'shenin (1862-1930) corresponded with Lev Tol'stoj who sympathised with their predicament. But in spite of his hatred for sexual desire expressed in his *The Kreutzer Sonata*, the great writer and unorthodox Christian defended basic Christian doctrine, viewing castration as an act which disfigured God's creation and violated Christ's teachings against violence. In his opinion, the skopcy were moral and hard working in spite of their castration and not because of it. Men'shenin was also the author of a collection of skopce verse: *Poezija i proza sibirskich skopcov* (Tomsk 1904), one of the first of its kind to appear within the Russian Empire. The fate of another skopcy leader, Niki-for Petrovič Latyšev (1863-1939?) is more poignant and studied in detail by the author though Latyšev's correspondence with Bonč, by means of which he hoped to secure a place for himself and his sect in history, even if in a negative context. His father succumbed to starvation while his brother was murdered in a bandits' raid with political overtones. Nikifor ended up in a Soviet home for the aged, writing a letter of thanks to Stalin, for providing for his future.

While the author discusses in detail the origins and beliefs of the skopcy in her opening chapters, she does not explore possible historical precedents in great detail. Origen, the early Christian father, immediately comes to mind but the author discounts his influence as too literary and probably unknown to the skopcy who moved in the world of pun and folk-belief in which *iskupitel'* (= redeemer) became *oskupitel'* (= castrator) and *tvar'* (= creature) became *tovar* (= ware, a name used by Selivanov for his disciples). Pre-Christian influences, however, such as the castrating cult of Attis and Cybele, the Great Mother of Phrygia served by a bevy of priest-eunuchs, are not explored, although there are studies by contemporary Russian researchers. Similarly, the whirling dervishes of the Islamic East may have influenced the skopce divine service or *radenie*, which featured ecstatic singing, bright lights and round-dancing. Finally, the so called volcanic or Dionysian ecstasy and its precedents in the cult of the maenads should also be taken into account. A complete biography on the subject would also have been welcome.

Nevertheless, the author succeeds in drawing a sympathetic portrait of the skopcy, *made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men*, which does not depend on notions of political correctness or their position as underdogs of empire, but transcends these categories, viewing their beliefs as a particular facet of religious expression, worthy of serious thought even if it must meet with ultimate rejection.

Spiritualia

Hartmut Gustav Blersch, *La colonne au carrefour du monde. L'ascension de Siméon, premier stylite*, traduit de l'allemand par George Bret (= *Spiritualité Orientale* 77), Abbaye de Bellefontaine, Bégrolles en Mauges 2001, pp. 187.

Fra le varie forme che il monachesimo ha assunto nella vita della cristianità orientale, lo stilitismo è certamente fra le più singolari. Nato in Siria, ha raggiunto la capitale, Costantinopoli. L'ascesi stilite si distacca dalle precedenti forme conosciute, siano esse a carattere eremitico che cenobitico. Simeone è il personaggio forse più conosciuto (e questo grazie a Teodoreto di Ciro), ma certamente quello che ha saputo richiamare a sé attenzione non solo da parte dei suoi coetanei, ma anche dagli studiosi di spiritualità e di storia del monachesimo orientale. Il presente libro, scorrevole nella lettura ed essenziale nel contenuto, cerca di delineare la vita e il movimento spirituale di Simeone attraverso le tappe della sua vita terrena. L'autore ha basato la sua narrazione sulle fonti più sicure: anzitutto il cap. 26 della *Storia dei monaci* di Teodoreto di Ciro, coadiuvato da altri fonti agiografiche; dalla *Vita Syriaca* del Vat. syr. 160 con l'ausilio del *Brit. Mus. Add. 14484*; dalla *Vita graeca* (cf. pp. 23-29). Alla fine si è aggiunta la *memre* (già pubblicata da Assemani e Bedjan) di Giacomo di Sarug che, nella sua forma panegirica, appunto, inneggia al nostro personaggio invocando tutto l'immaginario della battaglia che il santo sosteneva fra il cielo e la terra, sospeso, com'era dalla colonna.

V. Ruggieri, S.J.

Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione, diretto da Guerrino Pelliccia (1962-1968) e da Giancarlo Rocca (1969-2003), X, Via – Zwijssen. Appendice, Indici, Edizioni Paoline, Roma 2003, pp. xxv + col. 1682.

Arrivati che siamo al decimo e l'ultimo volume di *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, si guarda avanti con 888 colonne di nuove voci, e si guarda indietro con i copiosi e utili indici, specchio di oltre 35 anni di lavoro. Guardando solo l'indice si ha l'impressione di una parata di esperti, molti ancora con noi, altri invece già addormentati nel Signore, di cui menzioniamo Jan Řezáč, responsabile per il Diritto orientale, ma: *scripta manent*! Tra gli altri autori legati al PIO possiamo menzionare, solo a titolo d'esempio, Michel Berger (905), Marco Brogi (911), Jan Krajcar (974), Michele Lacko (976), Emmanuel Lanne (977) e Robert Taft (1111).

Naturalmente ci si offre anche qui, ancora una volta, un ricco strumento di consultazione. Ma, alcune puntualizzazioni aiutano a contestualizzare questo "*achievement*." Sotto "Via" (1-3), manca il siriano "urha", particolarmente significativo per s. Efrem; cf R. Murray, *Symbols and Church and the*

Kingdom. A p. 24 si sarebbe potuto aggiungere che, oltre il vicario episcopale per la vita consacrata, in Oriente i monasteri dipendono dal vescovo, salvo i monasteri stauropegici; problema che ritorna, a p. 40, con la questione dell'esenzione religiosa. Interessanti, a p. 37, i tre scopi del concilio di Vienne, e cioè: Templari, Crociata, e Riforma. A p. 38, si parla di 4 patriarchi, incluso quello di Grado. A p. 44, un cenno alle dispute fra 'Conventuali' e Spirituali.

Di Vigilanzio, si parla del suo rifiuto del celibato ecclesiastico e del conflitto con s. Gerolamo (50); si dice che Vigilanzio non è eretico, ma conservatore (51). La vita angelica è paragonata al paradiso; carattere mistico e natura intima del mistero monastico (cf Lc 20, 35-36) e *isaggelos*, designazione per la castità perfetta (187-188). Seguendo Origene, la "vita angelica" non si limita alla castità, se si pensa all'estremo spiritualismo di un Evagrio (188). I monasteri sono descritti come città angeliche (191). Nella riforma gregoriana si ricorre in appello alla Chiesa degli apostoli per riformare la vita apostolica (196-197); si citano i nomi di Pier Damiani e di Vallombrosa (198-199). Sono tre i tipi di vita: attiva, contemplativa e mista (204), distinzione valevole (205), ma tipicamente occidentale. Data l'autosufficienza della contemplazione, la vita in comune non è ritenuta da Aristotele essenziale alla ricerca della perfezione (207-208). La locuzione "vita consacrata" si trova solo una volta nel Vaticano II, e cioè in *Perfectae Caritatis*, nr. 1d, mentre nel CIC del 1983 almeno 47 volte, elencate a col. 351.

La costituzione apostolica *Provvida Mater Ecclesia*: del 1947 tratta degli Istituti secolari, come vita consacrata a sé stante. Il concilio doveva uscire dallo schema riduttivo del CIC del 1917. A detta di Giovanni Paolo II la nuova edizione del CIC è l'ultimo decreto conciliare (351-352).

Quanto alla condizione laicale (358) si noti l'utilizzo dell'articolo di Ivan Žužek, "Bipartizione o tripartizione dei 'Christifideles' nel CIC e nel CCEO" (359), ma manca una valutazione critica se la tripartizione corrisponda alla migliore teologia orientale.

Il sacerdote dell'eparchia di Trichur, Joseph Vithayathil, di rito siro-malabarese, fondò con Thresia Chiramel Mankidiyan, beata, la Congregazione della Sacra Famiglia; di lei egli scrisse la prima biografia (457). Cassiodoro fondò il monasterium Vivariense, ma solo più tardi il "Vivarium" divenne centro culturale (461). Interessante la teologia della vocazione come dono di grazia e promessa (476-477). J. M. Tillard considera i tre voti mezzi privilegiati per rendere vera l'alleanza tra Dio e l'uomo (497). Con Cassiano, il termine battesimale è applicato alla vita monastica, dalla vocazione generale alla vocazione speciale (J. Leclercq) (498).

Nell'articolo su "Xainctonge, Anne de" (625), si vede il nesso e il modello dei gesuiti; alla bibliografia, si può aggiungere: Marie-Amélie le Bourgeois, *Les Ursulines d'Anne de Xainctonge (1606), contribution a l'histoire des communautés religieuses féminines sans cloture*, C.E.R.C.O.R., Travaux et Recherches XVI, Publication de l'Université de Saint-Étienne 2003.

La voce "Xeniteia" (627) ripropone la peregrinatio dello strannik, modalità di vita assai comune in Oriente; basta pensare ai "Racconti del pellegrino al suo padre spirituale". "Xenodochia", termine apparentato, firmato da J. Řezáč († 1990), antico professore del Pontificio Istituto Orientale, indica "l'ospitalità come esercizio della carità, in uso nei monasteri fin dagli inizi del monachesimo" (628). È da notare, comunque, che lo spazio riservato per gli ospiti era di solito separato dalle abitazioni dei monaci, se non addirittura fuori delle mura monastiche, come presso gli Studiti. T. Špidlík spiega, a 628-629, che *xerophagia* vuol dire astinenza da determinati cibi; se l'astinenza si riduce a mangiare una volta al giorno si chiama *monophagia*. Un altro antico professore dell'Orientale, Jan Krajcar († 1992), scrive su Zagorsk, il cui nome attualmente è tornato Sergiev-Posad (650-651).

La voce Zen (670) offre anche ragguagli sul monastero, per es., che la maggioranza dei monaci sono impegnati in un lavoro pastorale (673). Deciso però non è la meditazione, ma l'incontro quotidiano col maestro. Interessante anche l'articolo su Zoe, fondata dall'archimandrita Eusebio Matthopoulos (684), associazione di celibi, ma non legati con voto formale, di laici, per lo più, e si dedicano alla predicazione.

Questi sono solo esempi, tratti da molti altri punti di contatto con l'Oriente cristiano. Come si vede, la collana DIP finisce allo stesso alto livello al quale era incominciata e fa rimpiangere che non ci siano più volumi da aspettare. È una miniera per chiunque voglia approfondire il senso storico della vita religiosa, ma il mancato confronto tra Oriente e Occidente lascia un vuoto da riempire, solo in parte colmato. Sarebbe da integrare meglio la visione organica della vita vissuta per Dio, cosicché la vita monastica getta luce non solo sul monachesimo, ma anche sulla teologia. L'opera come tale, comunque, nei suoi preziosi volumi, è monumentale e suggerisce analoghi strumenti di lavoro. L'Appendice (702-887) e gli Indici (894-1682) mostrano a colpo d'occhio la varietà della vita religiosa.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Matthew the Poor, *Orthodox Prayer Life*, translated in the Monastery of St. Macarius the Great, Wadi El-Natroum, Egypt. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood NY 2003, pp. 292.

I contenuti di questo libro vengono dall'Autore Matteo il Povero, in arabo Matta al-Maskin, suddivisi in 8 parti e 16 capitoli, la bibliografia conclude l'opera. Il filo conduttore del tema sviluppato è la *preghiera*, considerata come pura esperienza personale, più che argomento speculativo per menti intellettuali. L'A., parla infatti, di una *Natura della preghiera* (21-42), la preghiera che apre lo spirito a ricevere i *benefici dello Spirito di Dio* (9). La storia parte dall'esperienza personale-soggettiva, nell'agosto del 1948. Tutto il racconto o resoconto dei fatti, ha spesso del miracoloso, proprio perché l'intervento divino, può in molti casi alleggerire i fardelli della vita in questo mon-

do. Un libro che segue una strada originale per spiegare l'importanza e la profondità della preghiera. L'iter seguito dall'A., è la pura esperienza personale, raccontata nella forma di una spiritualità-teologica, nata dal frutto di un percorso di vita in solitudine. La *preghiera* è la parte che apre *all'amore del Padre* (289). L'A., spiega che tra la preghiera comunemente conosciuta e l'essenza del Padre che accoglie lo spirito dell'uomo che prega, si deve collocare, la *contrizione di spirito* (145-157); contrizione che avvia alla *vera purificazione del cuore* (133-143); alla forma *contemplativa* (55), attraverso la *via meditativa* (43-52). L'A., inserisce costantemente detti e massime dei Padri, e scritti biblici, per un numero di 394 punti, che spiegano, completano e approfondiscono tutti i valori e i molteplici aspetti della preghiera. La meditazione (μελέτη) come teoria ed *esercizio pratico della preghiera* (43), per attraversare ed sperimentare tutti i gradi della preghiera. Le forme di studio della stessa bibbia, o dei Padri antichi, sono per l'A., ulteriore aspetto per comprendere la grandezza della preghiera, in particolare quella personale, in quanto contemplazione (θεωρία), mezzo per accedere alla contemplazione (59-66). Secondo il libro di Matteo il Povero, la pratica della preghiera, deve essere affiancata dallo studio costante di autori spirituali e dal ruminare la Sacra Scrittura ogni giorno. Questo è necessario per ottenere l'estasi (ἔκστασις), (72-81), in Dio (75); la preghiera che va oltre il piano terreno unisce l'uomo a Dio Padre, come raccontano *Simeone il Nuovo Teologo* (76), i *Detti dei Padri sull'estasi* (77-81); sulla *visione di Dio* (ἀποκάλυψις) (82-102); sull'*unione con Dio* (Θεία ἔνωσις) (103-115). L'A., prosegue descrivendo i *vari aspetti interiori della preghiera* (117-132). Con la *purificazione del cuore* (134-144), si entra di fatto nella parte centrale del libro, con i riferimenti ad autori antichi, come Macario il Grande, Isacco il Siro, Antonio il Grande (142-143), che spiegano come purificare il cuore, mediante uno sforzo, una *lotta per edificare i frutti della preghiera* (175-188). L'A., qui *considera e sviluppa una teologia spirituale* (177ss.). Per i Padri è significativo *perseverare nella preghiera* (183ss.). L'A., sostiene che è possibile espandere la mente, mettendosi alla sequela di Cristo, e dei Santi che offrono modelli di vita, unici (Mt 11,20); (Eb. 13.7); (189ss.), che aiutano i cristiani oppressi dalla sofferenza, a ritrovare quell'armonia interiore per avvicinarsi a Dio, al *Mistero dell'amore divino* (191-196). Il *sacro silenzio* (197), della *preghiera continua* (205ss.). Il punto fondamentale del libro di Matteo il Povero, è la *preghiera* in quanto unico percorso per mettersi alla presenza di Dio; l'esperienza più vera per comprendere questa presenza (289), è la concretizzazione dei frutti che una vita di preghiera offre: *amore per Dio, azione della carità* (275-288). Un esempio interessante per il lettore è la storia di un "*pellegrino russo*", che l'A., cita a conclusione del suo lavoro (207ss.), per meglio comprendere la profondità di tutto il discorso sulla preghiera. Lo spirito del pellegrino che ricerca Dio, beneficerà di grandi cose, nella *pratica della preghiera* (230-290). La vita di antichi Padri, il loro sapere, la loro scienza e santità, il loro linguaggio spirituale, sono un invito costante a seguire il loro esempio (211-255). Riteniamo questo libro utile per chiunque desideri intraprendere un cammino spiritua-

le nell'esperienza della preghiera. L'A., poi, con tutti i riferimenti ai Padri, alla Sacra Scrittura, mette a disposizione del lettore un vero strumento, che aprirà la mente alla comprensione di tutti i valori che la preghiera racchiude.

A. Celia

Ángel Pardilla, *Vita consacrata per il Nuovo Millennio*. Concordanze, fonti e linee maestre dell'esortazione apostolica *Vita Consacrata*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2003, pp. 1431.

Vita consacrata, secondo l'editore, è il testo più importante sulla vita religiosa del magistero di Giovanni Paolo II. Fu promulgato come esortazione apostolica post-sinodale il 25 marzo 1996 (p. 120). Come dice nella presentazione, Pier Giordano Cabra, "Raramente una Esortazione apostolica post-sinodale ha avuto, e forse avrà, un commento monumentale, come quello che presentiamo" (*Rogate ergo* 10, 2003, 54).

L'attuale volume, opera di certosina pazienza del padre claretiano Ángel Pardilla, non solo riproduce il testo di *Vita consacrata*, ma ne offre un commento ampio ed un'analisi minuziosa (pp. 7-8). Dopo un'Introduzione (pp. 5-12), viene (a) Il testo dell'Esortazione (pp. 13-120); poi (b) le Concordanze (pp. 121-1303); (c) una terza parte discute le "Fonti dell'esortazione apostolica" (pp. 1305-1350); e (d) Linee maestre dell'esortazione apostolica (pp. 1351-1415). Una Conclusione (pp. 1417-1420), seguita da Tabella delle voci più frequenti (pp. 1421-1423) e da un Indice generale (pp. 1425-1431), chiude il volume.

È doveroso segnalare qui i riflessi orientali che si incontrano nella Esortazione e in questo studio, a partire dalla copertina, elaborazione originale a partire da icone dei monasteri delle Meteore, in Thessalia, Grecia, eseguita dai F.lli Bonella. In ciò che riguarda l'Esortazione stessa, il tutto è strutturato attorno alla Trinità e alla vita in Gesù, nello Spirito, con particolare attenzione ai doni dello Spirito. Vi si ritrovano le tematiche inseparabili dalla vita religiosa, del linguaggio iconico, e trasfigurante. Uno sguardo anche rapido agli indici mostra che molti santi monaci orientali sono ricordati (p. 1138), così pure le fonti canoniche orientali, e il Codice dei canoni per le Chiese d'Oriente.

Già le prime battute dell'Esortazione toccano il nerbo teologico di ogni vita consacrata, dono di Dio Padre alla Chiesa, per mezzo dello Spirito, e riproduce i tratti caratteristici di Gesù, vergine, povero, obbediente (15). Non sono mai mancati uomini e donne, che hanno dato seguito alla chiamata di Dio. A p. 16 si dice che la vita consacrata tocca la natura stessa della Chiesa essendone parte integrante, in Oriente e in Occidente (pp. 18-19).

L'attuale opera serve da strumento di consultazione, come si vede dal n. 42, a p. 53: "La vita fraterna ... viene coltivata con particolare cura dagli Istituti religiosi e dalle Società di vita apostolica, ove acquista speciale signifi-

cato la vita in comunità"; a cui si confronti il riferimento a p. 1101 e i commenti a pp. 1365-1368 e a pp. 1404-1413.

Nonostante i valori indiscussi menzionati, si può rammaricare che la visione spirituale dell'Oriente cristiano non trova la parte che le spetta. Per l'Oriente cristiano, il monachesimo nasce dal battesimo, come appello alla santità universale (cf LG, nr. 39-42), e si parla quindi del "monachesimo interiorizzato", reso familiare da Dostoevski, P. Evdokimov e Lev Zander. Per la mediazione tra questo appello universale alla santità e la vocazione particolare alla vita religiosa / monastica ci vuole una più approfondita analisi di teologia spirituale. La differenza, nell'approccio alla vita religiosa monastica / religiosa, elaborata esaurientemente, da Jobe Abbass, nel suo libro, *Two Codes in Comparison*, Roma 1997, 23-90, non trova sufficientemente rilievo, benché sia di capitale importanza per capire la differenza tra Oriente e Occidente, quindi preparare il dialogo, ma anche per approfondire la stessa vita religiosa. Manca pure un indice dei nomi.

Uno può infine domandarsi se un tale commento sia proporzionato. Offre comunque un prezioso strumento di lavoro per chi voglia studiare a fondo l'Esortazione Apostolica sulla vita religiosa, ma anche per chi voglia confrontarle altri documenti del Magistero.

E. G. Farrugia, S.J.

Roy R. Robson, *Solovki. The Story of Russia told through its Most Remarkable Islands*, Yale University Press, New Haven – London 2004, pp. xvii + 302.

Six centuries and more of Russian history as seen through the prism of the microcosm of one of the Russian North's most venerable monasteries — Solovki. Such is the stuff of this vivid and beautifully written narrative replete with obscure and captivating detail, a feast for the connoisseur of the Russian past. Russian church history is to a great degree the story of its monasteries, and if contemporary Russia will one day in truth be reborn as a truly Orthodox and God-bearing nation it will do so on the strength of its own monastic tradition and not through conversion to another faith, *pace* Michel d'Herbigny and those who thought as he did.

The author, who is associate professor of history at the University of Philadelphia, made a field trip to Solovki in 1996. His book is based on research done both within and outside of Russia and draws on first hand sources, including manuscripts distributed among three major Russian collections: the Manuscript Division at the National Library of Russia, the Russian State Historical Archive and the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts. It was in the first of these that he was able to consult manuscripts originally found in Solovki's library and especially several versions of its monastic rule. In addition, he has made use of several other primary and secondary sources, including hagiographical material relating to the Solovki saints as well as economic data and institutional inventories which complement the

more devotionally oriented material. Yet the book, due to its lively style will also appeal to the general reader despite its offer of manifold riches to the more accomplished specialist.

Herewith, a brief outline of its contents with particular attention to its most striking points. Although located far in Russia's European North and only just below the Arctic circle, actually in Finnic ethnographic territory, the islands which make up the Solovki complex are naturally protected by the Karelian peninsula and benefit from a microclimate, able to sustain life and even offer a minimum of comfort. The *running trees* of Solovki, stunted ashes and birch, are evidence of the fierce Arctic winds which so regularly whip down upon the island that they deaden vegetation and warp saplings into splinter-like figurines which grow bent over. Snow can clog hidden crevices into June but cherry trees also thrive during the ephemeral summer and the cabbages of the islands are so sweet that they are known as Solovki apples. Of course, the winter is that of the Far North — pitch black, while the summer shines with the midnight sun. The islands are surrounded by the White Sea, so-called due to its foamy white caps born on rough waves. Its treacherous waters can slosh over the gunwales of the *karbasy* — a long rowboat common along the northern sea — and sink them, drowning the seafarer. The White Sea was navigable only in summer, at other times it was impassable and cut off the islands from the mainland.

The holy hermits Savvatij and German are considered the founders of Solovki. Savvatij was a monk of the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery, noted for its rigid observance. But Savvatij found its rule too lenient and left for the more austere Valaam to the North, squat in the middle of Lake Ladoga. But even Valaam proved too lax and together with German, Savvatij boarded a flimsy *karbas* and crossed the White Sea to the Solovki islands in 1427. The first hint of Christian presence was a cross erected near a tall hill later called *Sekirka* or the *The Poleaxe* probably because of its unusual shape. The life of the founders, isolated from all human contact, more closely resembled that of the early anchorites of Egypt than that of a Russian monk, hence the name Russian *Thebaid* (Thebes is Egypt!) for the string of monastic foundations which eventually pierced the desolation of Russia's North. Liturgically, their life can only be described as stark and monotone. German was himself illiterate and probably could only sing services by rote. Since neither was ordained, they did without Eucharist and priest for years and conducted services according to the monastic rule of prostrations, the prayer of Jesus, vigils and the parts of the liturgy which did not demand priestly ministrations. The reader can recall that early Russian monks did not primarily wish to save the souls of others through organised missionary efforts, but rather their own through a life of prayer, fasting, separation and being alone with the Lord. Once a Karelian (= Finnish) woman and her husband tried to inch the monks off the island by setting up house near the hermitage. The monks did not even notice her presence but apparently still more heavenly observers did. The woman told the startled Savvatij that she had been warned off the

island by youths in gorgeous raiment who chased her and her husband with sticks declaring the island sacred ground not open to defilement by laymen and especially not by women. After the death of Savvatij, German found a new companion in the sainted Zosima, himself from a higher social milieu, who helped transform the simple hermitage into something resembling a coenobitic monastery with a highly ascetic rule.

But it was the nobleman Feodor Kolyčev — the most outstanding monastic superiors during the Russian Middle Ages where usually of noble blood, partly because they were preferred by the secular establishment and partly because they alone possessed the necessary education and administrative ability to properly organise monastic life — who was actually the third and most significant transformer of life at Solovki. Elected archimandrite in 1548, Kolyčev is better known by his monk's name of Filipp and later as Metropolitan of Moscow died a martyr's death opposing the bloody excesses of Ivan the Terrible. But he enjoyed an even more significant career as superior of Solovki. It was he who was responsible for beginning the intricate system of canalisation for which the islands were later known. It was he who began the extensive building projects which resulted in the superb cathedral of the Transfiguration from which the monastery took its name. Its spacious iconostasis placed the deacons' doors unusually far apart so the cathedral's interior would seem wider. In the monastic refectory built by Filipp, the huge room was held in place by one gigantic column. Since timber was sparse on the island, huge stones and later clay bricks were used in construction. The monastery possessed its own brickworks. It was Filipp who built walkways from the cells to church so that the monks would not be forced to trudge through the winter's snow on the way to early service. It was he who mitigated the stringency of Zosima's rule. Knowing that the monks would have to survive a long and cheerless winter, he allowed fish at the monastic table, not only on holidays, but even on more frequent occasions than at other monasteries. The White Sea teamed with fish and it was fish as well as forest berries, which ensured the survival of the first hermits. Filipp also modified Zosima's strict injunction against female animals, probably borrowed from that of the Holy Mountain, and allowed a dairy farm on a neighbouring island, from which the monks could obtain a year-round supply of butter and eggs. Filipp allowed *šči* (= cabbage soup), pancakes and pies, blanchmange and fried eggs, cucumbers and saffron milk-cap mushrooms at the table, delicacies which previously were forbidden or simply unobtainable. Finally he allowed each monk three fur coats and a fur blanket besides a cassock with which he could brave the unforgiving winters in a frosty cell.

But it was salt (the name Solovki is probably derived from *sol'* = salt) which became the centrepiece of the monastery's economic development. By the eighteenth century, Solovki had become the leading producer of salt in all the North. The salt was harvested by extracting it by means of a complicated process from salinated brine which formed deep in the earth, a natural substance in the ground near the White Sea.

Meanwhile, Solovki passed from the dominion of Novgorod to that of Moscow. This led to its fatal brush with the Tsar when it refused to accept the liturgical reforms promoted by Patriarch Nikon. Nikon, formerly a monk of Anzar, an upstart hermitage on the island facing Solovki (it was eventually incorporated into the monastery, although at the time it seemed a threatening rival), despised the monks of Solovki as arrogant and imperious. They, as fate would have it, determined to keep their monastery a doomed bastion of the old belief. Solovki fell on a frigid January night, after a siege which lasted several years, to the army of Tsar Aleksej, the *Tišajšij* or *Most Serene* monarch. Many monks were massacred by the enraged and exasperated soldiers, strung up by their heels or tied to the tails of galloping horses. The archimandrite was battered to death; others died in their beds of scurvy. Still more monks fled through the winter darkness, apostles of the old belief to the villagers of the mainland. The diocese of Novgorod was divided up and Solovki fell under the jurisdiction of Chol'mogorij. In 1683, Afanasij, bishop of Chol'mogorij, came to Solovki and pledged the remaining monks to the observance of ritual according to the new books. Although the monks fared so badly under Aleksej, otherwise zealous in ostentatious piety, they fared better under his worldly son, Peter the Great, otherwise decried as Antichrist by adherents of the old belief. Peter visited Solovki on two occasions in 1694 and in 1702. On the latter occasion, he greeted the archimandrite. Each kissed the other's hand (on this occasion Peter behaved better than the present Russian president who on a recent visit to Tichvin merely shook hands with the religious superior!). The Emperor deigned to sing the all-night vigil together with the monks standing in the choir on the exact place, where lightning had stuck a year earlier. He ordered a church dedicated to Andrew the First Called as well as a labyrinth in stone built on a nearby island and placed under the jurisdiction of Solovki. Neither did Peter disturb the Old Believer stronghold of Vyg which he passed on his return journey, laconically instructing his henchmen to *let them live*.

While Solovki was mostly left in peace by Peter and his Romanov successors, it did suffer economically from the secularisation imposed by Catherine II and her progeny as well as from the liberation of the serfs since the monastery had become a great land owner. The tsars, beginning with Peter, began to use part of the monastery complex as a prison to which they sent, among others, blasphemers, sorcerers (one man was accused of using witchcraft to kill his wife; she survived and seized all of his property after the trial), and political criminals. Its most famous convict was the Ukrainian Cossack leader Petr Kal'niševskij who was sent there by Catherine II after the destruction of the Seč. Imprisoned at the age of eighty-two, he refused to show the remorse which would have secured his liberation. Complaining only of a leak in the roof which ruined his clothing, he was finally amnestied by Aleksandr I. He emerged a one hundred and ten year old man, more animal than human, and requested monastic vows. He lived for one more year, a monk of Solovki, and died peacefully. The prison cells were horrible af-

fairs, narrow and cold. Peter I, a huge man, would not have fit into one. The earthen prison was still worse, under the moist, with a trap door through which prisoners and food were thrown to the gnawing rats beneath. Another problem were the young boys sent to the monastery as novices or workers (= *trudniki*). In the complete absence of women, the monastic rule warned against homosexual abuses and advised sending them home during the long winter months when they might become a source of temptation to the monks. Food improved for the brethren. Usually four kinds of fish were served at luncheon in addition to bread, vegetables and kvass. A special porridge was also served, sweetened with the cloudberry of the northern forest. Solovki was not destroyed or conquered by the Swedes as was Valaam, but it did withstand a British attack during the Crimean War in 1854, an incident which imparted to the monastery a heroic status, which made it a goal for the secular tourist besides the pilgrim.

Before the nineteenth century, relatively few pilgrims visited the monastery. But by the mid-nineteenth century, eight thousand came each year. By 1900, it was host to twenty-four thousand. Since travel was difficult in winter, most came during the summer from late May to August. The first hostelry was built in 1836. Conditions were primitive. Pilgrims slept in large dormitories. One can compare them to those on Mount Athos today, but these have probably improved over the past century. But the pilgrims were mostly peasants, although priests, merchants and soldiers also came. They were used to discomfort and unlike today's tourists, they did not expect creature comforts and luxurious accommodations. Instead, they accepted mortification as part of the pilgrimage — an acceptable offering to the crucified. But even peasants compared third class quarters in the ship used to cross the White Sea to a fetid gaol. Women were eventually also allowed to come, if they agreed to stay only for the short-term — a limit of three days. Two sketches of pilgrimages to Solovki by V. I. Nemirovič-Dančenko and S. V. Maksimov became minor classics. The author used accounts by the Orthodox Bishop Evdokim, the Russian peasant A. A. Zamaraev and the Anglican vicar Alexander Boddy for his description. By the nineteenth century, the Russian North became dotted with shrines, chapels, holy springs, groves and wayside stones marked with crosses — a sort of pilgrimage trail — and pilgrims could visit them on their way to Solovki. What did they do once they arrived at their destination? Time spent there resembled that spent at any shrine which was at the same time a holy place and a tourist attraction. Roman Catholics may recall Lourdes or Fatima. At Solovki, visitors attended church (matins began at three in the morning but a *budil'nik* (= a monk who had the duty of waking others for prayer) stalked the corridors of the hostels at five. Most pilgrims ignored matins but attended a mass offered later in the morning at six, seven and nine, especially when the archimandrite served with due pomp (apparently he had been granted by Peter I the right to bear a sceptre, called an apple in the original, instead of a crosier). Later in the day, pilgrims could prostrate themselves before the relics of the founders, kiss the

wonder-working icons or admire the personal belongings of the saints, like the stone cross brought to the islands by Zosima. Otherwise, they could arrange for a priest to hold private prayers services or requiems in a dark corner of the church. More particular to Solovki were the excursions pilgrims could make around the islands, visiting the nine sketes, drinking the water of the St. Filipp's spring on Anzer (caused by the effusion of the Saviour's blood during a vision), or climbing the towering staircase which led to the Golgotha hermitage, at the top of a steep hill. More secular pursuits were also possible. Pilgrims could feed the seagulls which seemed to speak Russian or even mouth prayers with their strange cawing. They could wonder at the holes in the battlements which withstood British canon (Solovki was also a patriotic site), as well as the profusion of wild flowers, the canals and other marvels of nature peculiar to the Far North. Some could ride horses. Visitors were later forbidden to pick apples or mushrooms, lest they deplete monastic property. A grand duke was even forbidden to hunt. But many pilgrims spent time shopping, buying religious souvenirs at the kiosks and chapel *lavki*: candles, icons and the renowned *prosfory* of Solovki. Carved icons were a particular attraction of the north and *the small ones with bones* (= crosses with a skull underneath) were a special bargain. But pilgrims could also buy food (bread, sweets and dried fish), clothes and especially galoshes. Solovki galoshes were said to be particularly impermeable and their resilience was famous all over the Empire.

The twentieth century began well with the return of a bell captured during the Crimean War by the British and the visit of Grand Duchess Elisaveta, the sister of Empress Aleksandra and today a saint. But it later brought unmitigated disaster to Solovki. Everything was pillaged, destroyed, desecrated and blasphemed by the Soviets who turned the monastery into a hecatomb of a labour camp featuring the most grotesque atrocities. Prisoners were turned into human icicles or forced to eat their own excrement. Women were forced into slave harems, the property of merciless camp guards. Drunken horsemen entered the cathedral of the Transfiguration to vomit into latrines which had been dug out in the sanctuary. Prisoners who tried to escape resorted to cannibalism, designating one of their number as a *cow* to be used as food during the journey. The most sacred sites were put to the foulest use. Solovki became a much used destination for churchmen banished to the camps. It was from Solovki that Orthodox bishops wrote their letter condemning the Soviet Antichrist and forbidding all collaboration with the atheist regime. Russian Catholic exarch Leonid Fedorov also spent time here. In fact, churchmen were so numerous that they were able to organise a type of ecclesiastical life with church services, holiday celebrations and rituals. At times, clergy were even allowed to wear their cassocks and women were able to have their children baptised at springs in the forest. Popular outcry in the foreign press with lurid tales describing the abominations of the camp, provoked an investigation by Maksim Gorkij. Potemkin type prison colonies were set up to greet the acclaimed author. But one coura-

geous boy told Gorkij the truth with much hope but little result — the boy was shot and the writer's denunciation achieved little. Solovki was one of the first Soviet labour camps. By 1939, it had out-served its use and prisoners were being sent further east. For a few years, it housed a naval academy, but later fell into decay. For more than forty years, all was ruin. During the last years of Soviet power, it became something of an offbeat tourist attraction for Russians who liked to explore the ruins and pick mushrooms in the fields, much to the indignation of righteous people with historical memory like Aleksandr Sol'ženicy'n. After perestrojka, a guidebook to the islands was published in 1990. Monks began to return in 1992 and commence the arduous process of healing and restoration. This terrible story ends happily. Today, Solovki is once again an active monastery of the Russian Orthodox Church.

In his last chapter, the author reproduces a Finnish ballad about the monastery and its founders, Savvatij and Zosim. It commemorates a saint (Holy Miikkuloo) and a white horse, (a Finnish researcher thinks the horse was in fact a beluga whale!), which helped to drag the stones used to build the monastery fortress. All has come full circle. The reader can recall the Karelian woman who told Father Savvatij of her vision of angels with clubs warning her off holy ground.

A few definitions of ritual (*prosphora* defined as *small loaves mixed with wine in the chalice during the Eucharist* (21) — actually only the particle called the lamb is placed in the chalice before communion and other particles after the communion; *dora* = (*antidor (on)*) (73) passed out in the refectory — actually the rite of the *panagia* is being described) and monastic titles (*inoki* defined as men who had become monks in preparation for death (70) — really in this case *schim-monachi*) are unnecessarily muddled. Better maps could also have been included as well as a few illustrations, although the footnotes are good and the essay on sources is excellent. Perhaps a few more chapters could have been added. One could have described Solovki in folklore (generations of Russian émigrés knew of Solovki though the song *Twelve Bandits* with its hero, the ruthless highway-man Kudejar' of Kiev who emerges by surprise as Pitirim, the meek monk of Solovki) or denoted its place in art. One of the most exquisite depictions of Solovki is the canvas by Nesterov, with monks sailing off the dark island in *karbasy* — no wonder the artist so aptly called it — *Molčanie* (= Silence).

C. Simon, S.J.

Gaga Shurgaia, *La Spiritualità georgiana*. Martirio di Abo, santo e beato martire di Cristo di Ioane Sabanisze. Presentazione di Levan Menabde. La spiritualità cristiana orientale 3, Edizioni Studium, Roma 2003, pp. 295.

Après l'ouvrage d'O. Raineri consacré à la tradition éthiopienne et celui de B. L. Zekiyan à la tradition arménienne, c'est à nouveau un professeur de

l'Institut Pontifical Oriental de Rome, où il assure le cours de géorgien ancien, qui signe le troisième volume de la collection *La spiritualità cristiana* dirigée par P. Siniscalco. Né à Tbilissi où il s'est formé auprès de grands maîtres de l'université, l'A. a choisi, pour présenter au public italien la spiritualité de ce pays du Caucase, une des perles de l'hagiographie géorgienne dont il offre une traduction intégrale, la première dans la langue de Dante.

L'élégant petit livre, dont la couverture est ornée de la reproduction en couleurs du calice de Bédia, avec le Christ trônant au milieu des apôtres, comprend trois parties, une grande introduction, la traduction annotée du *Martyre* et un Appendice qui donne les hymnes liturgiques de l'ancien Iadgari dédiés à saint Abo; un index analytique très détaillé et l'index des citations bibliques dans la *Martyre* complètent le volume. Un seul regret: il manque une carte qui aurait permis de mieux situer les lieux, spécialement cette Kartli dont il est question tout au long de l'ouvrage; quand il est fait mention de la Montagne Noire, dont les couvents ont joué un rôle si important pour le développement de la culture géorgienne, il n'aurait pas été superflu de la situer près d'Antioche (p. 42 et 55). L'A. translittère les noms géorgiens, après avoir indiqué le système suivi (p. 15-17), ce qui demandera peut-être un effort au lecteur, mais démontre la précision de son travail; cependant, on aurait pu tout aussi bien écrire "Pierre" au lieu de "P'et're" l'Ibère (p. 42), pour le fameux évêque de Maiouma. L'A. cite aussi largement les savants géorgiens des XIX^e et XX^e siècles dont il est débiteur et fait passer ainsi tout un patrimoine scientifique qui resterait sinon peu accessible.

L'introduction (p. 27-183), qui se termine par une bibliographie nourrie, présente d'abord la Géorgie, "paese scelto dalla Madre di Dio", puis s'attache à décrire tous les aspects du *Martyre*, rédigé par Jean fils de Saba, un clerc de haut rang, juste après la mort d'Abo, musulman converti au christianisme qui fut décapité à Tbilissi le 6 janvier 786. L'A., on le sent bien, est plus sensible à l'aspect littéraire de l'œuvre qu'aux problèmes théologiques et il excelle dans l'analyse de la structure du texte, proposant des concordances fort éclairantes entre les divers chapitres. Attentif aux plus petites nuances, il montre comment Ioane utilise des moyens stylistiques très fins qui vont jusqu'à évoquer le "flux de conscience" de nos auteurs modernes pour décrire la vie intérieure du saint (p. 151). Par ailleurs, l'A. fait bien ressortir à quel point le *Martyre* ancre l'histoire et l'espace de la Géorgie dans le domaine chrétien, ce que Ioane lui-même exprime ainsi à la fin du premier chapitre: "Infatti, non soltanto i greci potranno ottenere questa fede che è da Dio, ma anche noi, abitanti in questo lontano [paese] (suit la citation de Mt 8,11). Ecco, anche la Kartli ha la fede ed è chiamata la Madre dei Santi: alcuni dei quali vi abitavano, altri, invece, stranieri venuti tra noi da lontano e in epoche diverse" (p. 215), tel Abo justement.

On pourrait se demander pourquoi l'A. a préféré le *Martyre d'Abo* à tout autre texte pour présenter la spiritualité géorgienne, car il aurait pu tout aussi bien traduire, par exemple, la vie de David Garedželi, l'un des treize pères syriens que D. M. Lang a décrit comme un précurseur de saint Fran-

çois d'Assise, pour son amour de la création. Les motivations de son choix sont bien expliquées dans l'avant-propos, qui révèle du coup la perspective dans laquelle l'A. se situe: "È difficile, infatti, trovare un'altra opera agiografica che aspiri a cogliere il significato di una eroica testimonianza personale di fede vissuta alla luce di una più ampia valutazione storico-politica e culturale dell'epoca; rinvenendo in quella testimonianza di fede le radici per la formazione dell'autocoscienza di un popolo 'sosso come una canna da venti violenti'. L'autore, che ha personalmente convissuto il dramma del giovane arabo, considera la vicenda di Abo un evento significativo per la storia della Kartli, che rivela il vero valore della fede cristiana e della tradizione cristiana della Georgia all'interno dell'*oikoumene* cristiana" (p. 22). Quand on se remémore les problèmes qui agitent le Caucase aujourd'hui, ces paroles prennent une épaisseur toute particulière.

Que le martyre d'Abo ait eu lieu le jour même de l'Épiphanie-Théophanie, le 6 janvier, et que ses restes soient jetés dans le fleuve où apparaît la nuit une colonne de lumière (p. 246), voilà qui n'est pas indifférent: à travers la mort du saint, c'est le baptême de toute la Géorgie qui se voit confirmé dans la foi en Jésus-Christ dont elle a été illuminée.

Remercions chaleureusement l'A. pour son brillant travail qui constitue une excellente introduction à la Géorgie chrétienne, encore trop méconnue en Occident.

Ph. Luisier, S.J.

Turcica

Rémy Dor, *Aux origines du monde: Contes et légendes de Turquie*. Textes choisis et traduits par Rémy Dor. Illustrations de Susanne Strassmann. Flies France, Paris 2002, pp. 206.

Après nous avoir donné un recueil dans la même série, *Aux origines du monde: Contes et légendes de Centre Asie* (cf. OCP 69, 2003, 544-545), le traducteur, Rémy Dor, qui enseigne les langues turques à l'INALCO (Paris) et maintenant directeur de l'Institut français de recherches sur l'Asie Centrale de Tachkent (Ouzbékistan), nous donne dans ce nouvel ouvrage un aperçu en quatre chapitres des origines des contes eux-mêmes, des origines des animaux, des origines des gens, et des origines des lieux, avec un Prologue qui évoque les mémoires de l'auteur (p. 5-8) et un Épilogue (p. 176-195) qui ordonne les divers genres des contes.

L'ensemble nous donne une mosaïque du riche fond culturel turk, avec des références précieuses au monde byzantin. Les ruses employées pour obtenir les effets désirés se voient, à titre d'exemples, en «Le chat et le tigre» (p. 31-33), tantôt avec l'heure de la prière au fond (p. 36), tantôt à travers la personne du *hodja*, dignitaire religieux (p. 39, 44), ou le terme emprunté au grec moderne, *efendi* (p. 60, 197), terme que Dor avait expliqué plus en détail

dans le premier ouvrage. L'eau de Zemzem, explique Dor, est pour le musulman ce que l'eau de Lourdes est pour le catholique (p. 198); en maltais se retrouve, selon J. Aquilina, soit le toponymique pour puits d'eau douce soit l'expression «minn Żmien Żemżem» pour une chose qui existe depuis toujours, «vieux comme le monde». Les femmes occupent une place de choix dans ces Contes (p. 53s., 76s. etc.), avec l'explication que l'héroïne turque triomphe de l'adversité, non parce qu'elle est belle, mais parce qu'elle est têtue (p. 185). Les allusions à l'histoire turque abondent: Selim II (p. 84), appelé l'Ivrogne, fils de Soliman (p. 198), le Vizier et gendre de Soliman le Magnifique (p. 101, 198s.) etc. D'autre part, comme l'explique la note 37 à p. 199, aucun sultan n'a porté le surnom de Mahmoud-le-Fou (p. 110), référence, selon Dor, au sultan Moustafa au début du XVII^e siècle, qui était demeuré plus que fou. «Le voleur qui avait dérobé le roi de Russie» (p. 123-133) montre peut-être des liens souterrains entre le passé chrétien de l'Asie Mineure et ses voisins de rite byzantin, renforcé encore une fois dans «Ci devise de la fondation de Constantinople et de la basilique Sainte-Sophie» (p. 142-152). Nous y lisons: «Au jour de Norouz, Allah lui envoya la peste. Puis la religion de Jésus fut manifeste. Héraclius, le César des Roums embrassa la foi de Jésus. Il possédait une fille, Sophie, douée de grâce et de beauté. Il la maria à Constantin ...» (p. 149s.).

Arrivés à l'Épilogue on est surpris de trouver une épiclèse mozarabe, adressée au Christ: «Adesto, adesto Jesu, bone pontifex in medio nostri ...» (p. 176, 201). On nous fait noter aussi l'importance des formules initiales, médianes et finales, avec le tékèrlèmè, ou le roulement qui les colore (p. 179). Dor distingue cinq types de contes: contes d'animaux (p. 181), contes merveilleux (p. 182), contes réalistes (p. 183), contes de menterie (p. 190) et contes facétieux (p. 191). Quant à ces derniers-ci, «Le Hodja de Turquie devient Djoha dans le monde arabe et au Maghreb, Djahan à Malte, Djiuxa en Sicile, Hioha en Calabre, Xodja chez les Grecs, les Serbes, les Croates, les Hongrois» (p. 191). Le plus fameux Hodja est Hodja Nasrettin. «En Asie Intérieure, Nasrettin *efendi* est connu sous le nom de Apendi ...» (p. 191s.). Quant aux contes réalistes, la valeur sociale de raconter ce type là est comme une exercice en réalisme pour des gens qui se trouvent dans un «double bind» où leur vie ne tient plus qu'à un fil (p. 188). Tel Freud, qui, contraint de signer une déclaration affirmant qu'il avait été bien traité en échange du permis de quitter le pays, ajoutait une petite phrase dont le sacrage évident à l'arrière-plan contredisait en plein l'affirmation littérale: «Je puis cordialement recommander la Gestapo à tous», refusant ainsi de se prêter aux sales fins de la propagande anti-juive ni de tomber de son tour victime de leur cruauté (p. 189).

Connaître l'Orient, y inclus l'Orient chrétien, ne veut pas seulement dire connaître l'histoire et la pensée officielles, mais aussi les rites et les contes, expression du cœur, cachette de tant de présumés jamais expliqués.

Notae breves

Cyril Korolevsky, *Christian Antioch*. Translated by John Collorafi, edited by Bishop Nicholas Samra, Eastern Christian Publications, Fairfax, Virginia 2003, x + 274 pp., Appendix A1-A4.

Es ist zweifellos ein Zeichen von hoher Qualität, wenn ein langer Lexikonartikel, erschienen 1924 im dritten Band des DHGE cc. 563-703, 80 Jahre später nochmals in englischer Übersetzung herausgegeben wird. So ist es geschehen mit dem Artikel "Antiocheia" des französischen Ostkirchenspezialisten, bekannt unter dem Pseudonym C. Korolevskij (= J. F. J. Charon, 1878-1959), der sich zunächst mehr mit den griechischen Melkiten, Syrern und Maroniten beschäftigt hat, später dagegen mit den unierten Ruthenen (Ukrainern) und in Rom zum geschätzten Ratgeber der Ostkirchenkongregation wurde. Inhaltlich blieb der Artikel, der noch in der Sprache der konfessionellen Konfrontation geschrieben ist, unverändert; nur die Hierarchenlisten und die Bibliographie wurden durch den Herausgeber auf den neuesten Stand gebracht. Eine begrüßenswerte Initiative, der man weiterführende Forschungen wünscht (wie z. B. die Habilitationsschrift des Mainzer Byzantinisten K.-P. Todt, deren Erscheinen noch aussteht).

G. Podskalsky, S.J.

Cesare Pasini, *Inventario agiografico dei manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana*, (= Subsidia Hagiographica, 84), Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes 2003, pp. xli + 266.

Der Vizepräfekt der Ambrosiana legt mit diesem Band die Zusammenfassung und Abrundung seiner jahrzehntelangen hagiographischen Forschungen in der Mailänder Handschriftensammlung vor, mit der die Reihe der entsprechenden Städtekatologe (Paris, Athen) vervollständigt wird, die eine schnelle und präzise Übersicht über den Gesamtbestand an hagiographischen Texten erlauben, da die Ausarbeitungsdirektiven einheitlich von den Bollandisten vorgegeben sind.

Weit über 200 Kodices (bzw. Fragmente) werden im vorliegenden Werk analysiert, frühere Mängel und Versehen verbessert und vor allem durch mehrere Indices für die unterschiedlichsten Nachforschungen aufgeschlüsselt (z.B. Indices nach BHG, nach Chronologie, Herkunftsort, Vorbesitzer, Wasserzeichen, Eingangsdatum usw.).

Da die Hagiographie neben der Hymnographie Teile der byzantinischen Theologie sind, welche die grösste Originalität aufweisen, dürfte auch dieser Band viele dankbare Benutzer finden.

G. Podskalsky, S.J.

ALIA SCRIPTA AD NOS MISSA

José María Blázquez, *El mediterráneo y España en la Antigüedad. Historia, religión y arte*, Ed. Cátedra, Madrid 2003, pp. 847.

Ibn al-Munaġġim - Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā (IX secolo), *Una corrispondenza islamo-cristiana sull'origine divina dell'Islām*. Testo arabo, divisione e introduzione dell'Editore a cura di Samir Khalil Samir SJ; Introduzione, traduzione e note a cura di Ida Zilio-Grandi; Indici a cura di don Davide Righi; Prefazione di Paolo Branca, (= Patrimonio culturale arabo cristiano 8), Sili-vo Zamorani Editore, Torino 2003, pp. 317.

Thomas Michel, *Alla confluenza dei due mari. Un cristiano incontra l'Islam*, (= Strumenti di pace 6), CIPAX, Edizioni Icone, Roma 2001, pp. 109.

Giuseppe Scimè, *Giudei e cristiani nei sermoni di san Pietro Crisologo*, (= Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 89), Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, Roma 2003, pp. 166.

Antonio Scottà (a c. di), *La Conferenza di pace di Parigi fra ieri e domani (1919-1920)*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Portogruaro-Bibione 31 maggio – 4 giugno 2000, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, pp. 553.

Paolo Siniscalco, *Il senso della storia. Studi sulla storiografia cristiana antica*. Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, pp. 553.

Tomáš Špidlík, *Il Cuore e lo Spirito, La dottrina spirituale di Teofane il Recluso*, (= Collana Oriente-Occidente 1), Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2004, pp. 365.

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